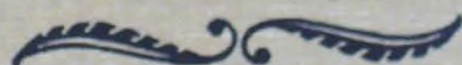


Patristic Monograph Series 16

Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia

Epigraphic Sources Illustrating
the History of Montanism



by
William Tabbernee

Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia

Epigraphic Sources Illustrating
the History of Montanism

William Tabbernee

North American Patristic Society
Patristic Monograph Series
16

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Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism.*

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William Tabbernee
with Sandra Tabbernee (née Parker)
and their children
Nicole, Jason and Michelle
for
Ernest William Parker and Lilian May Parker
and
Adrianus Tabbernee
and for
Neeltje-Jannetje Tabbernee-Koonings,
who is still living;
beloved parents and grandparents.
In memory.

Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοίς

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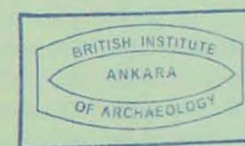
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Preface

Inscriptions communicate to future generations messages deemed sufficiently important to have been carved in stone. Often intensely personal, as in epitaphs, inscriptions are always public documents meant to be read not only by an intimate circle of contemporaries but by all those who pass by in subsequent decades or centuries. The public nature of inscriptions means that they belong to all of us. No longer the possession of those who composed them, inscriptions become the domain of all who would harvest the information contained within their texts and their accompanying decorations. Historians, sociologists, classicists, philologists, and others interested in the lives of those who in an earlier age recorded on limestone or marble something significant about their existence are indebted to epigraphers whose labors reconstruct fragments of weathered stone into readable texts.

My own debt to pioneers in Montanist epigraphy, such as Sir William Ramsay and Sir William Calder, and to contemporary epigraphers, such as Elsa Gibson, Thomas Drew-Bear, G.H.R. Horsley, and Stephen Mitchell is immense. Their work on Anatolian inscriptions has laid the foundation for the texts published in this book. Each of the contemporary epigraphers named has been extremely generous to me over the years, providing additional information about various inscriptions and commenting on matters of interpretation. Greg Horsley read the whole typescript of this book. His expert advice has been invaluable from the inception of this project—a project suggested to me by E.A. Judge.

Because the data contained in the inscriptions published in this collection is intended to be of use to a broad spectrum of scholars with a wide variety of specific interests, extensive commentaries have been provided on each text and on the monument on which the text was originally inscribed. These commentaries are presented in self-contained entries and include information which enables readers to follow the process of producing an accurate text for each inscription and to read this text

even if they are not fully familiar with the original language in which the text was composed. I hope that I may be forgiven by experienced epigraphers, classicists, and philologists for sometimes including details which, for them, will be otiose. The decision to make each entry "stand on its own" has been taken intentionally, despite the necessity in using this format of sometimes summarizing information already reported in earlier entries. This format, however, has the advantage of enabling the reader to examine the inscriptions in any desired order.

All the translations in this book are my own, apart from the translation of Syriac texts for which I thank Richard A. Taylor. The views expressed in the commentaries are also my own, but I have greatly benefited from the insights of others. I am especially grateful to all who have read and commented on various parts of drafts of this book or on those aspects of my earlier writings on Montanism which have a direct bearing on the commentaries: T.D. Barnes, Craig A. Blasing, G.W. Clarke, Dennis E. Groh, Ronald E. Heine, R.G. Jenkins, E.A. Judge, John P. Meier, Kilian McDonnell, Turid Karlsen Seim, August Strobel, and Daniel H. Williams. I particularly thank Charles Kannengiesser who also read the whole typescript and enabled me to profit from his extensive knowledge of early Christianity.

F.W. Norris has been a patient, but meticulous, editor who has remained with this project to the end, long after he had relinquished the formal editorship of the North American Patristic Society's Patristic Monograph Series. His careful reading and rereading of the many drafts of this book have made this a more accurate and useful work than it would have been otherwise. I, of course, bear full responsibility for any errors and inaccuracies the work may still contain.

Kendra Boyd typed the earliest draft, which was written in Australia. Julia Chastain, who has been my secretary since I came to live in the United States, has typed all subsequent drafts. To them, to Kris Vculek, who drew the illustrations and maps, and to Margaret Dean, to Robin Jensen, Luca Lidonnici, Nicole Tabbernee, and Sharon Watkins, each of whom provided invaluable technical assistance, I express a special word of appreciation.

I am also most grateful to Edd Rowell and the staff at Mercer University Press for the excellent production of this book and to the Greek Publications Fund (Australia) for supporting financially the publication of the plates.

William Tabbernee
April, 1997

Format of Entries

Inscriptions

Item no.	Short title	Date
Provenance		
Current location, with inventory number (if known)		
<i>Editio princeps</i>		
Description		
Text		
Translation		
Illustration (sometimes inserted later in entry)		
Editions other than <i>ed. pr.</i>		
Other publications of text (including discussion)		
Variant readings		
Further references		
Photographs (including those of squeezes)		
Line drawings and/or facsimiles		
Commentary and discussion		

Testimonia

Item no.	Short title	Date
Literary source		
<i>Editio princeps</i>		
Text		
Translation		
Notes on the text		
Further references		
Commentary and discussion		

Item nos. are printed in bold type throughout this book for cross-referencing.

Dates are Common Era unless indicated otherwise: e.g., IV¹ = "first quarter of fourth century C.E."; III⁴ = "fourth quarter of third century."

An **asterisk (*)** next to an edition or amended republication of an edition indicates that I consider that edition, or republication, the most accurate thus far. My own improvements to that text are included in the text published below.

Transliteration follows standard conventions, but note that ã, ã̃, ð are *not* used in the transliteration of Greek personal names.

Abbreviations

Periodicals, reference works and serials, other than those listed below, are abbreviated as in *Journal of Biblical Literature*: "Instructions for Contributors," published in American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature *Membership Directory and Handbook* (Atlanta and Decatur, GA: AAR/SBL, 1993), 383-400. Further journals are abbreviated as in *L'année philologique* 63 (1994): xvii-xxxix.

Unless otherwise indicated, collections of Greek epigraphic texts are cited by the standardized abbreviations given in G.H.R. Horsley and John A.L. Lee "A preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129-169. Abbreviations of other epigraphic sources, including those not listed by Horsley and Lee, follow standard conventions. In the case of corpora and supplements, the year of publication is added for the convenience of tracing the chronology of an inscription's various editions or republications and the inscription is cited by number, not page. The abbreviations of all major epigraphic collections utilized are listed below.

Short titles, followed by publication year, page number(s) and inscription number, are provided for all other works containing epigraphic material. The last name of the author, but no first name or initials, is also cited. The initials of authors, whenever their works are cited in full, are omitted after the first reference in an entry or in the footnotes. For complete bibliographic details of these works and of the standard epigraphic sources listed below, see the Reference List.

Papyri are cited according to J.F. Oates, et al., eds., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. 4th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992). Classical works are cited according to N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

Patristic sources in Greek are cited according to G.W.H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961-1968). Patristic sources in Latin are cited according to A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin* (Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) or, if not in Souter, according to A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turhout: Brepols, 1954), but capitalization is altered to maintain conformity of style. Patristic sources not in the above mentioned works are listed below, but bibliographic details are not provided in the Reference List. For such details, consult standard reference works such as B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie* (Freiburg, Breisgau: Herder, 1980); A. Baumstark *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1922); E. Schwartz, et al., eds., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1924-1940 [rev. ed.,

1971-); and H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). Full bibliographic details, however, are contained in the Reference List for all other modern works. These are cited in the text by author, year of publication and page numbers. The initials of these authors are provided, but only for the first time these works are cited in a particular section or entry.

For those wishing to cite this collection of Montanist and alleged Montanist inscriptions, the abbreviation *IMont* is suggested.

Journals, reference works, collections, serials

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (not AnBoll as in <i>JBL</i>)
AE	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> (not <i>AnnEpigr</i> as in <i>APH</i> ; cited by survey year, year of publication and, unless otherwise indicated, by inscription number rather than page number)
AKM	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
AMSL	<i>Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires</i>
APH	<i>L'année philologique</i> (not <i>AP</i> as in <i>JBL</i> ; cited by volume, year of publication and, unless indicated otherwise, by entry number rather than page number)
ArtAr	<i>Art and archaeology: The arts throughout the ages</i>
AuC	<i>Antike und Christentum</i>
BALAC	<i>Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes</i>
BARC	<i>Bullettino di archeologia cristiana</i>
BARCh	<i>Biblical archaeologist</i> (not <i>BA</i> as in <i>SBL</i>)
BArte	<i>Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della pubblica istruzione</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (cited by year of publication and, unless indicated otherwise, by entry number rather than page number)
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i> (not <i>BRL</i> as in <i>APH</i>)
BMC (Phrygia)	<i>Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum (Phrygia)</i>
ByzS	<i>Byzantine studies of the Catholic University of America</i>
CathEnc	<i>The Catholic encyclopedia</i>
CathPres	<i>The Catholic Presbyterian</i>
CB	<i>The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia</i> (cited as 1 [1895] and 2 [1897] rather than volume I and volume II, part II).
CCSG	<i>Corpus christianorum, series graeca</i> (not <i>CChr</i> as in <i>JBL</i>)
CCSL	<i>Corpus christianorum, series latina</i> (not <i>CChr</i> as in <i>JBL</i>)
CDFAC	<i>Catalogo della fotografie di antichità cristiana</i>
ChHist	<i>Church history</i> (not <i>CH</i> as in <i>JBL</i>)
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>
CII	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i> (not <i>CII</i> as in <i>SBL</i>)
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
CivCatt	<i>La civiltà cattolica</i>
CIR	<i>Classical review</i> (not <i>CR</i> as in <i>APH</i>)

CMRDM	<i>Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis</i>
CodVatLat	<i>Codices vaticani latini</i>
Colloquium	<i>Colloquium: The Australian and New Zealand theological review</i>
CongrEpigr	<i>Actes des congrès internationaux d'épigraphie grecque et latine</i> (places and dates of congresses are indicated in square brackets)
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> (not <i>CRAIBL</i> as in <i>JBL</i>)
DAFC	<i>Dictionnaire apologetique de la foi catholique</i>
DAWW.PH	<i>Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
DDSR	<i>Duke Divinity School review</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
Didaskaleion	<i>Didaskaleion: Studi filologici di letteratura e storia cristiana antica</i>
Discovery	<i>Discovery: A monthly popular journal of knowledge</i>
DÖAW.PH	<i>Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
DomSt	<i>Dominican studies: A quarterly review of theology and philosophy</i>
DSar	<i>Daughters of Sarah</i>
ECC	<i>Encyclopedia of early Christianity</i>
EeT	<i>Église et théologie</i>
EG	<i>Epigraphia graeca</i> (not "Guarducci" as in Horsley and Lee)
EncBrit	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
EncItal	<i>Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti</i>
EOR	<i>Échos d'Orient: Revue bimestrielle de théologie, de droit canonique, de liturgie, d'archéologie, d'histoire et de géographie orientales</i>
Etudes	<i>Études</i>
Exp	<i>The Expositor</i>
GVI	<i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I</i>
HDB	<i>Hastings' dictionary of the bible</i>
Hellenica	<i>Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> (not <i>Ἑλληνικά: φιλολ., ιστορ. καὶ λαογρ. περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν</i> as in <i>APH</i> ; cited by page numbers)
HThR	<i>Harvard theological review</i> (not <i>HTR</i> as in <i>JBL</i>)
IAsMinChr	<i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure, I.</i>
ICKarth	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Karthaginis</i>
ICollFroehner	<i>Collection Froehner, I.</i>
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae</i> (does not also designate <i>ICUR</i> ² as in Horsley and Lee)
ICUR ²	<i>Ibid., nova ser.</i> (not simply <i>ICUR</i> as in Horsley and Lee)
IEph	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
IGalatN	<i>Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor, 2.</i>
IGOccidChr	<i>Inscriptiones graecae christianae veteres Occidentis</i> (refers to the 1989 anastatic edition rather than to the 1936 dissertation as in Horsley and Lee)

IGLEccI	Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zur Socialgeschichte der Alten Kirche
IGRR	Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes
IHierap	Hierapolis: Scavi e ricerche, 1
IHierapJ	Altertümer von Hierapolis. "Inschriften"
IJWS	International journal of women's studies
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IKilikiaHW	Reisen in Kilikien
IKorinthChr	Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas, I
IKyzikosH	Cyzicus
ILaodikeia	Laodicée du Lycos. "Les inscriptions"
ILCV	Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres
ILCV ²	Ibid., 2d ed.
ILS	Inscriptiones latinae selectae
ILTun	Inscriptions latines de Tunisie
ILydiaB	Aus Lydien
ILydiaKP	Bericht über eine [zweite] Reise in Lydien
INikaia	Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)
IPhyrChr	The "Christians for Christians" inscriptions of Phrygia
IPhyrDB	Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie
IPhyrHaspels	The highlands of Phrygia
IPont	Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie. Studia pontica, 3,1
IRomJud	The Jews of ancient Rome, 2d ed.
ISikilChr	Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia
ISyriaW	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
Izvestiia	Izvestiia russkago arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (not JAC as in JBL and EEC)
JbAC.E	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsbande
JdIE	Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungshefte
JECS	Journal of early Christian studies
JP	Journal of philology
JThS	Journal of theological studies (not JTS as in JBL)
Kaibel	Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus collecta (not simply "Kaibel" as in Horsely and Lee; page numbers as well as inscription numbers are cited)
KhČ	Khristiyanskoĭ Čtenie
Kuk	Kunst und Kirche: Zeitschrift für religiöse Kunst
LBW	Inscriptions grecques et latines
Lib.AE	Libya. Bulletin du service des antiquités. Archéologie, épigraphie
MAI	Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France (not MPAIBL as in JBL)
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (unless otherwise indicated, cited by inscription number)

MEL	Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica
NA	Note agiografiche
NAMSL	Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires
NBarC	Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana
NClío	La nouvelle Clío
New Docs	New documents illustrating early Christianity (page numbers as well as entry numbers are cited)
NSHERK	The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge
OC	Oriens christianus (not OrChr as in JBL)
OGI	Orientis graecae inscriptiones selectae
Palladio	Palladio: Rivista di storia dell' architettura
Pfuhl/Möbius	Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs (not simply "PfuhlMöbius" as in Horsley and Lee; page numbers as well as inscription numbers are cited)
PIR	Prosopographia imperii Romani
PIR ²	Ibid., 2d ed.
PLRE	The prosopography of the later Roman empire
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (not RLAC as in APh and ECC)
RAfr	Revue africaine
RArch	Revue archéologique (not RA as in APh)
RBK	Reallexikon zur Byzantinische Kunst
RecConstant	Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département de Constantine
RHLR	Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses
RHPHR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses (not RHPR as in JBL)
RivAC	Rivista di archeologia cristiana (not RAC as in APh and ECC)
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
RQA	Römische Quartalschrift (not RQ as in JBL)
RQH	Revue des questions historiques
RSR	Revue des sciences religieuses (not RevScRel as in JBL)
RTun	Revue Tunisienne
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SCent	The second century (not SecCent as in JBL)
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum (cited by volume, year of publication and, unless indicated otherwise, by entry number rather than page number)
Signs	Signs: Journal of women in culture and society
SP	Studia patristica
Sterrett	The Wolfe expedition to Asia Minor (not simply "SterrettWE" as in Horsley and Lee; page references as well as inscription numbers cited)
Wolfe Exped	
STh	Studia theologica (not ST as in JBL)
StT	Studi e testi
TAD	Türk arkeoloji dergisi

TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
TextsS	Texts and studies (not TS as in ECC)
Themelios	<i>Themelios: An international journal for theological students</i>
ThJ	<i>Theologische Jahrbücher</i>
ThLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> (not TLZ as in JBL)
ThQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> (not TQ as in JBL)
ThRen	<i>Theological renewal</i>
ThS	<i>Theological studies</i> (not TS as in JBL)
ThSt(U)	<i>Theologische Studien</i> (Utrecht)
ThZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i> (not TZ as in JBL)
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
TJT	<i>Toronto journal of theology</i>
VChr	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i> (not VC as in JBL)
Waelkens	<i>Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine</i> (not simply "Türsteine" as in Horsley and Lee; page references as well as inscription numbers are cited)
Way	<i>The Way</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
ZNTW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> (not ZNW as in JBL)
ZMNP	<i>Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvescheniia</i>

Patristic sources

Anon.	Anonymous
ap. Eus., h.e.	<i>fragmenta adversus Cataphrygas, apud Eus., h.e. 5.16.3-5, 6-10, 12-15, 19, 21-22; 17.1.2-3, 4</i>
C Tur. can.	<i>Concilium Turonense canones</i>
Ebedjesu cat. libr. eccl.	<i>Ebedjesu (Abdišo bar Berika) Catalogum librorum chaldaorum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quam profanorum</i>
Eus. chron.	<i>Eusebius Caesariensis Chronicon</i>
Filastr. haer.	<i>Filastrus Diversarum haereseon liber</i>
Firmil. ap. Cypr., ep.	<i>Firmilianus epistula ad Cypr., apud Cypr., ep. 75.10-11</i>
Isid. Mercat. Decr. can.	<i>Isidorus Mercator Decretales canones</i>
Jo. Eph. h.e.	<i>Johannes Ephesinus historia ecclesiastica</i>
Mich. Syr.	<i>Michaelis Syriacus</i>

chron.	<i>chronicon</i>
M. Potam. et Bas.	<i>Μαρτύριον τῶν Ἁγίων Ποταμαίνης καὶ Βασιλείδου</i>
Or.	Origenes
fr. in ep. ad Titum	<i>fragmenta in epistula ad Titum</i>
Pacian.	Pacianus
ep. Symp.	<i>epistula ad Symphorianum</i>
Pass. Iuli vet.	<i>Passio Iuli veterani</i>
Prædest. haer.	<i>Prædestinatus De haeresibus</i>
Ps.-Dion. T. chron.	<i>Pseudo-Dionysius Telmarenensis chronicon</i>
Synod. Vet.	<i>Synodicon Vetus</i>

Textual Sigla

AB	- individual letters legible, but do not make sense in their context
<u>αβ</u> earlier	- letters no longer extant, but still visible when copied by editor
αβ	- letters not completely legible, although reading may be certain
- - - -	- 4 letters missing
[- - ^{c.8} - -]	- about 8 letters missing
[αβ]	- letters missing and restored by editor
⟨αβ⟩	- letters omitted by engraver and added by editor
«αβ»	- editorial correction of wrong letters in the text
(αβ)	- editor has resolved an abbreviation in the text
{αβ}	- letters wrongly added by engraver and cancelled by editor
[[αβ]]	- a (still legible) erasure made by engraver
`αβ`	- letters written above the line
αβ	- ligature or <i>quasi</i> -ligature
$\overline{\alpha\beta}$	- abbreviation indicated in the text itself
α'	- letter stands for a numerical equivalent
(v.), (vv.), (vac.)	- one, two, several letter spaces left blank

Textual sigla of variant readings are those of edition or republication cited even if they differ from the above.

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1.	No. 3 No. 6	Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: plate 4. Ibid., plate 3.
2.	No. 5 No. 7	Ibid., plate 5. Ibid., plate 6.
3.	No. 8 No. 9 No. 29	Ibid., plate 7 (fig. 1). <i>IPhrygChr</i> [1978a]: plate 30. <i>MAMA</i> 10 [1993]: plate 15 (no. 146).
4.	No. 36a No. 36b	Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 74.1819. <i>IPhrygChr</i> [1978a]: plate 31 (no. 36: Inscription).
5.	No. 26 No. 54	<i>IPhrygChr</i> [1978a]: plate 18. Miltner "Nachlese" [1937]: col. 55 (fig. 32).
6.	No. 21a No. 21b	<i>IPhrygChr</i> [1978a]: plate 27. Ibid., plate 26.
7.	No. 17a No. 22	Strobel <i>Das heilige Land</i> [1980]: plate 2b. <i>IPhrygChr</i> [1978a]: plate 28.
8.	Nos. 17b-f	Ibid., plate 32.
9.	Nos. 17g-i	Ibid., plate 33.

10. No. 23
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11. No. 34
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12. No. 55
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Miltner "Nachlese" [1937]: col. 59 (fig. 36).
13. No. 68a
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IPhrygHaspels II [1971]: p. 630 (no. 107).
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14. No. 87a-b
Macpherson "New Evidence" [1958]: plate 49 (no. 243).
15. No. 28a
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No. 52
MAMA 10 [1993]: plate 1 (no. 8b).
Ibid. (no. 8a).
Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V" [1928]: 40 (fig. 14).
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19. No. 46a
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20. No. 47
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21. No. 37
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22. No. 39
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Ibid., plate 10.
24. No. 59
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Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 418 (fig. 88).
25. No. 60
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Ibid., 423 (fig. 90).
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26. No. 53
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IPhrygChr [1978a]: plate 17.
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27. No. 35a
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28. No. 69a
No. 69b
Ibid., 1 [1928]: p. 90 (fig. a).
Ibid. (fig. b).
29. No. 70a
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Ibid., p. 91 (fig. a).
30. No. 20
Ibid., 6 [1939]: plate 41 (no. 235).
Ibid., plate 41 (no. 234).
31. No. 56a
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Ibid., 1 [1928]: 81 (fig. a).
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32. No. 18
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MAMA 6 [1939]: plate 41 (no. 236).
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34. No. 73 Photograph by William Tabbernee.
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 No. 14 Delattre "Martyrs" [1907b]: p. 194.
35. No. 80 Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: plate 2(d).
 No. 84 Buckler "Lydian Records" [1907]: p. 95 (no. 8).
36. No. 85 TAM 5,1 [1981]: plate 8 (no. 46).
 No. 86 Schwertheim "Sammlung Tolunay" [1983]: plate 14 (no. 17).
37. No. 91a Duval "Plastique chrétienne" [1972b]: 117 (fig. 67a).
 No. 91b Ibid. (fig. 67b).
 No. 79 Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: plate 9b.
 No. 92 Un missionnaire des Pères Blancs "Emeritus" [1899]: p. 66.
38. No. 94 Photograph by William Tabbernee.
 No. 95 Photograph by Nicole M. Tabbernee.
39. No. 16 CDFAC, 2d ed. [1973]: 77 (Aur A1).
40. No. 58a MAMA 4 [1933]: plate 65 (no. 320[1]).
 No. 58b Ibid. (no. 320[2]).
 No. 58c Ibid. (no. 320[3]).
41. No. 77 Ibid., plate 65 (no. 321).
 No. 78 Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: plate 3a.
42. No. 88a Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: plate 26(a).
 No. 88b-d Macpherson "New Evidence" [1958]: plate 63 (no. 265).

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General Introduction

Michael the Syrian, in a section of his chronicle dealing with the reign of Justinian I (c.527-565), retells the familiar story of the fierce persecution of the Montanist community at Pepouza in Phrygia by John, bishop of Ephesos, culminating in the burning of part of the Montanists' place of assembly by order of the emperor (2). What makes Michael's account unique is his report that John and his retainers discovered a great marble shrine on which was inscribed: "Of Montanos and the women." When the reliquary was opened they found the skeletons of Montanus, Maximilla and Priscilla, with golden plates upon their mouths. The bones of the founders of Montanism, along with their "abominable books," were burned (as reported also by another, earlier, source [1]) and the building purified to allow it to be used by the official church.

Michael's account illustrates dramatically the major issue confronting historians of Montanism, namely the paucity of sources. Much of the source material required for an accurate reconstruction of the history of the movement has been destroyed by ecclesiastical authorities who, in the post-Constantinian era, often carried out their anti-Montanist activities in concert with Christian emperors who feared that heresy and schism would cause the withdrawal of God's favor.¹ The intentional destruction of Montanist material includes Montanist literature and epigraphy. Legislation was enacted to ensure that the "abominable books" of the Montanists were discovered and burned (Eus., *v.C.* 3.66; Thds. *Imp., cod.* XVI.5.34.1). Inscriptions such as "of Montanos and the women," being an integral part of the reliquary containing their bones, were probably smashed by the zealous persecutors along with all other physical remains of the original Montanists. In any case, the inscription is not

¹ The first of these emperors was Constantine himself, see Eus., *v.C.* 2.64-72, esp. 65; Socr., *h.e.* 1.9 and pp. 343-345 below.

extant.

Michael the Syrian's account also shows that, even when physical evidence of Montanism has been destroyed, some of it at least can be retrieved from the testimonia which have survived. Michael's own account is an excellent example of such testimonia as it provides both literary and epigraphic data about Montanism. The accuracy and significance of the information provided by the testimonia, of course, needs to be established on the basis of valid historical methodology.

While much of what we know about Montanism must be reconstructed from the testimonia, not all genuine Montanist material has been destroyed or lost. Some literary and epigraphic remnants of the Montanist movement have survived the ravages of time.²

Literary remnants of Montanism

The major literary texts related to Montanism have been collected, edited, and translated into English by Ronald E. Heine. His collection, titled *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia*,³ is the companion volume to this corpus. Part I of Heine's collection contains all that has survived from the founders of the movement: four authentic oracles of Montanus;⁴ four authentic oracles of Maximilla;⁵ two authentic oracles of Priscilla; and one which should be attributed either to Priscilla or, more likely, to a later Montanist prophetess named Quintilla.⁶ Heine also provides the text and translation of three undesigned authentic oracles attributable to the founders⁷ and that of five questionable Montanist oracles.⁸

² See F. Blanchetière (1978: 118-134; 1979: 1-22); id., *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 491-516 (includes non-Montanist inscriptions); and W. Tabbernee (1989a: 192-201) for surveys of the extant material.

³ R.E. Heine (1989b).

⁴ Epiph., *haer.* 48.11.1; 48.11.9; 48.4.1; 48.10.3 = Heine (1989b: 2-3 nos. 1-4).

⁵ Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.17; Epiph., *haer.* 48.2.4; 48.12.4; 48.13.1 (cf. 48.13.7) = Heine (1989b: 2-5 nos. 5-8).

⁶ Tert., *res.* 11.2; id., *cast.* 10.5; Epiph., *haer.* 49.1 = Heine (1989b: 4-5 nos. 9-11).

⁷ Tert., *pud.* 21.7; id., *fug.* 9.4 (2 oracles; cf. id., *anim.* 55.5) = Heine (1989b: 6-7 nos. 12-14).

⁸ *Dial. Mont. et Orth.* (in G. Ficker [1905: 452 II.13-14; cf. 454 I. 20 and 455 II.30-31]; Mont., *fr. ap. Didym.*, *Trin.* 3.41.1; id., *fr. ap. Or.*, *Cels.* 7.9; id., *fr. ap. Odes of Montanus* (in F. Diekamp [1907: 306 II.7-10]); id., *fr. ap. Or.*, in *epistolam ad Titum* 5.291. For analyses of the extant Montanist or allegedly Montanist oracles, see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 725-756; D.E. Groh (1985: 73-95); A. Jensen (1992: 310-326); S. Elm (1994: 131-138); C. Trevett (1996: 80-86, 127-128, 156, 162-170, 218).

The second and third parts of Heine's book contain the texts and translations of a selection of testimonia. Based on the comprehensive collection of Montanist sources by Pierre de Labriolle,⁹ Heine excludes ninety-six of de Labriolle's entries.¹⁰ All of these, apart from de Labriolle's no. 1,¹¹ are from the fourth century¹² or later. Among the testimonia, Heine's collection includes literature from Montanists later than the original trio. The most significant of these is Tertullian.¹³ Possibly genuine Montanist literature or, at least, some likely first-hand Montanist data preserved in the *acta martyrum*¹⁴ and in Montanist-Orthodox dialogues¹⁵ is also included. Heine provides two sample items of anti-Montanist legislation¹⁶ and two inscriptions.¹⁷

Apart from the entries excluded by Heine from de Labriolle's collection and a few items not contained in de Labriolle,¹⁸ Heine's book contains all the known genuine literary remnants of and testimonia to Montanism. Attempts, by scholars, at claiming the Montanist origins, or Montanist re-editing, of other early Judaeo-Christian literature such as 1 and 2 Peter,¹⁹ the *Ascension of Isaiah*,²⁰ the *Odes of Solomon*,²¹ the

⁹ P. de Labriolle (1913b).

¹⁰ Heine (1989b: xi n.7) provides a list of excluded entries.

¹¹ *Ascens. Is.* 3.21-31.

¹² Hereafter, references to centuries will employ Roman numerals (e.g., IV) without the word "century". See p. xix above and p. 11 below on the use of Arabic superscript numerals to denote quarters of the relevant century.

¹³ See Heine (1989b: 62-93 nos. 36-70).

¹⁴ For example, *ibid.*, 60-61 no. 35 (= *M. Perp.*).

¹⁵ For example, *ibid.*, 112-127 no. 89 (= *Dial. Mont. et Orth.*).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 112-113 no. 87 (= C Laod., *can.* 8); 164-167 no. 132 (= Thds. Imp., *cod.* XVI.5.34).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 164-165 no. 131 (= *CIL* 8, 1 [1881]: 2272 = 71); 178-179 no. 148 (= *CIG* 4 [1877]: 8953; see p. 345 n.8 below). For a complete collection of the texts with translation of all the known imperial and ecclesiastical legislation enacted against the Montanists, see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 574-625.

¹⁸ For example, Procl. CP, *ep. ad singulos occidentis episcopos* 5-6; Ammon., *Jo.* 14:26; Jo. Eph., *h.e.* 3.13, 3.20, 3.32; Ps.-Dion. T., *chron.* [entry for year 861 of the Seleucid era = 1]; Mich. Syr., *chron.* 9.33 (= 2).

¹⁹ T. Barns (1903: 40-62; 1904: 369-393).

²⁰ A. Ritschl (1857: 559); de Labriolle (1913b: 1-2 no. 1).

²¹ W.E. Barnes (1910: 57-59); F.C. Conybeare (1911: 70-75); S.A. Fries (1911: 108-125).

Didache,²² Athenagoras' *Legatio*,²³ and the *Testament of Job*²⁴ have not been at all convincing.²⁵

Epigraphic remnants of Montanism

The relatively few genuinely Montanist literary sources (as distinct from testimonia) which have survived make the existence of epigraphic remnants of Montanism of vital importance for historians. If we can identify Montanist funerary and other inscriptions, we can learn much about the movement, especially about the lives of local Montanist clergy and "ordinary members."

De Labriolle included only two inscriptions in his collection.²⁶ Numerous other inscriptions have since been attributed to adherents of the New Prophecy. W.M. Ramsay was among the first to designate as Montanist some of the tombstones he discovered while traveling through Turkey during the late nineteenth century.²⁷ W.M. Calder published the first collection of Montanist inscriptions in 1923.²⁸ This collection consisted of fifteen inscriptions. During the next few decades, Calder published or discussed further inscriptions which he considered Montanist,²⁹ as did others such as H. Grégoire,³⁰ E. Peterson,³¹ and A. Ferrua.³² In 1934 H. Leclercq, whose work was very much dependent upon that of

²² R.H. Connolly (1937: 339-347); F.E. Vokes (1938: esp. 162-173, 208-220).

²³ R.A. Knox (1949: 42, 48).

²⁴ R.P. Spittler (1971: 58-59); cf. id. (1983: 834).

²⁵ For 1-2 Peter, see A.F. Walls (1964: 437-446) and T.V. Smith (1985: 93-94); on *Ascens. Is.*, see A. [von] Harnack (1893-1904: vol. I, 2: 575-576), de Labriolle (1913a: 544 and n.13), and P.C. Bori (1980: 367-389); on the *Odes of Solomon*, see J.H. Bernard (1912: 56) and J.H. Charlesworth (1978: 31); on *Did.*, see B.H. Streeter (1936: 373), B.T.D. Smith (1939: 287-288), E.J. Goodspeed (1945: 229-230), E.G. Jay (1981: 125), and C.N. Jefford (1989: 7, 15-16); on Athenag., *leg.*, see L.W. Barnard (1973: 4-7) and R.M. Grant (1988: 108); on *T. Job*, see P.W. van der Horst (1986: 283-284).

²⁶ De Labriolle (1913b: 195 no. 152; 255 no. 244) = Heine (1989b: 164-165 no. 131; 178-179 no. 148); see also n.17 above.

²⁷ Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 262; *CB* 2 [1897]: pp. 490-491.

²⁸ Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 309-354.

²⁹ For example, Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 254-271; id., "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 421-423; id., "Epitaphs" [1955]: 25-38.

³⁰ Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 695-710; id., "Hiérarchie" [1925]: 329-335; id., "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 58-65; id., "Patriarche" [1933d]: 69-76; and Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 163-183.

³¹ Peterson "Montanistische Inschriften" [1934]: 137-176.

³² Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 216-227; id., "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 165-221.

Calder, produced a detailed summary of inscriptions considered Montanist at that time.³³ A large number of these inscriptions contained variants of the *Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς* ("Christians for Christians") formula.³⁴ Elsa Gibson produced a monograph on these in 1978,³⁵ based on her Harvard Ph.D. dissertation.³⁶ Earlier she had published a number of other, likely Montanist, inscriptions.³⁷ At about the same time, but each working independently, François Blanchetière surveyed Montanist inscriptions as part of a study of epigraphic sources appended to his doctoral dissertation on the Christianity of Asia Minor during the second and third centuries, defended at Strasbourg in 1977,³⁸ and I presented the first comprehensive collection of Montanist inscriptions as part of my Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Melbourne in 1978.³⁹ That collection contains sixty Montanist, or allegedly Montanist, inscriptions and six inscriptions illustrating the history of Montanism. During 1977 and 1978 August Strobel journeyed to that part of Turkey which he considers to be the "heartland of Montanism." His monograph, *Das heilige Land der Montanism*, published in 1980, not only discusses already known epigraphic data but publishes new inscriptions which he discovered during his travels and which he takes to be Montanist.⁴⁰ Since Strobel's monograph has appeared, a number of other new inscriptions have been published and claimed as Montanist.⁴¹ In addition, some inscriptions published previously have evoked new interest as possible Montanist sources.⁴² Because of the extensive nature of the epigraphic material related to Montanism, it was decided by the editor of the North American Patristic Society's Patristic Monograph Series that Heine's collection of Montanist sources should merely contain the two inscriptions originally included by de Labriolle and that a companion volume would be devoted to Montanist inscriptions.

In compiling this collection of epigraphic material related to Montan-

³³ Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2530-2544.

³⁴ For a discussion of the nature of these inscriptions, see pp. 147-151 below.

³⁵ *IPhygChr* [1978a].

³⁶ Gibson "Montanism" [1974].

³⁷ Id., "Uşak" [1975b]: 433-442.

³⁸ Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 455-516.

³⁹ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 626-724.

⁴⁰ Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 65-127.

⁴¹ For example, *TAM* 5,1 [1981]: 17 no. 46; Schwertheim "Sammlung Tolunay" [1983]: 117 no. 17.

⁴² For example, Mitchell "Inscriptions" [1977]: 101 no. 49; cf. id., "Theodotus" [1982b]: 103 n.45.

ism, I have included all inscriptions known to me which have been claimed by reputable scholars to be Montanist or likely to be Montanist, even if I doubt their Montanist nature. The commentary on each inscription indicates the basis on which the inscription has been considered Montanist and my judgment on the matter. I have excluded from the corpus some inscriptions whose likely link with Montanism is simply too tenuous to warrant a separate entry, but these inscriptions have, nevertheless, been discussed either in another entry or in one of the introductions and are listed in Appendix 4. I have also included the known testimonia to Montanist epigraphy.

Criteria

Identifying inscriptions as definitely Montanist is more problematic than has sometimes been assumed. While an increasing number of inscriptions from II⁴-III¹ onwards can now be shown to be Christian,⁴³ establishing that a particular inscription is Montanist is extremely difficult. Montanists, after all, did not call themselves Montanists; they considered themselves true Christians. Adherence to the New Prophecy in general or to Montanist leaders in particular would not have been recorded on tombstones. It is undoubtedly the case that there are more extant Montanist inscriptions from Phrygia and elsewhere than we can identify. Even some of the inscriptions discussed below, about which insufficient data exist to claim them positively as Montanist, may, in fact, be Montanist—we simply cannot be certain. Identifying Montanist inscriptions is dependent on equivocal criteria such as provenance, onomastics, terminology alluding to Montanist practices or beliefs, open profession of Christianity, early use of the cross, epigraphy and orthography, specific symbols, workshops, distinctive formulae, and date. A multiplicity of “indicators” relating to a particular monument increases the likelihood of the accuracy of the identification of its inscription as Montanist, but does not guarantee it.

(i) Provenance

Some inscriptions (17-18, 58, 76-79) have been claimed as Montanist because they have been discovered at locations which may have been the site of Pepouza or of Tymion, or at least of an ancient site which was within “the sphere of influence” of the New Jerusalem of the Mon-

⁴³ For a discussion of criteria used to distinguish Christian from non-Christian (including Jewish) inscriptions, see EG 4 [1978]: 301-315; R.S. Kraemer (1986: 183-200; 1991: 141-162); M. Guarducci (1992: 279-280).

tanists. Until the site of Pepouza (and Tymion) is established beyond doubt, arguments based on location are suspect, even if linked with other ambiguous data such as formulae or symbols. Similarly, indications on Phrygian tombstones of possibly Montanist practices must not be claimed as Montanist simply because Montanism originated in Phrygia. Some evidence confirming the presence, or likely presence, of Montanists in the particular part of Phrygia where the tombstones were discovered is required. Moreover, where the presence of Montanism can be established with certainty, it is impossible to claim all Christian inscriptions from the area as Montanist since, notwithstanding the example of Thyateira,⁴⁴ specific cities or regions were not normally exclusively Montanist.

(ii) Onomastics

Rarely do we possess an inscription naming persons known from literary sources to be linked with Montanism. The names Montanos, Maximilla, and Priscilla were, as mentioned above, engraved on a (no longer extant) reliquary (1, 2). Montanus himself may also be named on three other inscriptions included in this corpus (71, 90, 91), although the identification of the “Muntanus” of those inscriptions with the founder of Montanism is not secure. Montanus is also named on a twelfth-century mosaic not included in this collection.⁴⁵ Perpetua and Felicitas are named on a commemorative plaque (14) and, most likely, on a mosaic (14³) and a mural (14⁴) honoring them, but their connection with Montanism is open to question. Similarly, inscriptions honoring the martyrs Trophimos (35), Montanus [assuming this Montanus to be the martyr rather than the founder of Montanism] (71, 90, 91), Theodotos (88, 89), and Emeritus (92) are known from the *acta martyrum*, but a case needs to be made for their likely link with Montanism. The same applies to people not attested in the literary sources but whose names suggest that at least their parents (and, therefore, probably they themselves also) belonged to the New Prophecy; e.g., Prophetilla (11), Moundane (21), Mountane (63), and Montanos (77).

(iii) Montanist terminology

Inscriptions may be identified as Montanist, or likely Montanist, if they contain terminology, such as the word *πρεσβυτέρα* (4), reflecting (exclusively?) Montanist practices at the time the monuments were

⁴⁴ See pp. 136-138 below.

⁴⁵ CIG 4 [1877]: 8953; see p. 3 and n.17 above and p. 345 n.8 below.

erected. Similarly, use of the term *πνευματικός/-ή*, especially in late inscriptions (e.g., 63, 72, 93), is a strong indicator of Montanism. The distinctively Montanist ministerial structure also facilitates the identification of later Montanist inscriptions (e.g., 80, 84, 85; cf. 82, 83). Terminology suggesting Montanist attitudes to remarriage (15), prophesying (68), asceticism (70), baptismal practices (67), and beliefs about the after-life, the latter identified by the use of the word *ἀνελήμφθη* (75, 81), have also been used to claim that certain inscriptions are Montanist.

(iv) *Open profession of Christianity*

One particular allegedly exclusive Montanist practice has been very instrumental for claiming that a large number of third-century Phrygian tombstones contain pre-Constantinian Montanist inscriptions, namely, revealing one's Christianity at a time when it was not yet safe to do so. The most obvious example of this is the open use of the word "Christian." This criterion depends heavily on the view that Montanists, unlike mainstream Christians, provocatively flaunted their faith, even in the face of actual or potential opposition from civil authorities, believing that they had been called upon to do so by the Holy Spirit speaking through Montanus. This view of Montanist behavior, however, is questionable.⁴⁶ Consequently, the Montanist nature of many of the inscriptions included in this corpus because they have been designated as Montanist by previous scholars on the basis of their (pre-Constantinian) open employment of the single word Christian (9-10, 12, 19, 20, 34, 36) needs to be re-evaluated.⁴⁷

(v) *Early use of the cross*

Another criterion deemed by some to establish the Montanist nature of pre-Constantinian inscriptions is the presence of a cross, especially on Phrygian monuments (e.g., 17-18, 37-44, 46-50), but also in connection with inscriptions discovered elsewhere (e.g., 16).

(vi) *Epigraphy and orthography*

The way in which certain letters have been carved has also been used to classify inscriptions as Montanist. A number of the *Xp.*-*Xp.* epitaphs, for example, contain *chis* resembling crosses.⁴⁸ The pre-Constantinian

⁴⁶ See p. 139 and n.21 below.

⁴⁷ See also pp. 60, 143-144 below.

⁴⁸ See *ad* 40.

use of such *chis* is deemed by some to provide indications of Montanist open profession of Christianity.

Similarly, arguments for the Montanist nature of particular inscriptions have sometimes been based on the way words, such as "Christian," are spelled. Often such claims are linked with arguments based on the date of these inscriptions, it being assumed that the spelling *χρηστιανός* was the earliest (c.250), *χρηστιανός* came next (c.300), and *χριστιανός* came last (c.313 onward).⁴⁹ Extreme care, however, needs to be exercised in applying this criterion—if it should be used at all. Letter style and spelling may have more to do with the stonemason who carved the inscription than with Montanism.

(vii) *Specific symbols*

A number of the gravestones published in this corpus contain various symbols, other than the cross, which, at least potentially, may help to identify (or confirm the identity of) these stones as Montanist. Perhaps the clearest example is the prominent display of the letter -Π- (e.g., 54-55, 63) and the Eucharistic symbol on some tombstones from Temenothyrai (3, 5-8). Great caution needs to be taken in employing this criterion, especially in respect of other symbols, as most symbols were not the exclusive domain of any one Christian group. Moreover, symbols were, in many instances, pre-carved on a monument before purchase.

(viii) *Workshops*

Orthography, the use of specific decorative artwork and the way letters were carved, were all dependent in great measure on the workshop in which the monument was produced and reflected the style of a particular master mason and co-workers, including apprentices. While in some instances, the person who commissioned the monument may have provided the mason with a copy of the text to be engraved, more often the text was chosen from stock phrases contained in a catalogue or phrase book kept at the workshop.⁵⁰ Some of the alleged criteria for distinguishing Montanist from non-Montanist inscriptions, therefore, may be a reflection of the workshop as much as (if not more than) the customers. Recent scholarship has made significant progress in identifying different workshops and sculptors. Arguments have also been advanced for the existence of Montanist workshops catering to an exclusively Montanist clientele.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See *ad* 9.

⁵⁰ See *ad* 24.

⁵¹ See *ad* 8.

Theoretically, at least, it is possible to attribute the products of the latter to Montanism, including those monuments which do not exhibit any of the other criteria mentioned above.

(ix) *Formulae*

The most commonly employed criterion for identifying inscriptions as Montanist is the presence of distinctive formulae. The "Christians for Christians" formula, for example, is frequently considered Montanist because of its open profession of Christianity and all epitaphs containing this formula deemed Montanist.⁵² Similarly, although not quite as revealing of Christianity as the Xp.-Xp. formula, the so-called "Eumeneian formula" has also been linked with Montanism,⁵³ as has a somewhat later sepulchral curse admonishing the readers of particular tombstones not to violate the tomb.⁵⁴

(x) *Date*

A criterion affecting many of the other criteria by which inscriptions may be classified as Montanist is date. For example, arguments based on the presence of terminology or symbols considered anachronistic for mainstream Christianity at the time the monuments which contain such terminology or symbols were produced need to be supported by an accurate dating of these monuments.

Structure of corpus

This corpus is divided into six chronological divisions. Part I (c.165-179) deals with the limited surviving material from the beginning of the Montanist movement until the death of the last of the original prophets. Part II (c.180-224) deals with more extensive epigraphic data from the next half century of the movement's existence. Here, as in the other parts, inscriptions are included even if the range of their likely date extends beyond that of the part in which they are discussed. Part III (c.225-274) covers the Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions during a fifty-year period which saw a marked increase in the open profession of Christianity in Phrygia, including the earliest use of the Xp.-Xp. formula in the Upper Tembris Valley. Part IV (c.275-313) treats the comparatively numerous epigraphic remnants from the last quarter of the third century until the time when the document misleadingly designated the

"edict of Milan" (c.313) granted Christians in the East the same tolerance which Christians in the West had enjoyed under Constantine at least since 306. Part V (c.314-395) covers the period when "open profession" of Christianity, on the whole, no longer had the problems associated with it that it had had in the pre-Constantinian era. Part VI (c.395-600) contains all the later Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions, some of which are impossible to date precisely.

An introduction to each part surveys the history of Montanism during the period under consideration and describes, in general terms, the epigraphic data related to Montanism which has survived from that period. Inscriptions, or testimonia, are discussed in separate entries, each of which is a self-contained unit within each of the six main parts of this corpus. Sometimes an entry will discuss more than one inscription. Supplementary inscriptions bear the same number as the entry but are distinguished from the primary inscription by the addition of appropriate superscript numerals (e.g., 14²). The standard format of the entries is set out on p. xix above.

Each part is subdivided geographically, commencing with Phrygia and extending to other regions where Montanist, or allegedly Montanist, inscriptions have been found or for which testimonia provide relevant information. Within Phrygia, Pepouza is listed first even though its location has not yet been identified. Other ancient Phrygian cities are listed in the likely order of the spread of Montanism from Pepouza. Within each geographic subsection, inscriptions are discussed in chronological order. Where the inscription itself is undatable, the approximate date is reported by means of a Roman numeral to indicate the century with a superscript Arabic numeral to denote the likely quarter of that century (e.g., IV⁴). Inscriptions of approximately the same date are listed according to type (e.g., doorstones; panel-steles; funerary altars [*bomoi*]; and sarcophagi).

Transcription

The texts of the inscriptions in this corpus are based on the most recent, or best, previously published text of each inscription, adjusted where necessary for the sake of clarity or consistency in respect of capitalization, punctuation, or accents. Phrygian names engraved in Greek letters are transcribed without breathing or accent. My own suggested improvements over the best earlier edition are incorporated into the texts published below. Possible alternative restorations are suggested and discussed in the commentaries. Variant readings, if any, are listed as part of the relevant entry. Minor variations, however, have only been noted when these affect meaning. For example, as earlier this century epigraphers

⁵² See pp. 147-150 below.

⁵³ See pp. 144-147 below.

⁵⁴ See p. 357 below.

frequently did not print the *iota subscript*, did not mark ligatures, and often provided only minimal punctuation, the absence of any of these in earlier texts is usually not specified. Similarly, the absence of line divisions is noted normally only in respect of editions and, when significant, in republications. On the other hand, failure to mark partially missing or illegible letters (another common earlier practice) is noted as it may affect the reading of the text. Dependence of later epigraphers on earlier scholarship is indicated in respect of variant readings by recording in parentheses the scholars who adopt the particular edition or republication listed immediately before the parentheses. In indisputably Christian texts, I have transcribed Θεός with a capital *theta*.

Line drawings/facsimiles and photographs

Completely new line drawings/facsimiles, prepared especially for this corpus, attempt to reconstruct each stone and inscription as it was originally crafted. These line drawings/facsimiles are based upon my own examination of the stones and/or all the available photographs. In the new line drawings/facsimiles, missing or partially illegible letters are drawn with dotted rather than solid lines. Where appropriate, different letter shapes (e.g., quadratic *sigmas*; *upsilons* with little or no tails; "bull's horn" *omegas*) and letters carved in ligature with other letters, as well as engravers' mistakes such as dittography, are pointed out in the description of the stone which precedes the text of the inscription in each entry, enabling the non-specialist to identify these features easily in the line drawings and photographs. If I have not seen the inscription and there are no photographs of the inscription, a previously published facsimile of the majuscule text is included in the relevant entry. New or previously unpublished photographs are provided for some of the inscriptions. Whenever possible, photographs have also been included of the other inscriptions—enabling the reader to check both the line drawings/facsimiles and the restored text. All photographs known to me are listed in the relevant entry.

Translations, transliterations, and commentaries

In many instances, I supply the first published English translation of the inscription. Names written in Greek, even those of Latin origin, have normally been transliterated according to Greek spelling. Accordingly, whenever the name Montanus appears in inscriptions, it is transliterated Montanos. Similarly, a name such as Μάρκος Ιούλιος Εὐγένιος is transliterated as Markos Ioulios Eugenios instead of Marcus Julius Eugenius. For the sake of clarity, however, names such as Σεβήρος and Οὐάλης are

given as Severos and Valens rather than as Seberos and Ouales. English translations of the inscriptions by other scholars are noted in the bibliographic references simply by the designation "with trans." Translations in languages other than English are specified. A translation in English is only specified if lack of such specificity would cause confusion. Bibliographical references to the most relevant scholarship published before December 1996 are incorporated into the entries. The commentary on each text is intended to clarify technical aspects and to discuss the significance of the text for understanding the nature and history of Montanism.

Part I

**Testimonia to
Montanist
Inscriptions**

***c.*165-179 C.E.**

Introduction

Around 165, a new prophetic movement, eventually to be known as Montanism, began to attract a significant number of adherents from among the Christians of West-Central Asia Minor. Originally described as the "New Prophecy" by its supporters (Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.4; cf. Tert., *res.* 63.9), it was denounced as the "heresy of the Phrygians" (κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσιν) by its opponents (e.g., Anon., *ap.* Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.1). Consequently, "Cataphrygians" (οἱ κατὰ Φρύγας; cf. Latin *cataphrygas*) or simply "Phrygians" became a common term by which opponents referred to members of the movement.¹ Montanist groups were also named after local leaders (e.g., Miltiades; see *ibid.*, 5.16.3; Quintilla; see Epiph., *haer.* 48.14.3), specific geographic locations (e.g., Pepouza; see *ibid.*, 48.14.1-6), or alleged peculiar practices (see *ibid.*, 48.14.3; 49.2.6). The term "Montanists" does not appear until IV (e.g., in Cyr. H., *catech.* 16.8: τοὺς Μοντανούς).

Montanus

Not much is known about Montanus, the traditional founder. His name is one of those *cognomina* originally derived from a geographic feature,² but it is pointless to speculate about whether a particular mountainous region inspired his name. Nor is it possible to judge whether Montanus had Roman status as well as a Latin name. The name itself, in both its masculine and feminine forms, was reasonably common.³

Jerome's description of Montanus as "castrated and emasculated" (*abscisum et semivirum* [*ep.* 41.4]) has suggested to some that, before his conversion to Christianity, Montanus may have been a priest of Cybele.⁴

¹ A. Zisteren (1892: 475-482).

² See I. Kajanto (1963: 61; 1982: 309).

³ See *ad* 77 and cf. 21.

⁴ For example, R.A. Knox (1949: 28); W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 218-219, 221; 1988b: 27); A.T. Kraabel (1968: 152).

Jerome's view that Montanus was a eunuch, however, is not supported by any earlier evidence but, even if Montanus had been a eunuch, this, by itself, would not necessarily identify him as an ex-priest of the Great Mother. Not all eunuchs living in Asia Minor at this time were devotees of Cybele. Melito of Sardis, for example, was remembered as "the eunuch who had lived completely in the Holy Spirit" (Polycr., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.24.5) without the implication that he was, or had been, a pagan priest. Melito may not even have been a eunuch physically, as the term could have been used figuratively to emphasize his ascetic lifestyle. The Phrygian origin of both the cults of Cybele and Montanism, as well as the similarity between some alleged (especially late) Montanist practices and practices associated with the worship of Cybele or Apollo, have led to speculation about possible influences of native Phrygian religion on Montanism,⁵ but any such influences must have been late.⁶ There is total silence about any connection between Montanus (and/or Montanism) and Phrygian cults in sources prior to IV³. Later sources are derivative and unreliable.

Ardabau

Montanus is said to have commenced his prophesying in a village called Ardabau in "Phrygian Mysia" (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.7) but this place has not been identified.⁷ Attempts at locating Ardabau in N.W. Phrygia,⁸ at Kallataba, S.E. of Philadelphia, in Lydia,⁹ or at Ortaköy (ancient Atyochorion?) in West-Central Phrygia,¹⁰ have not been convincing. Similarly, suggestions that "Ardabau" was a metaphorical reference rather than the actual name of the place¹¹ must be dismissed as too fanciful. How long Montanus was at Ardabau is not recorded.

⁵ For example, see A. Neander (1828: 581); B.W. Goree (1980: 104, 120-122); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 35-37, 208-218, 276, 296-298; A. Dauntton-Fear (1982: esp. 650); Frend (1988b: 34); and S. Elm (1994: 131, 134-136). See also G. Freeman (1950: 297-316) and Kraabel (1968: 149-154).

⁶ See W. Schepeleyn (1929: 79-130, esp. 129).

⁷ See P. de Labriolle (1924: cols. 1596-1597); S. Mitchell (1984: 226-227); and *TIB* 7 [1990]: 190.

⁸ Ramsay "Monuments V" [1889]: 398.

⁹ *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 573 n.3; cf. T. Barns (1903: 58) and Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 324. On the location of Kallataba, see J.G.C. Anderson (1898: 86-89).

¹⁰ Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 38-49. On the location of Atyochorion, see L. Robert (1962: 357-361).

¹¹ E. Preuschen (1900: 265-266); cf. H. Kraft (1955: 260-262; 1986: 236) and C. Trevett (1996: 21-26) who thinks it worth considering whether "Ardabau," like "Jerusalem," was an alternative symbolic name for Pepouza and Tymion.

Maximilla and Priscilla

Montanus' prophetic role was soon overshadowed by his role as the organizer of the fledgling movement.¹² Maximilla and Priscilla, the movement's co-founders,¹³ provided the primary prophetic content. Even some of the oracles traditionally ascribed to Montanus are more likely to have been uttered by one of the prophetesses.¹⁴ According to fragments of the anti-Montanist polemic written in II⁴ by the Anonymous and preserved in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Maximilla and Priscilla were pawns of the devil, speaking in "a frenzied manner, unsuitably and abnormally" (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.9). Their followers, however, were adamant that Maximilla and Priscilla were the legitimate, direct "descendants" of authentic Christian prophet[esse]s such as Ammia and Quadratus. They argued that, via Philip's daughters,¹⁵ they were able to trace the prophetic succession of the Montanist prophet[esse]s all the way back to Agabus (ibid., 5.17.2-4).

Maximilla and Priscilla, like Montanus, had Latin names but nothing is known of their family background. Perhaps they were descendants of Roman citizens resident in Central Phrygia or its vicinity,¹⁶ but this is by no means certain. If Apollonius (the early third-century opponent whose polemic provides Eusebius with a second major early source for his treatment of Montanism) is to be believed, these first prophetesses of the movement were married but "left their husbands the moment they were filled with the spirit" (Apollon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.18.3).

Opposition

Montanism soon attracted fierce opposition from local clergy, presumably as early as during Montanus' time at Ardabau (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.8). According to the Anonymous, "the faithful in Asia" met "many times and in many places" in order to discuss the New Prophecy (ibid., 5.16.10). Ultimately, they declared "the recent sayings profane, rejected the heresy, thrust them (i.e., the Montanist prophets) out of the Church and excluded them from the fellowship" (ibid.). That at least one of these "gatherings" was a formal synod presided over by Apolli-

¹² See Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 249-254.

¹³ For the view that Maximilla and Priscilla, rather than Montanus, should be considered the actual founders of Montanism, see A. Jensen (1992: 268-352 [esp. 272-274, 336-337], 428; 1993: 146-150); see also pp. 346-347 below. This view is rejected as "unproven" by Trevett (1996: 160-162).

¹⁴ For example, Tert., *fug.* 9.4b (cf. id., *anim.* 55.5) = R.E. Heine (1989b: 7 no. 14).

¹⁵ On whom, see *ad* 83.

¹⁶ As suggested by F.C. Klawiter (1975: 87 and n.3).

narius, bishop of Hierapolis, as alleged by the very late and unreliable *Synodicon Vetus*,¹⁷ is possible but not certain (*Synod. Vet.* 5).¹⁸

The New Prophecy established its "headquarters" at or near the small neighboring Phrygian villages of Pepouza and Tymion (Apollon., *ap. Eus.*, 5.18.2). These villages have not yet been located, although numerous suggestions have been made.¹⁹ From there Montanism spread to different parts of Phrygia and to various other provinces in Asia Minor. It also spread rapidly to places elsewhere in the Roman Empire with which Asiatics had close contact. Reports about Montanism (if not the movement itself) appear to have reached Lyons in Gaul (and Rome) by the mid-170s (*Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.3.4). Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Develtum in Thrace, testifies to an attempted exorcism of Priscilla by "the blessed Sotas in Anchialus" (ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ [*ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.19.3]). If the information is accurate, Priscilla may have visited Thrace, perhaps at the request of some local Christians sympathetic to the Montanist movement. But, as with much of the early fragmentary data about Montanism, it is impossible to be certain: ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ (attested in all manuscripts) should perhaps read τοῦ Ἀγχιαλοῦ, the mistake having been made as early as Eusebius. That there was an attempt at casting out Priscilla's "demon" by Sotas (whether in Thrace or in Phrygia) need not be doubted. A similar frustrated attempt was made to exorcise Maximilla. Apart from three or four extant oracles, we learn nothing else about Priscilla from the early sources.

A little more information is provided about Montanus and Maximilla than about Priscilla by early anti-Montanist writers. Montanus, for example, is credited with teaching the dissolution of marriages, legislating fasts, naming Pepouza and Tymion "Jerusalem," wanting people from everywhere to gather there, appointing collectors of money, contriving the acceptance of bribes under the guise of "offerings" and paying salaries to those who proclaimed his message (Apollon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.18.2). As already noted, four of Montanus' genuine oracles as well as some dubia have survived. Also, it is likely that some of the teaching attributed in general terms to the "Cataphrygians" by a late second- or early third-century source used by Epiphanius (*haer.* 48.1.3-48.13.8) preserves the general thrust of Montanus' teaching.

¹⁷ Alternatively known as the *Libellus Synodicus*; see J. Duffy and J. Parker (1979: xiii).

¹⁸ See C.J. Hefele (1907: 127); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 10-18, 582; J.A. Fischer (1974: 250-253; 1977: 242); E. Junod (1988: 163-180).

¹⁹ See pp. 27-28, 153-154, and 487-488 below.

The Anonymous records that an attempt was also made to exorcise Maximilla by two Phrygian bishops: Zotikos of Koumana (Komana)²⁰ and Julian of Apameia (*ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.17). As with the attempt to drive the demon out of Priscilla, it was frustrated by the efforts of Montanist sympathizers (*ibid.*).

Theodotus

The Anonymous also reports the gossip (φήμη) that both Montanus and Maximilla, on separate occasions, hanged themselves (*ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.13) and that Theodotus, the movement's first ἐπίτροπος, "died miserably," having been thrown down from "heaven" (οὐρανοῦς) during a fateful episode of ecstatic levitation (*ibid.*, 5.16.14). The Anonymous has some doubts about the veracity of these rumors, concluding: "Perhaps Montanus and Theodotus and the woman mentioned earlier died like this, but perhaps they did not" (*ibid.*, 5.16.15). Despite his disclaimer, the Anonymous passed on this piece of gossip, as it added to the general impression of Montanism as a pseudo-prophetic (rather than an authentic new) movement (*ibid.*, 5.16.4). Theodotus may have been the first κοινωνός²¹ or even the first patriarch²² of the movement.

Themiso

Apart from Theodotus, Themiso is the only other Montanist leader, contemporary with the original trio, whose name we know. He, and/or his associates, frustrated the attempted exorcism of Maximilla mentioned above (*ibid.*, 5.16.17). Themiso probably outlived the three founders of Montanism, as Apollonius appears to mention him in the context of a "second-generation" group of Montanist prophet[esse]s and martyrs (*ibid.*, 5.18.4-11).²³ However, as we are dependent on the random selection of quotations from Apollonius by Eusebius, the impression we gain from Eusebius' summary may not have been what Apollonius himself intended to convey. Themiso, also, may have been at least an early κοινωνός of the movement.²⁴

²⁰ That is, Konana, modern Gönen (*TIB* 7 [1990]: 311); see *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 482 and Strobel (*Das Heilige Land* [1980]: 54, 61). Contrast A.C. McGiffert (1890: 233 n.20) who erroneously identifies it with a village in Pamphylia. For the possible existence of Montanists in Pamphylia during III, see p. 141 below.

²¹ On which, see *ad* 80.

²² On which, see *ad* 82.

²³ See pp. 51-53 below.

²⁴ See Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 267-268.

The end of an era

One of Maximilla's oracles declares: "After me there will no longer be a prophet, but the consummation" (συντέλεια [ap. Epiph., *haer.* 48.2.4]). Epiphanius' unidentified source took this to prove that all Montanist prophecy was false on two counts. Firstly, if the *original* Montanist prophecy concluded with Maximilla, it must have been temporary and, as a non-permanent form of prophecy, could not have been apostolic or effective. Secondly, *later* Montanist prophecy was pseudo-prophecy because, even according to Maximilla's own words, there would be no genuine prophet[esse]s after her (ibid., 48.2.4). That these two arguments are mutually contradictory does not seem to have bothered either Epiphanius or his source. Whatever the specific futuristic intention of this oracle may have been, there is little doubt that Maximilla is speaking as the last of the Montanist prophet[esse]s.²⁵ The Anonymous probably also alludes to the same oracle, or to an expanded version of it, when, in order to illustrate the falsehood of Maximilla's predictions, he states that since Maximilla's death there have been thirteen years of universal peace—politically as well as for Christians (Anon., ap. Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.18-19).

The Anonymous' premature denial of the fulfillment of Maximilla's predictions could only have been made before the outbreak of the civil wars following the death of Commodus. Although it is impossible to find thirteen years of complete civil and religious peace in the history of the Empire during II, the quietest period probably was during Commodus' reign (17 March 180-31 December 192). There were few major wars and, while there were some local persecutions of Christians during his reign (e.g., *M. Scill.*; Tert., *Scap.*, 3.4, 5.1; Eus., *h.e.* 5.21), the effects of these do not appear to have been widespread (see Iren., *haer.* 4.30.3; cf. Eus., *h.e.* 5.21). Perhaps the Anonymous wasn't aware of (some of?) these persecutions, but that, even if he had been, he was only thinking of full-scale wars and major outbreaks of persecution is apparent from his own admission that Asia had produced both Montanist martyrs and martyrs belonging to the official church²⁶ in the preceding years (ap.

²⁵ M. Walsh (1986: 133) states that Maximilla was the *first* of the Montanist prophets to die, but he gives no evidence for this view. C. Trevett (1996: 13, 30-31) considers it possible that Maximilla was not the last survivor of the original trio, but her view is based in part on the (in my opinion, incorrect) identification of the unnamed prophetess mentioned by Apollonius (see p. 51 below) with Priscilla.

²⁶ Despite the possible anachronism, I have often used the term "official church" to refer to mainstream Christianity, thus avoiding problems inherent in terms such as "orthodox church" (implying that Montanism was invariably heterodox) or "catholic church" (which is, however, appropriate in many instances).

Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.20-22). Consequently, the view that the Anonymous wrote his treatise towards the end of Commodus' reign, or very shortly after it,²⁷ is probably correct. Certainly the treatise could not have been written after the early part of 193. Hence Maximilla must have died c.178/9. By 179 the first phase of Montanism was over.

Early Montanism

If Montanism was not, or at least was not originally, a form of Christianity influenced by Phrygian cultic religion, how should the first phase of the movement be defined? There is no consensus about this question. For example, early Montanism has been described both as an *anti-Gnostic* phenomenon²⁸ and as a type of Gnosticism.²⁹ Early Montanism has also been characterized, inter alia, as an attempt to preserve (or restore) the primitive "charismatic" nature of Christian ministry,³⁰ as a reaction to the official church's compromise with secular society³¹ or as a reaction to the authority and teachings of the official church itself,³² especially as the patriarchalization of mainstream Christianity differed from the way in which Montanism empowered women.³³ The movement has also been defined as a peculiar form of Jewish Christianity;³⁴ an exaggerated expression of apocalyptic Christianity,³⁵ influenced especially by Johannine literature;³⁶ a millenarian movement;³⁷ a product of the socio-religious crisis resulting from the persecution of the church;³⁸ an expression of rural, rather than urban, Christianity,³⁹ and a classic exam-

²⁷ De Labriolle (1906: 97-145; 1913a: 580-581); G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (1954:13).

²⁸ J. G. Davies (1955: 90-94).

²⁹ K. Froehlich (1973: 91-111).

³⁰ A. Hilgenfeld (1850: 115-136); A. Ritschl (1850: esp. 516-523); T.M. Lindsay (1903: 236-242); W.G. Murdoch (1946: 198-200); H. Koester (1965: 316); M.F.G. Parmentier (1976: 16-19); M.J. Kreidler (1989: 229-234).

³¹ F.C. Baur (1851: 568); J. De Soyres (1878: 107); G.N. Bonwetsch (1881: esp. 105, 123-125); A. [von] Harnack (1883: 774-777); R.M. Grant (1971: 158-159).

³² J.E. Renan (1882: 208-209, 213-217); de Labriolle (1913a: esp. 136, 566-568).

³³ E.C. Huber (1985: 1, 7-8, 20-21, 40-64, 123-139); S.E. McGinn-Mohrer (1989: 276-329, esp. 324-329); Jensen (1992: 268-362); and Elm (1994: 131-138).

³⁴ F.C.A. Schwegler (1841: esp. 93-94, 280-281); J. Massyngberde Ford (1966: 145-158).

³⁵ Schepelern (1929: 159-164); K. Aland (1955: 109-116); cf. id. (1960b: 105-148).

³⁶ H. von Campenhausen (1969: 47-48); Heine (1989a: 95-100).

³⁷ N. Cohn (1970: 25-26); T.D. Barnes (1971: 131); D.H. Williams (1989: 331-351).

³⁸ Klawiter (1975: esp. 303).

³⁹ Frend (1979: 35-37); cf. id. (1988b: 32-33).

ple of the enthusiastic sect type of the church destined to reappear throughout history.⁴⁰

There is probably more than a little truth in most, if not all, of these characterizations of Montanism. However, not one of these portrayals of the movement, by itself, does justice to the complexity of the religious, cultural, socio-political and socio-economic factors which gave rise to Montanus' message and the subsequent history of the New Prophecy. Most modern interpretations of the origins and nature of Montanism are multifaceted, incorporating a variety of factors.⁴¹ In evaluating the relative importance of these factors, the basic self-understanding of the movement as a prophetic renewal movement informed by the Holy Spirit must not be overlooked.⁴² It is clear from our limited sources that Montanus and his followers saw themselves as establishing an innovative *prophetic* movement intent on bringing the rest of Christianity into line with what they believed to be the ultimate ethical revelation of the Holy Spirit. Montanus was deemed to be the first, and most important, of the new prophets through whom the Spirit declared what, until that time, Christians had been unable, or unwilling, to receive. This new revelation did not produce new doctrine, but it did usher in a new age in which "spiritual Christians" would finally be able to attain the "spiritual lifestyle" which, they believed, God had intended for humanity from the beginning.⁴³

Inscriptions and testimonia

There are no extant Montanist inscriptions from the first phase of the movement's existence. This is hardly surprising as, perhaps apart from in Rome, no epigraphic material dated securely before 179 has been identified, indisputably, as Christian.⁴⁴ For example, the well-known *rotasator* word square discovered, among other places at Pompeii (therefore to be dated pre-79)⁴⁵ and at Mamucium (Manchester, England) in a late

⁴⁰ P. Schaff (1883: 241-247); J.S. Whale (1933/34: 496-500); Knox (1949: 26-29).

⁴¹ E.g., Klawiter (1975); Goree (1980); Frend (1988b); McGinn-Mohrer (1989); and Elm (1994); Trevett (1996).

⁴² Kraft (1955: 249-271); J.L. Ash (1976: 227-252); D.F. Wright (1976: 22); D.E. Aune (1983: esp. 313); D.E. Groh (1985: 73-95); R. Lane Fox (1987: 405-409); Frend (1988b: esp. 26).

⁴³ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 569-573; id. (1988: 138-141).

⁴⁴ See also Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 1-2; P.C. Finney (1994: 99-103); and G.F. Snyder (1996: 264).

⁴⁵ M. Della Corte (1936: 397-400); cf. id. (1929: 449 no. 112 [fig. 2]) and id. (1939: 263 no. 139).

second-century sand pit⁴⁶ may be Mithraic in origin.⁴⁷ Christian use of the word square is assured,⁴⁸ e.g., on a late papyrus,⁴⁹ but has not been established with certainty before c.500.⁵⁰

Similarly, early occurrences of symbols which are used by later Christians with undoubtedly Christian meaning cannot always be taken as indicators of first- or second-century Christianity, or even, in many instances, of third-century Christianity.⁵¹ Early inscriptions with biblical allusions may be Jewish rather than Christian.⁵² Inscriptions with "Christian sentiments" such as the phrase *in pace*⁵³ may be non-Christian, as may be those employing the word *fidelis*.⁵⁴

An epitaph from Çeltikçi near Gediz (ancient Kadoi), commissioned by Poplis Silikis Olpianos [P. Silicius Ulpianus] in 179/80 for his foster brother Eutyches,⁵⁵ is probably the earliest dated Christian monument from Asia Minor,⁵⁶ as it is decorated with a clearly visible *panis quadratus*⁵⁷ and a bunch of grapes. A similar monument from the same workshop,⁵⁸ dated 157/8 commemorating a Beroneikianos,⁵⁹ may also be Christian,⁶⁰ but the symbolism is not as distinctive as that on Eutyches' tombstone.

Although no inscriptions mentioning Montanus, Maximilla, Priscilla, Theodotus, Themiso or any early adherent of the New Prophecy from Phrygia or elsewhere have survived, there are some interesting literary

⁴⁶ M.W.C. Hassall and R.S.O. Tomlin (1979: 353 no. 34 [Mamucium, SJ 833977] with photograph [pl. 20B]); cf. *AE* 1979 [1982]: 387; C. Thomas (1981: 101-102 [pl. I]) and *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 138 no. 35.

⁴⁷ W.O. Moeller (1973); contrast J.M. Reynolds (1976: 195-196).

⁴⁸ Aland (1988: 9-23).

⁴⁹ *P. Oxy.* Inv. 39 5B. 125/A; see A. Alcock (1982: 97-103 [pl.]); cf. *New Docs* 3 [1983]: 118.

⁵⁰ D. Fishwick (1964: 39-53); E. Dinkler (1967a: 160-173); H. Hofmann (1978: 478-566); W. Baines (1987: 469-476); P. Lampe (1989: 2-3).

⁵¹ Snyder *Ante Pacem*, 27-29, 138, 165; Lampe (1989: 2-3).

⁵² E.g., *CIL* 4, suppl. 2 [1909]: 4976 = *CIJ* 1 [1975]: 567 (Pompeii).

⁵³ For a list of Roman inscriptions with the phrase *in pace*, see *CIL* 6, 7 fasc. 4 [1975]: pp. 4429-4430.

⁵⁴ For a list of Roman inscriptions with the word *fidelis*, see *CIL* 6, 7 fasc. 2 [1975]: p. 2459.

⁵⁵ Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 33-35 no. 2 with photograph; see also Mitchell (1993: 38 and n.227).

⁵⁶ Mitchell (1980: 202).

⁵⁷ See *ad* 3.

⁵⁸ Lochman "Reliefs Anatoliens" [1991]: 18 *ad* no. 1.

⁵⁹ Benoît *Mars* [1959]: 151 no. 32 with photograph.

⁶⁰ Mitchell (1993: 38 and n.227).

testimonia (already referred to above in the General Introduction) which indicate that, at least, Mommsen and the two original prebiterenses were haunted with a literary inscription. These testimonia are the first sources to be dealt with in this collection of Mommsen inscriptions and testimonia (1-2).

Testimonia

Phrygia

Papouza

Maps 12.F4, G3, G4, J6 (S.W. Phrygia). Possible locations only. The site of Papouza has not yet been identified. On the basis of Herodotus (*Cymodotum* 807.8) it appears that Papouza must have been situated in an area delineated by Philadelphia (Alajehir, 8.05), Apameia (Dinar, 8.G7), Temnoskirtus (Ayak, 8.C7, cf. 8.B3, 12.B3), and Maraspolis (Pamukkale, 8.E8, cf. 8.H1); see S. Mitchell (1984: 226). Within these broad parameters, the most popular suggested location for Papouza, and its neighboring town Tynion, has been the northern part of the Çalisan, i.e., that part of the plain S.W. of the bend in the Meander (ancient Maiandros, modern BBÜK-menderes; 12.H4). The Turkish villages of Uçakça (12.G4) and Bekilli (12.G5), in particular, have been suggested as the sites of Papouza and Tynion respectively, or in reverse order; see pp. 153-154 below. L. Zgusta (1984: 483 and map 38) places Papouza in this general area, but closer to the Lydian border. A. Erskel (Das heilige Land [1980]: 128-129) has argued for locations further N, or N.E. in the Plain of Kütahya, perhaps at Buğdaşı (12.F4) and Dumanlı (12.F4), the latter already having been suggested for Tynion by W.M. Ramsay (CB 2 [1897]: p. 375), but, more likely, at other ancient sites in this plain, e.g., Seidi (12.G4), also already suggested for Papouza by Ramsay (CB 3 [1895]: p. 243, cf. CB 2, p. 376 n.1) or Kızıldağ (12.G4). Elia Gilman, in an unpublished paper she kindly made avail-

from the *h.e.*, thus preserving John's original sixth-century text. This section of Ps.-Dionysius' chronicle includes some direct quotations from extant portions of the *h.e.*; see Nau (1897b: 455-493). However, it also contains summaries and other material; see A. D'yakonov (1903: 599-614, 818-835). It is indeed likely, therefore, that Ps.-Dionysius derived the details of his account of the fate of the bones of Montanus from John's *h.e.*, but the wording seems to militate against the account being a verbatim transcription; see also Gero, 522 n.4. In an earlier section (entry for year 2215 of the Abrahamic era; Chabot *Pseudo-Dionysianum* Ia [1927]: 130 with Latin trans. in id., *Pseudo-Dionysianum* Ib [1949]: 97) Ps.-Dionysius had already provided a brief summary of the origins of Montanism. Presumably, Ps.-Dionysius, in [p. 125] II.21-22 quoted above, is alluding to his source for this earlier part of the chronicle. That source may also have contained an apocryphal account of Montanus' alleged activities in the first century (sic) and almost certainly did contain an account of an earlier attempt at destroying the bones of Montanus and one of Montanus' associates named *Qr'tys*; see *ad 2*.

John of Asia

The *Ecclesiastical History* of John, bishop of Ephesos, also known as John of Asia (c.507-589), is a semi-autobiographical account of contemporary events, especially the events in which John himself participated. The most important of these was the lengthy campaign he conducted throughout Asia Minor, at the direction of Justinian I, aimed at converting non-Christians, Jews, and heretics. The surviving parts of the *h.e.* reveal that (even allowing for biased reporting) this campaign, which started in c.540, was extremely successful. For example, John is said to have baptized 70,000 persons in the neighborhood of Tralles alone (*h.e.* 3.36-37). Actual, or threatened, force appears to have aided the conversion process.

Ps.-Dionysius' account (as noted, perhaps based on John's own account) of the encounter with the Montanists during the time when John of Asia was in Phrygia is consistent with what we know about the way John conducted his campaign elsewhere. Consequently, it is not surprising to learn that John burned the bones of the founders of Montanism. What, at first, may seem surprising is that the bones had survived until John's time—especially if we have been influenced by the late second-century gossip, handed on by the Anonymous (*ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.16.13; see p. 21 above), that Montanus and Maximilla had committed suicide. If the founders of Montanism had committed suicide, it is unlikely that their bones would have been venerated. However, as the Anonymous himself admitted, this gossip need not be taken seriously. If it is not taken

seriously, then there is no theoretical reason why the followers of the Montanist prophets could not have preserved the earthly remains of the founders of the movement or, in time, even have constructed a shrine to honor them. In light of the extant evidence of examples of the veneration of the tombs of other prophet[esse]s at that time in the general region, including some with whom the Montanists claimed affinity or "prophetic succession," such as Philip's daughters (Polycr., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 3.31.3; cf. 5.24.2; see *ad 83*), it would have been most unusual if the burial place of the founders of Montanism had not been marked in some way. The bones *could* then, later, have been reinterred in a more elaborate reliquary and care taken that no harm was done to this visible link with the movement's founders. On the use of reliquaries in early Christianity, see B. McCane (1991: 235-246).

Montanist relics

There is no specific contemporary evidence stating that the remains of Montanus, Maximilla, Priscilla, or other Montanist leaders were preserved. Nor is there any reference indicating that the location of their graves was known. This absence of extant, early, literary references to the tombs of Montanist leaders, however, may simply be another instance of the highly selective preservation of data about Montanism. For example, a few years before c.200, in Rome, a debate was held between a presbyter named Gaius and a Montanist named Proklos. Selected extracts from the published account of this debate, preserved by Eusebius, reveal that a major point in the debate centered on whether the "trophies" (i.e., tombs) belonging to Montanism or those belonging to mainstream Christianity were superior. It appears that Proklos, in a crucial section unfortunately preserved only in part by Eusebius, referred to the tombs of the *founders* of the New Prophecy as well as to the tombs of the prophets and prophetesses who preceded them (*ap. Eus., h.e.* 3.31.4). Whatever Proklos said was countered by Gaius' claim (which is preserved by Eusebius) that the trophies of Peter and Paul, the *founders* of the Roman church, were superior; see Tabbernee (1996: 206-213). In the absence of hard data, any reconstruction of Proklos' speech must be speculative. It is at least significant that the thrust of the debate strongly suggests that he referred to the "trophies" of the Montanist leaders.

As with all discussions about relics, the issue of the genuineness of the bones must remain open. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether the *actual* bones of Montanus and his co-founders were preserved in the reliquary, there is no doubt that later generations of Montanists believed that the relics were genuine. There is no theoretical reason why this belief could not have been justified; see *ad 2*.

Pepouza

Ps.-Dionysius does not mention the town in which the bones were located, but, as Pepouza was the headquarters of Montanism, one would assume that the founders were buried there. Epiphanius, in IV, reports that Pepouza, despite being a desolate place, had become a sacred site for Montanist pilgrims who went there not merely because they believed that "the Jerusalem from above would descend there" but in order "to celebrate certain mysteries and to sanctify themselves" (Epiph., *haer.* 48.14.1). Epiphanius makes no specific reference to a Montanist shrine, but his description of Montanist practices at Pepouza is consistent with the view that the bones of Montanus and the prophetesses were kept and venerated there. This view is supported by the late evidence of Michael the Syrian (2) which, like the evidence supplied by Ps.-Dionysius, is most likely based on John of Ephesos. Michael specifically mentions Pepouza.

Montanus and the Paraclete

One of Montanus' oracles is quoted in slightly different forms by the anonymous author of the late fourth-century *Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox* and by the author of a work traditionally attributed to Didymus the Blind. The author of this later work appears to have used the *Dialogue* as one of his sources; see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 386-389 and pp. 354-355 below. In this particular oracle Montanus declares: "I am the Father and I am the Son and I am the Paraclete" (Εγώ εἰμι ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐγώ ὁ παράκλητος) [*Dial. Mont. et Orth.* (in G. Ficker [1905: 452 II.13-14]; cf. Mont., *fr. ap.* (Ps.-?)Didym., *Trin.* 3.41.1)] or "I am also the Father and the Son and the Spirit" (Εγώ εἰμι καὶ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα) [*Dial. Mont. et Orth.* (in Ficker, 454 I.20)] or "I am the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Εγώ εἰμι ὁ πατήρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα) [*ibid.*, 455 II.30-31]. R.E. Heine (1989b: 6-9 nos. 15-16) relegates this oracle to Montanus' "questionable oracles" (*ibid.*, 6-7; cf. *id.* [1987: 16-19]), but such classification is probably unwarranted. This specific oracle is no different in kind to other oracles in which Montanus employs language in the first person to support the claim that he is the mouthpiece of God; e.g., cf. *ap.* Epiph., *haer.* 48.11.1; 48.11.9 and cf. Maximilla's oracle: "I am Utterance and Spirit and Power" (ῥῆμά εἰμι καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις) [*ap.* Asterius Urbanus, *ap.* Anon., *ap.* Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.17].

As in the case of the preservation of other Montanist oracles, the "hostile witness" character of the sources obscures the original meaning of this oracle as only that part of the oracle is quoted which serves the polemic purposes of the anti-Montanist writers; see Tabbernee (1989a: 194-195). In this instance, the "self-commendation formula," which

normally preceded the oracle itself and authenticated it (see D.E. Aune [1983: 332-333]), is quoted by itself as evidence that Montanists were a type of Modalistic Monarchians who equated Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, led astray by the false teachings of Montanus' oracle (*Dial. Mont. et Orth.* [in Ficker, 452 I.13-455 I.31]; cf. (Ps.-?)Didym., *Trin.* 3.41.1). While it appears that one section of the Montanist community in Rome c.200 had Modalist leanings (Ps.-Tert., *haer.* 7.2), Montanists, as a whole, were not Modalistic Monarchians and there is no evidence that the earliest Montanists equated Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Tertullian, a prominent adherent of the New Prophecy at Carthage during IIIrd (see pp. 54-55 below), was vehemently opposed to any form of Modalistic Monarchianism, or "Patripassianism," as he called it (*Prax.* 1.5). Montanus, in uttering the words preserved by the *Dialogue* and by (Ps.-?)Didymus, need not have intended to convey that he believed in the hypostatic equation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As in his use of other self-commendation formulae, Montanus here probably merely claimed that he was the prophetic mouthpiece of the Trinity.

It is significant that not once does the "orthodox opponent" of the *Dialogue* suggest that Montanus equated himself with the godhead. Consequently, it is clear that the anonymous author of the *Dialogue* understood that the self-commendation formula was used by Montanus here in the traditional sense. What was at issue was the (alleged) equation of the Father with the Son and with the Holy Spirit/Paraclete, not the equation of Montanus with the Holy Spirit/Paraclete—even though he clearly understood Montanists believed Montanus to possess "the perfection of the Holy Spirit, that is the Paraclete" (e.g., *Dial. Mont. et Orth.* [in Ficker, 449 II.1-3; 451 II.6-7; 455 II.16-17; 455 II.33-34]). Similarly, (Ps.-?)Didymus the Blind also does not charge Montanus with equating himself with the Holy Spirit, but argues against the Montanists' alleged Modalistic Monarchian tendencies (*Trin.* 2.15; 3.18; 3.23; 3.38; 3.41.1) and against the claim that Montanus possessed the Holy Spirit in an unprecedented manner (*ibid.*, 3.41.2-3). Other fourth-century opponents of Montanism, however, were not at all reluctant to charge that Montanus had "the audacity to say that he himself was the Holy Spirit" (Cyr. H., *catech.* 16.8; cf. Ambrosiast. *1 Thess.* 5.22; Bas., *ep.* 188.1). That this charge became a commonplace in the anti-Montanist tradition is clear from Ps.-Dionysius' eighth-century account ([p. 125] II.24-25); cf. 2.

Qr'tys

An intriguing feature of Ps.-Dionysius' account is the mention of the bones of another person who, in Syriac, is referred to as Qr'tys (i.e., Qrytys; see *ad* 2). Assemani (88) vocalized the Syriac as Caratae, i.e.,

"of Carata." Nau, in his translation published in de Labriolle (1913b: 238), tentatively suggested "Crâti." Chabot (*Michel le Syrien* II [1901]: 271 left-hand column and 271 n.1) used "Crites." Hespel (94) gives "Crotus." If any of these options is accurate, the person named was an otherwise unknown Montanist.

Assemani (88 n.1) suggested that the Syriac may denote Quintilla, the later Montanist prophetess mentioned by Epiphanius (*haer.* 49.1.1-2). This is an attractive suggestion. Quintilla was an extremely prominent Montanist leader at Pepouza. According to Epiphanius, Montanists at Pepouza (perhaps a subgroup) were alternatively called "Quintillians" or "Pepouzians" (*ibid.*). Therefore, it is not inconceivable that Quintilla's bones were interred with, or near, the bones of Montanus and the original prophetesses. The main difficulty with this theory is that deformation of the Greek Κυντιλλα to the Syriac *Qr'tys* is difficult to imagine.

A more plausible deformation is suggested by Gero (525 and n.2) and adopted by Trevett (35-36): i.e., from Κοδράτος [= Quadratus] to *Qr'tys* via *Qwdrtws* [= Syriac for Κοδράτος in Eus., *h.e.* 5.17.2 (W. Wright and N. McLean [1898: 294 l.1]). According to the Anonymous, the Montanists claimed that Maximilla and Priscilla had received the prophetic *charisma* by succession after Quadratus and a prophetess named Ammia (*ap.* Eus., *h.e.* 5.17.4; cf. 5.17.3 where Quadratus is listed last). This Quadratus, not to be confused with either the Apologist (Eus., *h.e.* 4.3.1-2) or the bishop of Athens (Hier., *vir. ill.* 19; *ep.* 70.4) who bore the same name (see R.M. Grant [1977: 177-183]), was a Christian prophet who resided in Asia Minor. Eusebius dated him to the reign of Trajan (98-117), but, as Grant (1977: 178-179) has shown, this was purely erroneous guesswork. There is no valid argument against dating Quadratus immediately before or even contemporary with Montanus.

Unfortunately, we don't know the precise location in Asia Minor where Quadratus was operative. References to Philadelphia in Anon., *ap.* Eus. *h.e.* 5.17.3-4, strictly speaking, apply to Ammia not to Quadratus. But as the daughters of Philip, who are also mentioned (*ibid.*, 5.17.3), were buried at Hierapolis (see Polycr., *ap.* Eus., *h.e.* 3.31.3; 5.24.2), Quadratus may have lived, and died, in the same general region; see also Trevett, 33-35. If so, it is possible, although by no means certain, that the tomb of the Montanist prophet[esse]s and that of Quadratus may have been in the vicinity of each other—either from the beginning or through some later transfer of relics. As we shall see (*ad* 2), it is likely that *Qr'tys* was a person much more closely associated with Montanus than either Quadratus or Quintilla.

Inscription

Ps.-Dionysius makes no specific reference to an inscription, but as the bones of Montanus and the others were able to be located and identified, one assumes that their tomb or reliquary was clearly labeled. That this, indeed, was so is apparent from the later account of Michael the Syrian (2).

2. The tomb of Montanus and the women

Mich. Syr., *chron.* 9.33 (entry not dated, but inserted between entries dated by 27th and 29th year of Justinian, i.e., 554/5 and 556/7 C.E.)

XII⁴

Ed. pr. — Chabot *Michel le Syrien* IV [1910]: 323-325 = photographic reproduction of only extant Syriac ms., dated 1909 (= 1598 C.E.), conserved in the Jacobite church of SS. Peter and Paul at Urfa (ancient Edessa). (Initial *zayin*, rather than *yôd*, in the word "Jerusalem" retained in the Syriac text reprinted below at [p. 323] l.5, but the interlinear *nûn*, not originally written by the copyist in the spelling of "Montanus," inserted on the case line at [p. 324] l.40.) French trans. of *ed. pr.* in *id.*, *Michel le Syrien* II [1901]: 269-271. Literal English trans. of *ed. pr.*, printed below, by R.A. Taylor.

[p. 323]

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ܟܪܬܝܫ ܕܩܪܬܝܫ ܕܩܪܬܝܫ

[p. 324]

ܟܪܬܝܫ ܕܩܪܬܝܫ 1
ܟܪܬܝܫ ܕܩܪܬܝܫ ܕܩܪܬܝܫ
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5 אֲנִי חֲסִידֵיךָ יְהוֹשֻעַ.
 חֲבִיבִיךָ חֲלֵלִי, מִלֵּל
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 שֶׁנִּשְׁפָּטָהּ שֶׁנִּשְׁפָּטָהּ חֲבִיבִיךָ
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35 אֲנִי חֲסִידֵיךָ יְהוֹשֻעַ, מִלֵּל
 חֲבִיבִיךָ חֲלֵלִי, מִלֵּל
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 חֲבִיבִיךָ חֲבִיבִיךָ חֲבִיבִיךָ

[p. 325]

[p. 323]

- 1 In the region of Phrygia there is a town which is called Pepouza
 in which the Montanists used to have a bishop and clergy. They
 5 called it "Jerusalem," and | they were killing Christians in that
 place. When John of Asia came, he burned up

[p. 324]

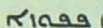
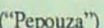
- 1 | their assembly-place with fire by commandment of the king.
 Now there was found in the building a large shrine of marble
 5 which was sealed with lead | and girded with plates of iron.
 There was written upon it, "of Montanus and the women."
 When it was opened Montanus was found and his women,
 10 Maximilla together with | Priscilla, with thin plates of gold
 placed upon their mouths. And those who saw the foul bones
 which they were calling "Spirit" were confused by this. Then
 15 it was said | to them, "Are you not ashamed that you are going
 astray after this abomination, and you are calling him 'Spirit,'
 although a spirit does not have flesh and bones?" When they
 20 burned the bones, | the Montanists raised (sounds of) mourning
 and weeping, and they were saying that the world was about to
 be ruined and destroyed. When the abominable books, which
 were theirs, were also found, they burned (them). Then the
 25 building was purified and became a church. For before | this
 time, in the days of Justinian the First, (certain) people in-
 formed the king concerning Montanus, that at the time of his
 death he had said to his grave diggers that they should place
 him fifty cubits below, "because fire will come and consume all
 30 | the face of the earth." And, under the evil influence of demons,
 the people of his persuasion were putting forth the report that
 "his bones drive away demons." They were hiring (certain)
 men by the bread of their mouth [i.e., they were bribing them],
 and they were testifying that he had healed them. When the
 35 king wrote to the bishop of that place, | he dug to the depth, and
 he brought forth his bones and those of his women that he might
 burn them. Then the Montanists came by night to the bishop,
 and gave to him 500 darics, and they took the bones, and they
 brought other bones. At dawn, when no one was aware of the
 40 secret, the bishop burned | these bones, as if they were those of
 Montanus and of Qryfys his associate. Then when the archdea-
 con accused the bishop, he was expelled to exile. Concerning
 this Montanus Apollos the colleague of Paul wrote in an epistle
 that he was the son of Simon

[p. 325]


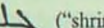

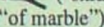

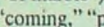
- 1 | the magician. When his father died at the hands of Peter, he
 fled from Rome and went forth troubling creation. Then Apol-
 los in the Spirit went out where he was, and he saw him seated
 5 | and deceiving. He arose and he reproved him, saying, "O en-
 enemy of God, may the Lord rebuke you!" But Montanus began
 to quarrel, for he was saying, "What (distinguishes) me and
 you, Apollos? If you are a prophet, so am I! And if you are an
 10 apostle, so am I! And if | (you are) a teacher, so am I!" But
 Apollos said to him, "Let your mouth be shut, in the name of
 the Lord!" And immediately he was mute, and by no means
 was he able to speak. And the people believed in our Lord and
 were baptized, and they overturned the seat of Montanus.
 15 | But he fled and escaped . . . Finished (is) this story, with that
 other one.

Notes on the text:

[p. 323]

l.2 Reading, with Chabot,  ("Pepouza") for  ("Pepoura").

[p. 324]

l.3 Reading, with Chabot,  ("shrine") for  ("dough").l.4 Reading, with Chabot,  ("of marble") for  ("of lives").l.29 Reading, with Chabot,  ("coming," "prepared") for  ("increasing").

Further references: E. Stein (1949: 375); S. Gero (1977: 520-524 with trans.); B.W. Goree (1980: 211); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 22-25, 242-244 with partial German trans.; G. May (1984/5: 234); W.H.C. Frend (1984a: 525); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 358-359; C. Marksches (1994: 12 and nn.35, 37 with partial German trans.); W. Tabbernee (1996: 213-217); S. Elm (1996: 423-424 with partial trans.); C. Trevett (1996: 35-36, 158, 229-232).

Michael the Syrian

Michael (also known as Michael of Melitene) became patriarch of Antioch in 1166. His chronicle surveys Christian history to the year 1194/5. Michael's work preserves quotations and summaries of earlier Syriac histories, probably including that of John of Ephesos; see Gero, 522-523. There is no evidence, however, that Michael utilized the chronicle of Ps.-Dionysius of Tell Mahrē (see *ad* 1). Indeed, it is likely that he did not, since Ps.-Dionysius, or his source, had already combined what for Michael were two separate attempts at burning the bones of the founders of Montanism. Similarly, Ps.-Dionysius also appears to have reduced the apocryphal account of Montanus' alleged first-century activities to a

single, somewhat ambiguous, reference to the origins of Montanism and the writing up of its story in the time of the apostles.

Three related stories

Michael's account of the persecution of the Montanists at Pepouza is comprised of three clearly distinguishable parts. First, a narrative about the discovery and burning of the bones of the original Montanist trio (*ed. pr.* [p. 323] II.1-5 - [p. 324] II.1-24a), more detailed than that provided by Ps.-Dionysius of Tell Mahrē. Second, an otherwise unknown story about an earlier attempt to destroy the Montanist relics ([p. 324] II.24b-42). Third, a legend about a supposed first-century hostile encounter between Montanus and Apollos ([p. 324] II.43-44 - [p. 325] II.1-15).

Son of Simon

A fifth-century homily attributed to Chrysostom also calls Montanus the "son of Simon [Magus]" (Ps.-Chrys., *pseud.* 5-6) and describes a confrontation between Montanus and a first-century apostle. In Ps.-Chrysostom's account, however, the apostle is none other than St. Peter (*ibid.*, 5). Michael's account appears to be an expanded doublet of this story, although direct dependence on Ps.-Chrysostom cannot be assumed; see Gero, 523. The name Apollos may have crept into the oral or written transmission of the legend on the basis of a confusion with early anti-Montanists such as Apollinarius or Apollonius, or simply because Apollos was deemed to have been "eminently qualified to silence the pseudo-prophet" (*ibid.*, 524). The story is also reminiscent, although with different personalities, of the confrontation between the Apostle John and the heretic Cerinthus reported by Polycarp (see Eus., *h.e.* 4.14.6) and of Polycarp's own encounter with Marcion (*ibid.*, 4.14.7). A story relating how Montanus was confronted by Apollos would have been believed readily by later Christians not sufficiently familiar with the history of Montanism to perceive the legend's anachronistic elements.

Orthodox Christianity contained a tradition that Simon Magus fled to Rome where he was confronted by the apostle Peter (e.g., Hipp., *haer.* 6.15; Eus., *h.e.* 2.15). None of the early accounts, however, suggests that Simon was killed by Peter. Hippolytus reports that Simon committed suicide by burying himself alive in a misguided attempt at re-enacting the resurrection (*haer.* 6.15). The *Apostolic Constitutions* have Simon breaking his ankles and hips after plummeting to earth during a demonstration of magical levitation once Peter had commanded the evil powers to release their hold of Simon (*Const. App.* 2.9). In Arnobius' version, Simon's fiery chariot was blown out of the sky by Peter's breath—

causing Simon to fall and break his legs (*Adversus nationes* 2.12). Apocryphal literature, on the other hand, is not reticent about attributing the death of this heretic to the apostle (e.g., *A. Petr. et Paul.* 72-78). The theory that all heresy could be traced to Simon Magus was extremely common in anti-heretical literature (e.g., see Eus., *h.e.* 2.13.16) and may have led to the view that Simon was Montanus' (actual) father. That Montanus accompanied Simon to Rome and that he fled Rome after Simon's death only to be pursued and rebuked by Apollos are legendary embellishments of the erroneous link between Montanus and the "father" of all heretics.

The legendary nature of the third section of Michael's narrative, however, need not cast doubt on the likely veracity of the main features of the earlier sections as Michael presumably gathered together material available to him from disparate sources about Montanus. That the third of these sources is clearly legendary does not mean that the other two are also. They need to be judged on their own merit.

Burning substituted bones

As Gero (523-524) points out, the second section contains information of unequal value. That attempts to destroy Montanist relics were made earlier than the successful attempt by John of Ephesus is quite probable. One such attempt indeed could have occurred during the reign of Justinian's uncle and immediate predecessor Justin I (c.519-527). Confusion about the exact circumstances of such an event may have led to the incorrect inclusion of Justinian's own name in the narrative ([p. 324] I.25). Gero (523) believes that it is possible, although not certain, that Michael was drawing upon the lost part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus for this section (as well as for the first section) of his account. More problematic is the "death-bed" saying attributed to Montanus. Gero (524) argues that it should be classified among Montanus' dubia, not his spuria. This is possible as the oracle *itself*—"The fire that is to come will make manifest and will consume all the face of the earth" ([p. 324] II.29-30a)—is the type of statement which could have been made by Montanus. The information that some people made it known to the emperor that Montanus at the time of his death had said to his grave diggers that they should put him fifty cubits below the ground ([p. 324] II.26-28) may be accurate in terms of what was conveyed to Justin I, but any actual link between the oracle and Montanus' alleged death-bed instructions appears derivative. The oracle, whenever uttered (if genuine), may simply have functioned as a means of providing a context for the supposed original deep burial of Montanus' bones, the consequent survival of these bones protected by the rumor that the bones

had the power to drive away evil spirits, and the discovery of these bones by the (official) bishop "of that place," digging deeply on the instruction of the emperor. If this, in fact, is what happened, the accompanying detail that the Montanists secretly bribed the bishop to burn substituted bones is plausible.

The whole scenario, however, raises a number of questions. If the bones of Montanus and the others were, at one time, buried fifty cubits below the ground, when were they transferred to the "great reliquary of marble" which was discovered by John of Ephesos in the Montanist sanctuary? Does the story, in section two, serve to explain when this allegedly happened, i.e., during Justin I's reign? But, if so, why weren't the bones, including the reliquary, destroyed once it was discovered that the Montanist relics hadn't really been burned? Perhaps the accusation made by the archdeacon, which led to the bishop being exiled, did not have anything to do with the burning of substituted bones. If so, did the exile of the bishop from Pepouza, in fact, aid in enabling the relics of the Montanist leaders to be preserved in a refurbished shrine? As there are no ready answers to these questions and because of the mixed value of the data provided by the second section of Michael's account, it seems best to assume, with Gero (523), that this section is a collection of rumors which circulated at the time of (or later than) the destruction of the relics. Some of these rumors, such as the belief in the supposed healing powers of the Montanist shrine, may have had some historical basis. If nothing else, the cumulative literary effect of what is contained in section two helps to explain why, despite earlier attempts at their destruction, the bones were still around to be destroyed by John of Asia as described in section one. As this was probably one of Michael the Syrian's main purposes in retaining section two, any apparent historical discrepancies would have been irrelevant to him.

Qrytys

As in Ps.-Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē's account, Michael the Syrian's second section (but, perhaps significantly, not his first section) contains a reference to an otherwise unknown companion of Montanus. The bones of this companion, referred to by Michael as *Qrytys* (cf. *Qr'tys* in 1), were supposed to have been burned along with those of Montanus. As Maximilla and Priscilla are named in the first section ([p. 324] ll.9b-10a), it is best to assume, in consistency with Ps.-Dionysius, that *Qrytys* designates a fourth person.

A. Strobel (22 n.46), on the basis that *Qrytys* is here called Montanus' *associate*, is convinced that the Syrian word must be a corruption of a *male* associate of Montanus, such as Theodotus (Anon., *ap.* Eus., *h.e.*

5.16.14). Strobel himself favors Leucius Charinus, because a Leucio [Leucius] is mentioned by Pacian of Barcelona, in his correspondence with Sympronian, as someone who is falsely attributed by some Montanist leaders to have inspired them (*ep. Symp.* 1.2). The basis of Pacian's reference to Leucius is unknown, but there may be some link with the tradition that there was a Leucius among the companions of St. John the Apostle, who, along with John, frequently attacked an heretical group referred to as the *Alogi*; see Epiph., *haer.* 51.6.9. It is presumably the same (actual or legendary) disciple of John who is credited with having compiled (at least) the apocryphal *Acts of John*; see Aug., *c. Fel.* II.6; Turrib. *ep.* 5. Photius' *cod.* 114 is the only extant text containing the cognomen Charinos [Charinus], but it is possible that Leucius' full name was contained in the, now lost, introductory sections of the *Acts of John*; see W. Schneemelcher and K. Schäferdieck (1974: 185).

While Strobel is right in pointing out that the vocal correspondence between the Syriac *Qr'tys* (or *Qrytys*) and "Charinus" is close, his suggestion, nevertheless, is untenable. Pacian's knowledge of Montanism came from a superficial, inaccurate reading of sources such as Eus. *h.e.* 5.14.1-5.19.4, esp. 5.15.1, and Ps.-Tert., *haer.* 7. He had no first-hand contact with Montanism; see K. Aland (1960a: 149-151) and Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 381-383. His inclusion of Blastus and Leucius among Montanist leaders is erroneous. In any case, even Pacian doesn't say that Leucius *himself* was a Montanist leader. He merely states that certain Montanist leaders *falsely* attributed their inspiration to him. Pacian's own point may well have been that Leucius was an early Christian belonging to the official church who was incorrectly claimed as a Montanist by later Montanist leaders.

I am grateful to R.A. Taylor, who graciously agreed to provide English translations of the extracts from the works of Ps.-Dionysius and Michael the Syrian discussed here, for the observation that the Syriac name *Qrytys* (or *Qr'tys*) may be a loan word from κριτής. Perhaps we need not look for an actual name underlying the word *Qrytys* but assume that the Syriac word may have been derived from the person's function. Could it be that Montanus' *associate*, who was buried with him and the two prophetesses, functioned as a judge (κριτής) or arbitrator within early Montanism and that in the oral tradition surrounding that person, the function later came to be misunderstood by Michael's Syriac source as referring to the person's name? If so, that person's actual name need not have had any vocal correspondence with *Qrytys* and that person's identity is to be discovered by concentrating on the term *associate* rather than on *Qrytys*.

It is clear from both literary and epigraphic sources that at least later Montanism had a class of senior clergy called *κοινωνοί* ("associates"); see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 257-268 and 80, 84, 85. Their title and function appear to have been derived from an early Montanist ecclesiastical hierarchy which included *κοινωνοί* who were "associates" of Montanus himself; see *ibid.* The earliest, and most prominent of these could have been Theodotus; on whom, see p. 21 above. Consequently, Strobel's first guess may be correct after all. The shrine at Pepouza may have contained the bones of Theodotus, alongside those of Montanus, Maximilla and Priscilla, his name having been obscured because of his function as the first "guardian" (Anon., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.16.14) of the New Prophecy, an office which may have included the function of judge or arbitrator; see also Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 258-259. Alternatively, the bones of another early Montanist *κοινωνός* (perhaps Themiso) may have been placed in the reliquary containing the remains of the founders. A major problem with *Qrytys* having been a *male* associate, however, is that the shrine was inscribed with the words "Of Montanus and the women" ([p. 324] *ll.6-7*). Perhaps the bones of a male *κοινωνός* were interred at a later time, without the inscription being altered.

For the view that *Qrytys* should be identified with the later Montanist prophetess Quintilla or with the earlier prophet Quadratus, see *ad* 1. Neither of these suggestions, however, is convincing.

"Golden-mouthed"

Michael the Syrian's first section appears much more trustworthy historically than his other sections. The description of the discovery of the marble shrine seems convincingly authentic. As Gero (523) points out, even the detail that the mouths of the deceased had been covered with plates of gold may well be accurate. Strobel (242-244) sees a connection between this and the practices of certain Phrygian mystery religions, but it may simply illustrate that people were often buried with coins placed in their mouths; see Marksches, 12 n.37. Montanus and the women were deemed by their followers to have been prophetic mouthpieces of the Holy Spirit. This, presumably, underlies the charge that the Montanists called the "foul bones 'Spirit'" ([p. 324] *ll.12-14a*; cf. *ll.14b-18* and 1, [p. 125] *l.25*). That the sixth-century Montanists at Pepouza actually equated Montanus with the Holy Spirit is not totally impossible, but this part of the story may also be the culmination of an erroneous, but persistent, anti-Montanist tradition. The lamentation of the Montanists at the burning of the bones, however, is not to be doubted, even if the verbal exchanges between them and their persecutors may not have been

handed down verbatim. The assertion that "a spirit does not have bones" ([p. 324] *l.18*) is undoubtedly based on Lk 24:39.

Justinian

That John of Ephesos acted on the direct orders of Justinian is consistent with other evidence. Following the precedent set by earlier emperors, Justinian, between 529-531, enacted a series of laws against heretics and schismatics, at times specifically naming the Montanists (Justn., *cod.*, I.5.18.4; I.5.19.4; I.5.20.3, 7; I.5.21.2). These laws deprived Montanists (and others) of their places of assembly (I.5.18.3). It deprived them even of the right to transmit communal or private property to persons other than those belonging to the official faith (I.5.19 *praef*). Economic and social sanctions were applied for non-compliance (I.5.19.1-4; I.5.20 *praef*; I.5.20.2, 4, 6; I.5.21 *praef*; I.5.21.1-3). Montanist clergy were expelled from Constantinople (I.5.20.3) and "rank and file" Montanists were banned from conducting business in the capital (I.5.20.4); see pp. 473-474 below.

The disillusionment of the historian Procopius with the anti-heretical measures taken by Justinian provides us with an independent contemporary account. In his *Secret History*, written in Constantinople sometime after 550 but published posthumously, Procopius recorded for posterity the "whole truth" which he had deemed safer not to include in his official histories; see A. Cameron (1985: 49-66) and cf. J.A.S. Evans (1972: 114, 115). Procopius (*hist. arc.* 11.14-20) claims that Justinian's persecution of heretics was motivated by greed, in that Justinian coveted the alleged wealth contained in schismatic churches and *martyria*.

According to Procopius, Montanists were among those whose places of worship Justinian attacked. Rather than allowing their churches to be confiscated, as had happened to other sects (11.20), Procopius reports that "the Montanists, who dwelled in Phrygia, incarcerating themselves in their own sanctuaries, immediately set these temples on fire, so that they perished senselessly along with the buildings" (11.23). Procopius was not an eyewitness of these events, but, as a contemporary, had heard reports, perhaps from people who had participated in the persecution of Montanists and others: a persecution ordered by Justinian and carried out by John of Ephesos. That Montanist churches were burned is not to be doubted. That in some instances Montanists died along with their churches is quite probable. Perhaps some Montanists even died by their own hand. For an alleged, but late, parallel instance of Montanist mass suicide by fire, see Thphn. *chron.* A.M. 6214. This story is probably based on that provided by Procopius; see p. 475 below. Neither Michael the Syrian nor his source appears to have been aware of Montanist self-

immolation at Pepouza. Perhaps, if that part of Procopius' account has historical foundation, the Montanists who ascended to glory in flames may have died elsewhere in Phrygia.

In any case, as Gero (523) points out, Michael's version of the burning of the Montanist's place of assembly at Pepouza is somewhat contradictory. The later reference to the purification of the building and its rededication as a sanctuary belonging to the official church ([p. 324] l.24) sounds more probable than the earlier impression that the whole building was destroyed ([p. 323] l.7 - [p. 324] l.1). Presumably only part of the sanctuary was burned, perhaps by "symbolic," "ritualistic" burning: a purification by fire rather than total destruction. The most offensive elements within the sanctuary, such as Montanist relics and books, would have been destroyed totally.

Legislation by earlier Christian emperors had demanded the burning of Montanist books (Constantine, c.325-326 [Eus., v.C. 3.66]; Arcadius c.398 [Thds. Imp., *cod.* XVI.5.34.1]). John of Ephesos' burning of the Montanists' "abominable books" shows that these earlier laws were still enforced. On this and other imperial anti-Montanist legislation, see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 412-455, 589-623, and pp. 343-345, 471-476 below.

Date

The apparent discrepancy between the date given by Ps.-Dionysius (c.550) for the burning of Montanus' bones (1) and that provided by Michael I (c.554/5-556/7) may be explained by the fact that Michael erroneously dated the nativity to the 316th year of the Seleucid era, whereas other Syriac chroniclers normally relegated it to 309 Sel.; see W. Witakowski (1987: 85).

The shrine

For our purposes the most interesting aspect of Michael's account is the reference to the discovery of "a large shrine of marble" in the Montanist sanctuary at Pepouza. No dimensions are given, but, according to its description, it must have been large enough to have contained the remains of Montanus, Maximilla, Priscilla and one other person. Strobel (243) takes it to have been a large sarcophagus.

When was this shrine constructed? If Proklos did indeed refer to a reliquary containing the bones of the founder(s) of Montanism (see above), the shrine may already have been in existence before c.200, and therefore may have been constructed soon after the death of Maximilla (c.179) replacing the original tombs of the founders. It is more likely, however, that the reliquary discovered by John of Ephesos was the latest

in a series of more and more ornate shrines at Pepouza. In mainstream Christianity, at least, there are numerous examples of the transfer of the sacred remains of apostles, prophets or martyrs to more elaborate tombs constructed in the post-Constantinian era. For example, the manuscript which provides the only extant Syriac version of Michael's account of the destruction of the Montanist shrine, contains, on the very same pages, an account of the transfer of the bones of SS. Andrew, Luke and Timothy to Constantinople in 556/7 where they were displayed with honor in the Church of the Apostles built by Justinian; see Chabot *Michel le Syrien* IV, 323-325; French trans., in Chabot *Michel le Syrien* II, 269-270 (right-hand columns). The same section records that the remains of John the Baptist were deposited at Sebaste (Palestina) in a reliquary made of gold; see also H. Delehaye (1933: 232-241) and cf. 14, 70. If there is any historical validity in the second section of Michael's account, the building of a more elaborate (and stronger!) reliquary may have occurred after the exhumation of Montanist bones during an earlier attempt to destroy them. In any case, the plates of iron which girded the shrine was intended to protect it from ordinary grave robbers on the one hand and the enemies of Montanism on the other.

The wording of the inscription

The original Greek wording of the inscription on the shrine, underlying the Syriac text was presumably τοῦ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, the word "tomb" or "remains" being understood as the unexpressed object; cf. 9 and 58.

Part II

**Montanist
and Allegedly Montanist
Inscriptions**

***c.*180-224 C.E.**

Introduction

Although one of Maximilla's oracles had predicted the cessation of prophecy at the end of the age (*ap. Epiph., haer.* 48.2.4),¹ producing a great deal of anti-Montanist rhetoric denouncing Montanist prophecy as spurious, Maximilla's followers did not believe that the New Prophecy had died with her. Prophetic utterance continued to be an important, integral part of the movement, presumably justified on the assumption that prophecy would cease only when Maximilla's prediction of the end of the age was indeed fulfilled.

We know of one, very prominent, Montanist prophetess, named Quintilla, who played an extremely important role in the history of the movement. It is not clear when she lived. It is possible that she belongs to the time period under discussion here, but it is more likely that she exercised her prophetic leadership during III⁴ or even IV¹. Epiphanius, on the basis of a source later than the one from which he quoted Maximilla's oracle about the consummation, acknowledged that there were women called prophetesses "among them." He was not sure, however, whether this meant "among Montanism as a whole" or "among the Quintillians" (*Epiph., haer.* 49.1.1). In either case, the continuation of Montanist prophecy after the death of the founders is beyond doubt as the Quintillians were a subgroup of Montanists, not a separate sect as Epiphanius suspected. They were located in Pepouza and were known alternatively as Pepouzians, after the Montanist headquarters, or Quintillians, after their leader.

Apollonius, writing in early III, provides some information about much earlier prophetic successors of the original trio. He berated a late second-century Montanist prophetess (*ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.18.6-10). This unnamed woman was neither Maximilla nor Priscilla. The context indicates quite clearly that Apollonius is not referring to them. Similarly,

¹ See p. 22 above.

Apollonius' more general complaints about alleged pecuniary and cosmetic practices of Montanist prophet[esse]s (ibid., 5.18.11) relate to a second generation of prophets, not to the founders of the movement.

The extant literary data do not furnish the names of those who were part of this second wave of Montanist prophet[esse]s. Quintilla, whose name we do possess, probably belonged, as already noted, to a later phase of Phrygian Montanism. Tertullian describes the activities of a "Montanist" (?) prophetess in Carthage (c.207), but he does not reveal her name (*anim.* 9.4).

Organizational leadership

Similarly, little evidence has survived in the literary sources about early local Montanist clergy. Montanist martyrs executed at Apameia in c.190, alongside Gaius and Alexander, non-Montanist clergy from Eumeneia (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, h.e. 5.16.22), were probably bishops or presbyters, but neither their names nor their ecclesiastical status is given. Proklos, the Montanist leader who engaged in a disputation with a representative of the official church (ἐκκλησιαστικός ἀνὴρ) named Gaius, at Rome c.200,² may also have belonged to the Montanist clergy since Eusebius (*h.e.* 2.25.6) refers to him as a προϊστάμενος.

At least two Montanists, whose names we know, held senior leadership positions in the movement during late II. The first of these was Themiso (Apollon., *ap. Eus.*, h.e. 5.18.5) who had already risen to prominence during the latter phase of Maximilla's prophetic ministry.³ The other was a man named Miltiades (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, h.e. 5.16.3).⁴ It may have been this Miltiades whose writings are rejected as heretical by II.81-82 of the Muratorian canon,⁵ but this is by no means certain.⁶

The most significant information supplied by the Anonymous about Themiso and Miltiades is that groups of Montanists were named after them. Perhaps Themiso and Miltiades were the successive leaders of the whole of Phrygian Montanism. If so, leadership of the movement may have passed from Montanus to Themiso⁷ and then, in turn, to Miltiades. It is more likely, however, that primary leadership of the movement had

² See R.E. Heine (1987: 11-19; 1989a: 97, 99-100) and p. 31 above.

³ On Themiso, see p. 21 above and Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 251-254, 267-268.

⁴ On Miltiades, see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 253-254, 267-268.

⁵ So W.H.C. Frend (1988b: 29 n.36).

⁶ See G.M. Hahneman (1992: 208-213, esp. 209-211) but contrast Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 26-29.

⁷ So R.J. Deferrari (1953: 318 n.28).

first passed from Montanus to the earlier leader Theodotus, as the latter is referred to by the Anonymous as the movement's first ἐπίτροπος (*ap. Eus.*, h.e. 5.16.14).

The spread of Montanism

W.M. Calder, on the basis of his dubious identification of Ardabau with Kallataba (S.E. of Philadelphia in Lydia)⁸ and his analysis of the type of Christianity prevalent in and around Philadelphia in the period immediately preceding the rise of Montanism, argued that Montanism originated in the neighborhood of Philadelphia and spread eastward from there.⁹ This theory, revived by C. Trevett,¹⁰ is unconvincing. It is extremely unlikely that Kallataba is to be equated with Ardabau and, while there are certain "pre-Montanist" characteristics to be found in the literary data relating to second-century Philadelphia, including a prophetic movement to which Montanists appealed as a means of legitimating their own prophetic succession,¹¹ Montanism could as easily have spread from Phrygia to Lydia than the other way around. If we omit from consideration the identification of Kallataba with Ardabau, there is nothing to reveal exactly when Montanism was first established in Philadelphia. No literary data exist to provide a reliable date and the earliest extant epigraphic evidence (84) comes from V. By that time, Montanism in or around Philadelphia appears to have had a long history. The geographic proximity of Lydia and Phrygia makes it likely that Montanism took root in western Lydia quite early, irrespective of whether it was founded there or, as seems more probable, in Phrygia. It is also possible that Montanism spread to Thyateira in eastern Lydia during the period under discussion here.¹²

Montanism certainly spread to Galatia by the last decade of II. In an anti-Montanist letter to an Avircius Marcellus,¹³ the Anonymous ex-

⁸ See also p. 18 and n.9 above.

⁹ Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: esp. 324-336.

¹⁰ C. Trevett (1983: 1-18; 1989a: 313-338, esp. 315, 329-330; 1989b: 202-214; 1995: 261; 1996: 22-26).

¹¹ Especially via the prophetess Ammia, see also p. 19 above and *ad* 10.

¹² See pp. 136-138 below.

¹³ On the question of whether the tombstone of an Aberkios, discovered near Koghisar (Hieropolis) in 1883 (*ed. pr.* — Ramsay "Cities I" [1883]: 424-427 no. 36; cf. *CB* 2 [1897]: 657 and Wischmeyer "Aberkiosinschrift" [1980a]: 22-47) is to be identified as the epitaph of the anti-Montanist, see *CB* 2, pp. 709-715; *EG* 4 [1978]: 381-382; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 23-26, 628-635; Wischmeyer, 26-27; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 126 n.21, 272-273; *New Docs* 6 [1992]: 177-181; and Frend (1996: 95-98, 100).

plained that he had recently (c.192) returned from a visit to Ankyra in Galatia. There, at the request of the presbyters, he had lectured for some days about the errors of Montanism and had engaged in public disputation with local supporters of the movement (Anon., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.16.4). Literary data from III¹ indicate that Montanism had spread to Ephesos in Asia (Apollon., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.18.6-11) and perhaps also to Antioch in Syria (Serap. Ant., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.12.1) and to Alexandria in Egypt (Clem., *str.* 4.13 [93.1]; 7.17 [108.1]). Montanism had certainly consolidated its presence in Rome by the turn of the century (Tert., *Prax.* 1.5; *Eus., h.e.* 2.25.6; cf. 3.31.4; 6.20.3) and, probably from there, had been transported to Carthage in Africa Proconsularis during II⁴-III¹.

The "Montanist" circle at Carthage

The earliest extant Montanist literature preserved in its own right was produced by what may best be described as the "Montanist" circle at Carthage. This literature has survived because it was, at least in the eyes of the opponents of Montanism, not (closely) identified with Montanism. The authors, while supporters of the New Prophecy, appear to have remained within the "official" church.

1. Tertullian

Tertullian is the best-known member of this "Montanist" circle. He became very favorably disposed towards the New Prophecy. There are numerous references to the movement in his later writings. The most obvious of these are when he names Montanus (e.g., *Prax.* 1.5; *jejun.* 1.3, 12.4), Priscilla (e.g., *res.* 1.1; *cast.* 10.5; *Prax.* 1.5; *jejun.* 1.3) or Maximilla (e.g., *Prax.* 1.5; *jejun.* 1.3); when he quotes one of their oracles (*anim.* 55.5, 58.8; *res.* 11.2; *Marc.* 1.29.4, III.24.4; *cast.* 10.5; *fug.* 9.4; *Prax.* 8.5; *pud.* 21.7) or when he mentions the "New Prophecy" by name (e.g., *res.* 63.9; *Marc.* III.24.4, IV.22.4; *Prax.* 30.5; *mon.* 14.4; *jejun.* 1.3). His description of the Holy Spirit as the "Paraclete" (e.g., *anim.* 55.5, 58.8; *res.* 11.2, 63.9; *fug.* 1.1), his defense of ecstatic prophecy (e.g., *anim.* 9.4; *Marc.* IV.22.4) and his condemnation of adversaries as *psychici* (e.g., *ibid.*, IV.22.5; *Prax.* 1.7; *mon.* 1.1; *jejun.* 1.1, 3.1, 11.1, 16.8) all support Jerome's statement that Tertullian "lapsed into the doctrine of Montanus" (*vir. ill.* 53). However, despite the traditional view to the contrary,¹⁴ there is no evidence that Tertullian, or anyone else for

¹⁴ Held from at least as early as V (Aug., *haer.* 86). For the view that Tertullian became a schismatic twice in order to found a post-Montanist sect (the "Tertullianists"), also stated by Aug., *haer.* 86, see pp. 475-476 below.

that matter, left the official church in Carthage to join a Montanist group in that city. In fact there is nothing to suggest that such a separate Montanist congregation existed in Carthage during early III.

It is significant that Tertullian's description of a particular woman, who was filled with the Spirit and who prophesied, indicates that she experienced her revelations "by ecstasy in the Spirit in the Church during the solemn rites of the Lord's Day" (*quas in ecclesia inter dominica sollemnia per ecstasin in spiritu [anim.] 9.4*). There is no doubt that Tertullian meant the official church service as he explains that the woman's visions were prompted by various aspects of the liturgy. He also relates that after the service, when the people had been dismissed, this prophetess was in the regular habit of reporting what she had seen, so that the validity of her visions could be tested (*ibid.*). It appears that those who stayed behind to listen were those with an affinity to "the New Prophecy." Tertullian uses *nobis* ("to us") to describe those to whom the women reported, suggesting a group of people who shared his religious sentiments.¹⁵ It seems that there was a Montanist *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a group of pro-Montanist Christians within the official church at Carthage in Tertullian's time.¹⁶

2. An anonymous editor

An analysis of Tertullian's writings indicates that he had become influenced by Montanism sometime after 207/8.¹⁷ How long before this time could the "Montanist" circle at Carthage have been in existence? In c.203 a young mother named Perpetua, some of her fellow *catechumens*, and a man named Saturus, who was possibly their catechist, were martyred in the amphitheater at Carthage. The record of their martyrdom, the *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, consists of allegedly first-hand accounts by two of the martyrs, introduced (1-2) by an anonymous editor who also added a conclusion (14-21) describing the deaths of the martyrs, events which the editor claims to have witnessed personally.

¹⁵ Compare Tertullian's use of *noster* when referring to the New Prophecy (*Val.* 5.1); see also T.D. Barnes (1971: 44 and n.6).

¹⁶ D. Powell (1975: 33-55); W. Tabbernee (1989a: 195, 196-197); L.J. van der Lof (1991: 353-363, esp. 359-361); and Trevett (1996: 68-69, 74-76). See also earlier discussion of this point of view: P.A. Klap (1897: 1-26, 120-158); D. Franses (1936: 34-35); and J. Moingt (1966: esp. 57-59).

¹⁷ Barnes (1985b: 326-328), revising his previous view that Tertullian's earliest Montanist works can be dated prior to c.206/7; cf. *id.* (1971: 43-48).

Attempts to identify the editor have led to fruitless speculation. Tertullian, the one most often suggested,¹⁸ is also frequently ruled out on the assumption that he mistakenly referred to Saturus' vision as that of Perpetua (*anim.* 55.4) and that he misrepresented the content of that vision.¹⁹ The assumption that Tertullian made a mistake in *anim.* 55.4, however, is probably incorrect.²⁰ This, of course, does not prove that Tertullian was, indeed, the editor. Tertius or Pomponius, the deacons who visited and cared for the martyrs in prison (3.7), or even Pudens, the *op-tio* in charge of the prison who became a Christian as a result of the faith of the martyrs (9.1; 16.4; 21.4-5), are all possible candidates for the editorship. Of the three, it is usually Pomponius who is suggested as the editor,²¹ but any one of them, as well as many other anonymous persons, had access to the martyrs and could have obtained the personal statements written by Perpetua and Saturus and have witnessed their final sufferings (3.8; 9.1). Opportunity alone does not guarantee that one of the Christian non-martyrs named in the *passio* was the editor. Indeed, as the three are referred to in the third person, it is probable that someone other than Tertius, Pomponius or Pudens was the editor.²² Stylistic parallels between the *passio* and Tertullian's writings²³ have, in the past, been overstated²⁴ but nevertheless may suggest that the anonymous author was someone close to Tertullian (a friend or disciple?)²⁵ or, at least, someone who reflects a shared religious ethos. Could this shared religious ethos have been provided by common membership of the "Montanist" circle at Carthage?

There may exist hints of Montanism in the editorial sections of the *passio*. The strongest of these is in the introduction where the editor states: "We recognize and hold in honor new visions as well as new

¹⁸ For example by G.N. Bonwetsch (1881: 185); J.A. Robinson (1891: 47-58); P. de Labriolle (1913c: 126-132); J. Quasten (1950: 181); A.G. Amatucci (1956: 367); Frend (1971: 118); H. von Campenhausen (1972: 229 n.105); L. Robert (1982: 235 n.35); A. Pettersen (1987: 139).

¹⁹ See L. Gatti (1923: 36-37); E. Rupprecht (1941: 182); A. Fridh (1968: 9-10); W.C. Weinrich (1981: 224).

²⁰ A. d'Alès (1907: 13-14); J.H. Waszink (1947: 561-562); L.F. Pizzolato (1980: 105-108); A.A. Bastiaensen (1982: 790-795); C.M. Robeck (1992: 107-110).

²¹ For example by J. Campos (1959: 381) and R. Braun (1955: 79).

²² For the view that the editor may have been a woman, see D.M. Scholer (1989: 11); Robeck (1992: 16); M.A. Tilley (1994: 832). Contrast, however, B.D. Shaw (1993: 31).

²³ For example by de Labriolle (1913a: 345; 1913c: 126-132).

²⁴ See Braun (1979: 105-117); Weinrich (1981: 224-225).

²⁵ Barnes (1968b: 552); H. Musurillo (1972: xxvi).

prophecies" (1.4). In relating the story of Perpetua and her companions the editor wants to show that, in fulfillment of Joel 2:28, the Holy Spirit was in them in a greater measure than in those of an earlier age (1.1-5; cf. 21.11). This view is certainly consistent with Montanist theology, at least as understood by Tertullian (e.g., *res.* 63). The *passio*, therefore, may have served, perhaps coincidentally, as an apologetic for the New Prophecy.²⁶ The choice of the wording *adeo in spiritu et in extasi fuerat* ("she was so absorbed in spirit and in ecstasy" [20.8]) to describe Perpetua's semiconscious state after having been tossed in the air by a "mad heifer," may be a further indication of the editor's theological interests. None of this, of course, is indisputably Montanist. Perpetua's "ecstasy" has its parallels in the way in which other *acta martyrum* indicate that martyrs were preserved from suffering pain (e.g., *M. Polyc.* 2.2).²⁷ According to Weinrich, the use of Joel 2:28-3:1 in the introduction of the *passio* differs from the normal Montanist use of these texts,²⁸ but this view is dependent upon limited data in that the only materials able to be used for comparison are Tertullian's writings. Moreover, the reference to "new prophecies" and "new visions" is perhaps more than coincidental. Consequently, it is possible that the editor was a "Montanist," in the sense that others at Carthage were "Montanists." That is, the editor may have belonged to a group of people with pro-Montanist leanings who remained within the official church.

3. "Montanist" martyrs?

Whether Perpetua and her companions themselves belonged to the pro-Montanist group at Carthage is more difficult to establish. The editor's apparent intimate personal knowledge of them indicates that they belonged to the same circle, but does that mean the Montanist *ecclesiola in ecclesia* or the wider circle of the Carthaginian church? Even if it could be shown indisputably that the editor, as seems likely, was a member of the Montanist inner circle, the use of the story of Perpetua and the others for pro-Montanist propaganda would not prove that they themselves were "proto-Montanists." The sections of the *passio* which are, or are based on, the first-hand accounts provided by the martyrs contain, at best, ambiguous evidence. For example, that both Perpetua (4.3-10; 7.3-

²⁶ See, for example, W. Gass (1860: 323-324); J. De Soyres (1878: 140-141); G. Bardy (1968: vol. 1, 216); Barnes (1968b: 522; 1971: 77); Musurillo (1972: xxvi); M.R. Miles (1989: 62); Tabbernee (1989a: 195-196); Trevett (1996: 70-71).

²⁷ Weinrich (1981: 229).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 232-235. On the Montanist interpretation of Joel 2:28-29, see P.C. Atkinson (1982: 11-15).

9; 8.1-14) and Saturus (11.1-13.8) received visions does not single them out as "Montanists." Other martyrs experienced visions also (Acts 7:55-56 [Stephen]; cf. Ign. *Smyrn.* 11; *M. Carp.* [G] 39). Nevertheless, the extent of belief in the availability of *new* visions, virtually on demand, to Perpetua (4.1-2) and the large number of visions granted in such a short period are unparalleled in other contemporary *acta martyrum*. Similarly, the contents of the visions give ambiguous data.²⁹ They may reflect Montanist theology or practice, but in each instance some sort of non-Montanist parallel may be adduced.³⁰

While a plausible case can be made out that Perpetua and her friends were Montanists³¹ or influenced by Montanism,³² there is also strong evidence which allows no other conclusion than that they were, and remained, members of the official church.³³ Perpetua is called a *catechumen* (2.2). She was baptized in the period between her arrest and imprisonment (3.5). Tertius and Pomponius, the deacons who visited her in prison (3.7), were catholic clergy. The martyrs recognized the authority of bishop Optatus (13.1-4). The Carthaginian church considered Perpetua and the others their most-famous early martyrs and commemorated them by means of plaques, mosaics, and murals (14, 14³, 14⁴). Their names were recorded on a number of martyrologies, including that of Rome, and their feast day celebrated. Augustine (*serm.* 280.1 [PL 38.1281]; 281a.1 [PL 38.1284]) and Quodvultdeus (*De tempore barbarico* 1.5 [CCL 60.430-431]), bishop of Carthage c.437-453, preached and wrote in their honor.

²⁹ For analyses of the visions, see Robert (1982: 228-276); C. Mazucco (1989: 130-131); A. Jensen (1992: 208-232); Robeck (1992: 19-86); and Tilley (1994: 836-847).

³⁰ Contrast Barnes (1971: 77-79) with J.R. Matthews (1973: 248-249) and Weinrich (1981: 226-227). Barnes (1985b: 329) agrees that his earlier attempts to show that the martyrs themselves were Montanists are unconvincing.

³¹ Bonwetsch (1881: 185); B.J. Kidd (1922: 286); R.M. Jones (1923: 44); Frend (1952: 116-118; 1985: 97). Kidd, after claiming that "Perpetua and her companions were Montanists," concludes: "But they were not schismatics. They were Church Montanists." See also Campos (1959: 376-377); Barnes (1971: 77-79); G.H. Tavad (1973: 56-57); E.C. Huber (1985: 46-55); Tabbernee (1989a: 195-197); Trevett (1996: 71, 177-178, 271, n.109).

³² Frend (1971: 117-118; 1984b: 349; 1988b: 30).

³³ D'Alès (1907: 14-18); de Labriolle (1913a: 341-344); F.J. Dölger (1930: 1-40); Quasten (1940: 1-9); F.C. Klawiter (1975: 281-282, 292 n.2); Weinrich (1981: 226-228); E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983: 338 n.65); Robeck (1987: 70-71); Th. Baumeister (1991: 121 n.8); Jensen (1992: 201); and Tilley (1994: 835).

Although it is dangerous to make historical deductions from the contents of visions, one section of Saturus' vision (13.1-8) may provide a clue to the situation of the Christian Church at Carthage during the time of the martyrdoms. In this part of the vision there is shown to be a division in the Church between factions led, respectively, by Optatus, the bishop, and a presbyter named Aspasius. The contents of the introduction and the conclusion of the *passio* make it clear that the dispute, in some way, related to the manner in which work of the Spirit was to be understood as applying to contemporary rather than to ancient times and how "*new* prophecies" and "*new* visions" were to be accepted. If the division was not over Montanism itself,³⁴ it seems at least possible that the divisive issue had arisen because of the spread of Montanist ideas to Carthage. There is no reference, however, in the *passio* to a lasting schism in the Church. If anything, the *passio* hints at some sort of reconciliation between the two groups (13.5-8). Perhaps from 203 onwards, the pro-Montanist group and the other Christians at Carthage could live together in reasonable harmony, even if Tertullian, on occasions, was not against denouncing those who refused to be influenced by the New Prophecy as *psychici*. In light of their openness to receive "*new* visions," at least Perpetua and Saturus are probably to be counted among those who were favorably disposed towards the New Prophecy, but they cannot really be called Montanists. The most that can be claimed is that they were *probably* among the earliest Christians in Carthage who reacted favorably to Montanist teaching and whose fellow sympathizers ended up forming a "Montanist" circle within the church without ever leaving it to form a separate Montanist congregation. If so, this would explain why Perpetua and her companions could continue to be venerated as catholic martyrs, even if they had some Montanist leanings, why the *passio* was preserved, even if it was edited by a "Montanist," and why all but one of Tertullian's later "Montanist" writings have survived.

The epigraphic remnants relating to Perpetua and the others, similarly, have survived because they were set up by catholics, commemorating catholic martyrs, unaware that at least some of them *may* have had Montanist sympathies.

Montanism c.208-224

Little is known from literary sources about the history of Montanism during the thirty years following the martyrdom of Perpetua and her

³⁴ As argued by De Soyres (1878: 141) and Barnes (1971: 78), but contrast Weinrich (1981: 227) and Robeck (1992: 82-85).

friends. Tertullian remains our only source for the views of a person favorably disposed toward the movement during this time, but, as a non-schismatic living outside Phrygia, his views cannot be taken as representative of Montanism elsewhere.³⁵ Hippolytus composed an anti-heretical treatise, containing descriptions of (Roman) Montanist beliefs and practices, during III¹ (*haer.* 8.19.1-3; 10.25-26).³⁶

Inscriptions

Data provided by a group of tombstones from Temenothyrai in Phrygia (3-8) strongly suggest that there was a Montanist church in that city by III¹. If they are indeed Montanist, as argued below, these monuments provide us with some fascinating details about the ministerial offices and liturgical practices of Phrygian Montanism during that time.

The earliest extant epigraphic evidence for the use of the word "Christian(s)" in Phrygia comes from Trajanopolis (9) and Hierapolis (10). Those inscriptions are probably to be dated III¹ although the latter may belong to II¹. Use of the word on monuments from Orkistos (12) and from Hierokaisareia in Lydia (13) may be as early as III¹, but it is also possible that those were produced later in the third century. Because of their early open profession of Christianity, all have been claimed by some previous editors as Montanist. While one or more of these inscriptions may well be Montanist, the case in respect of each one needs to be argued separately. Similarly, in addition to an inscription perhaps relating to Perpetua (14²), the link between Montanism and inscriptions from Carthage (15) and Rome (16²), which may have been produced as early as III¹, needs re-examination.

Orthography

As elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world, including Rome itself, spelling in Phrygia, Lydia, and Africa Proconsularis was affected by a large number of factors, not the least of which was local pronunciation. Vowels were especially vulnerable, but so were certain consonants. In the Greek inscriptions contained in this part, notice in particular -ει- for -ι-, -η- for -ι-, -ου- for -υ- and -β- for -π-. In the Latin inscriptions, notice -ai- for -ae-, -e- for -ae-, and -b- for -v-.

³⁵ H.J. Lawlor (1908: 481-499); J. Pelikan (1956: 99-109, esp. 104-105); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 139-140; Trevett (1996: 2, 66-67).

³⁶ See Trevett (1996: 60-62).

Inscriptions

Phrygia

Temenothyrai

Map 12:B3 (West-Central Phrygia). For a brief time also known as Flaviopolis Temenothyrai (e.g., IGRR 4 [1927]: 620). Positively identified by Th. Drew-Bear (IPhyrgDB [1978]: 112 n.119; id., "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 275-302) as the ancient site of modern Uşak. See also Ramsay Geography [1890]: 148-149 ad 94; I LydiaB [1898]: pp. 163-164; F. Imhoof-Blumer (1898: 207); M.J. Mellink (1974: 128); TAM 5, 1 [1981]: pp. 1-2; AE 1979 (1982): 614; BE [1980]: 497; SEG 29 [1982]: 1416; Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 143-144; TAM 5,2 [1989]: p. XI; and TIB 7 [1990]: 406. Situated near the Lydian border, Temenothyrai (also spelled Temenouthyrai, Timenotherai, Timenoutheraï, and Timenouthyrai) was an important city on the road from Sardis (modern Sart; 6:C4) and Philadelphia (Alaşehir; 6:D5) to Akmonia (Ahat; 12:B6). Its territory was marked by mountain ranges to the N. and N.E., separating Temenothyrai from Kadoi (Gediz; 7:H1), Appia (Pınarbaşı; 7:H4), and Kotiaion (Kütahya; 7:E4) respectively. A series of low hills to the W. formed the border with the Lydian city of Bagis (Güre; 12:B1). To the E., Temenothyrai's territory bordered those of Gri-menothyrai (Gâvurören; 12:A4), Dioskome (near modern Kırka; 12:B4) and probably Akmonia. The extent to which Temenothyrai's territory stretched S. is not yet settled. Temenothyrai belonged to the conventus of Sardis; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 80-81).

3. Two early Montanist(?) bishops

Uşak, in ruins of Antaplı Medrese
Now in Uşak Museum

c.200-210

Ed. pr. — Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 435-436 no. 2 with trans. and photograph.

White marble doorstele: Type F Uşak with single door; see below. Broken at top left, top right and sides. The original stele presumably had a tenon for fixing the tombstone securely into the ground, but, if so, tenon is broken away. Height: 1.05m; width: 0.97m.-1.02m.; thickness: 0.29m.-0.34m. (shaft), 0.46m. (top). The "door" (four panels and transom) is recessed. Arch above transom consists of three equal, rounded bands. Each panel contains low flat boss within a rhombus. A wreath-shaped symbol encircling a cross, on top of a three-legged table or altar, is carved in the transom. Pilasters, at either side of door, and surface above transom are decorated with tendrils and leaves. Projecting fascia at top, partly broken, contains inscription. Discovered by P. Herrmann in 1961 but not published. Quadratic *sigmas*. The *upsilon* (l.2) has horizontal bar in tail. "Bull's horn" *omegas*. The *mu* in l.1 was originally carved as a *nu*, but corrected. Dittography in l.2. Letter height: 0.035m. Figure 1. Plate 1.

Δειογᾶς Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
2 ἐκ{κ} τοῦ κυριακοῦ μνήμης χάριν.

Deiogas (commissioned this tomb) for Artemidoros, *episkopos*,
out of church funds, in memory.

Other ed.: *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 146-147 no. 366 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: BE [1977]: 493; *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 136 no. 1; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 696-697 no. 48 with trans. and photograph; Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 301.

Variant readings:

l.1 ἐπισκόπ[ω]: Gibson "Uşak" (BE; Tabbernee; *IPhyrChr*; Drew-Bear). M. Waelkens, however, states that in 1970, when he saw the stone, *pi* and lower half of *omega* were clearly visible.

l.2 ἐκκ: earlier *edd.* do not mark dittography; *μνήμης*: *IPhyrChr* incorrectly marks an alleged ligature; *χάρι[ν]*: Gibson "Uşak."

Further references: *Aph* 46 [1977]: 213; Tabbernee "Montanism," 493-494; BE [1980]: 497; S. Mitchell (1980: 203); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige*

Land [1980]: 103 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); Waelkens, 145; *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 238; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 406; R.S. Kraemer (1992: 167); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii, 62, 122; Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 251; C. Trevett (1996: 186, 206, 210 and n.27).



Fig. 1: Artemidoros' tombstone

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plate 4 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 20); Waelkens, plate 55 no. 366.

Phrygian "doorstones"

This particular stone is one of a group of similar steles, eight of which had been built into the walls of the Antaplı Medrese at Uşak (this one, 5-8, and Waelkens, 148-149 nos. 368-371) where the inscriptions on some were first copied in 1908 by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein. They are all Phrygian "doorstones"; on which, see Waelkens, 3-20 and Th. Drew-Bear (1991: 424-428). A useful schema of the various types of doorstones is provided by Waelkens as plate 107. For the doorstones produced at Uşak, see Waelkens, 145-146. The local tradition that they originated from Akmonia (Ahat) is erroneous; see Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai," 301; Waelkens, 144-147. On the workshop which produced the particular monuments under discussion here, see *ad* 8.

Letter style, especially the elaborate, "bull's horn" *omega* and the absence of the *quasi-praenomen* Aurelius (see *ad* 5), dates the steles securely to late II/early III, making the six gravestones of this group which

are clearly Christian (i.e., this one and 4-8) among the earliest of all extant, identifiable, Christian epitaphs. The inscriptions follow the traditional early pattern of Christian funerary epitaphs, simply recording that so-and-so constructed the tomb for some other person(s) and/or for him/herself.

Deiogas

Three of the inscriptions (this one and 4-5) contain variants of the name Diogas, undoubtedly referring to the same man. Diogas is an apocopated form of Diogenes (see *ad* 58) common in Asia Minor; see also Gibson "Uşak," 436 and n.9; *ICollFroehner* [1936]: 121 n.1; *BE* [1972]: 458. At the time this monument was erected, Deiogas was probably still a presbyter (or archdeacon?). He may have been "bishop-designate," but the absence of an ecclesiastical title for Deiogas in this inscription suggests that he had not yet succeeded Artemidoros, the deceased ἐπίσκοπος. The orthography of Artemidoros' title reflects local pronunciation, cf. 4-5 where Diogas is designated also as ἐπίσκοπος. The phrase ἐκ{κ} τοῦ κυριακοῦ ("from the Lord's [money?]") indicates that the tomb and doorstele were paid for by church funds.

A unique symbol

That Deiogas, on behalf of the church, commissioned Artemidoros' gravestone makes it probable that the motif located centrally in the transom above the door was also commissioned specifically. The "cross" suggests Christian significance whereas the other decorations (geometric patterns, tendrils and leaves) are standard art-forms (cf. 5, 6, 7), probably pre-carved. The Christian motif is described by E. Gibson as "a cross within a narrow wreath above a table" ("Uşak," 435). She interprets this motif and similar ones (on 5-8) as "a communion paten in wreath above an altar on table" carved to signify that "the deceased was a member of the clergy authorized to celebrate the Eucharist" (437, cf. 433-434 and 433 n.1). Waelkens (147) argues that the motif symbolizes not a communion paten, but eucharistic bread in the shape of a wreath. Interestingly, Gibson ("Uşak," 437 n.13) had already referred to the illustration as a "representation of the Eucharist surrounded by a wreath," suggesting that she assumed that the carving symbolized not only the paten itself but the eucharistic bread on the paten. A possible further example of the "wreath loaf" is to be found on a "Christians for Christians" tombstone from Aykırıkçı (61). The illustration on that stone differs markedly from the "crosses within wreaths" on other Xp.-Xp. stones from the Upper

Tembris Valley (e.g., 38, 40, 43-44, 47-49). Those are not to be confused with the eucharistic symbols discussed here.

A number of other early Phrygian tombstones contain symbolic representations of eucharist bread, but of the *panis quadratus* rather than of "wreath loaves"; e.g., at Çeltikçi near Kadoi (Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 33-35 no. 2 [pl. 2b] = *SEG* 15 [1958]: 795; cf. *BE* [1956]: 292 and *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvi-xxxvii); at Bahtılı (*IPhyrgChr* 31 [pl. 25], but interpreted as a paten; contrast Waelkens, 147 n.367); at Dokimeion (*MAMA* 4 [1933]: 32 [pl. 16]; see Waelkens, 196-197); and in the Upper Tembris Valley (Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs* I [1977]: 783 [pl. 115]; see *New Docs* 4, 236-238). The "wreath loaves" (*coronae*) represented on the doorstones from Uşak, while distinct in kind, bear some relationship to the *panis quadratus* type, in that their central portions were marked with a deep cross, presumably with a bread stamp, dividing them into quarters for easy breaking and distribution. On the *panis quadratus*, see F.J. Dölger (1929: 39-42); H. Leclercq (1937a: cols. 450-455). See E.R. Goodenough (1964: 133-137) and G. Galavaris (1970: esp. 84-87, 169) for the use of bread stamps.

On this and on 6, the wreath-loaf/paten is portrayed resting on a three-legged "table," which Waelkens (147) identifies as a *mensa tripes*, the conventional pre-Constantinian portable altar/communion table. See Leclercq (1907d: cols. 3158-3160; 1937a: col. 449); J. Braun (1924: 54-55); Th. Hopfner (1950: col. 335). Waelkens, 196-197 no. 486, also appears to portray a *mensa tripes* on which lie three eucharistic loaves of the *panis quadratus* type.

Upsilon carved as a cross?

Waelkens (147) suggests that the horizontal bar in the tail of the *upsilon* in *l.2* (cf. *ibid.*, 196-197 no. 486) may have been carved intentionally in order to form a small cross. Such a "cross-stroke," however, is also to be found through the *upsilon* of other inscriptions (e.g., *ibid.*, 148 no. 369; *IEph* 6 [1980]: 2277) which are not (or at least not unequivocally) Christian; see also *New Docs* 4, 237. The horizontal bar here, as elsewhere (e.g., 9, 13, 61, 63, 70), may merely have been an attempt on the part of the engraver to enhance the lettering; cf. horizontal bar in *tau* of 21. For an analogous discussion on *chi* allegedly carved as a cross, see *ad* 40.

Montanist clergy?

Neither the wreath-loaf/paten on the *mensa tripes* nor the inscription indicates that Deiogas and Artemidoros were anything other than clergy

belonging to the official church. On the basis of the data supplied by 4-5, however, it seems that Gibson is correct in concluding that they were Montanist bishops (cf. Waelkens, 147).

4. A Montanist(?) πρεσβυτέρα

Uşak, in ruins of Church of Constantine and Helena
No longer extant

c.200-210

Ed. pr. — Körte *Inscriptiones* [1902]: 31 no. 55 from copy by K. Buresch.

Doorstele, (presumably) Type F (or G) Uşak 1 with one door; see *ad* 3. Discovered by Buresch in 1895. No measurements provided. Spindle, distaff and "small box" (perhaps mistaken for comb; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 148) are the only decorations mentioned. Letter height not given. No line drawing/facsimile or photograph published.

Διογᾶς ἐπίσκο-
2 πος Ἀμμῖω πρεσ-
βυτέρα μνήμης
4 χάριν.

Diogas, *episkopos*, (commissioned this tomb) for Ammion, *presbyter*, in memory.

Other ed.: *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 147-148 no. 367.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1972]: 458 (II.1-2a only); Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 437-438; *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 136; *BE* [1977]: 493 (partial text only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 493-494, 697-698 no. 49 with trans.; Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 301; P. Nautin (1979: 579); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 103 with German trans; *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 240 (*ad* 7); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 127 (II.2b-3a only); Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 128-129 no. 4.8 with trans.

Further references: *BE* [1980]: 497; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100; 1980: 177); S. Mitchell (1980: 203); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); D.E. Groh (1981: 450); *New Docs* 4, 238; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407); W. Tabbernee (1987b: 32 with trans.); R.S. Kraemer (1988: 221 no. 94 trans. only); Tabbernee (1989a: 200); D.E. Groh (1990: 662); *TIB* 7, 406; Kraemer (1992: 167, 178, 185, 238 n.106 with trans.); *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1846; Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 251; Johnson, 115; C. Trevett (1996: 186 and n.137, 206, 210 and n.27).

Ammion

Diogas, here designated ἐπίσκοπος, is undoubtedly the same person as the Deiogas of 3 and the Diogas of 5, but who is Ammion? Despite Ferrua's view to the contrary (177), it is most unlikely that she was Diogas' (first) wife as on Diogas' own tombstone (5) his wife's name is given as Tatiane. Moreover, the earliest literary evidence for the use of πρεσβυτέρισσα (note, not πρεσβυτέρα), or the Latin derivative *presbyter*, to designate the wife of a *presbyter* or *priest* (Jo. Jej. *poenit.* [PG 88.1912B; see *LPGL*, 1129]); C Tur., *can.* 20) is not only late (i.e., 567 C.E.; cf. Gr. Mag., *ep.* 9.198 [599 C.E.]) but irrelevant. In the West, at least, wives of sixth-century (or later) *bishops* were called *episcopae*, not *presbyterae* (C Tur., *can.* 14; cf. *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 1121). By VI, when the Latin *episcopae* was used for the wives of married bishops, bishops in the East were already celibate. On *episcopae* in Gaul and elsewhere, see B. Brennan (1985: 311-323), S. Wemple (1981: 133-134), and J. Ysebaert (1991: 433-435).

Epigraphic attestation of the use of *presbyter* on a fifth-century Christian catacomb inscription from Tropea in Calabria (*CIL* 10,2 [1883]: 8079 = *ILCV* 1.1192) has traditionally been interpreted as referring to the wife of a *presbyter*; e.g., A. Crispo (1945: 134). However, a letter written by Gelasius I, bishop of Rome c.492-496, to a number of Italian dioceses, including all those in Bruttium, the Roman name for Calabria, contains the complaint that the church in the area had stooped to allowing women to officiate at the sacred altars and to participate in other functions which should have been reserved for males (*ep.* 14). According to G. Otranto (1982: 343-353), Gelasius' epistle provides clear evidence that at the end of V there were female Christian *presbyters* performing sacerdotal functions at least in southern Italy and that Leta, the *presbyter* of *CIL* 10,2.8079 was not the wife of a *presbyter* but a *presbyter* in her own right.

For Ammion as a feminine name, cf. Varinlioglu "Uşak I" [1989]: 25 no. 10; id., "Uşak II" [1990]: 73-74 no. 22 (pl. 16). See also *Hel-lenica* 6 [1948]: 90 and L. Zgusta (1964: §57-20). Ammion, like Ammia (see *ad* 34), is based on a common Phrygian term of affection for "mother"; cf. Tation (26) and Tatia (6). For a discussion of the type of decorations on Ammion's tombstone, see the commentaries on similar decorations at 5 and 6.

Πρεσβυτέρα

Since the term πρεσβυτέρα is used on Ammion's tombstone in the same way as ἐπίσκοπος is used to indicate Diogas' Christian role and

status, it is impossible to consider *πρεσβυτέρα* here as simply indicating an elderly lady. It is also much too early for her to be considered to have been the head of a women's monastic community. This is not to say that early "private" monastic communities of women did not exist at this time, but the earliest known use of the term *presbytera* to describe the head of such a community belongs to IV when these communities became an official part of the church's monastic system; see Bas., *reg. br.* 110. The use of *πρεσβυτέρα* in the main inscription under discussion here must be in the sense of an ecclesiastical title designating the role and status of (female-) presbyter.

Female presbyters

It is possible that the *πρεσβυτέραι* of 1 Tim 5:2 were (female-) presbyters and not merely elderly women; see J.H. Elliott (1970: 367-391); R.E. Brown (1980: 332-335); E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983: 289-290). Irrespective of the validity of this view, it seems that by early III mainstream Christianity did not have (no longer had?) presbyters who were women. If there were such *πρεσβυτέραι*, the evidence has disappeared or, at best, is equivocal. D. Irvin (1980: 79) considers *CIJ* 1 [1975]: 581 and 597 to be among the clearest attestations to women bearing the title "presbyter" in "Judaism, Jewish Christianity, or early Christianity," arguing that because of common origins the lines of demarcation between the three groups are blurred and practices overlapped. The two inscriptions she cites (republished by B.J. Brooten [1982: 42-44]) are clearly Jewish, not Christian:

- (i) *CIJ* 1.581 = *CIL* 9 [1883]: 6226; *ILCV* 2 [1927]: 4899 amended in *ILCV* 4 [1967]: 4899; Brooten, 42-43; cf. Kraemer (1988: 219 no. 88 trans. only): Τάφος | Βερωνικελνις πρεσβιτέρες ετ φιλια | Ἰωσητις ("Tomb of Beronikene, elder and daughter of Joses") is from the Jewish catacomb in Venosa (ancient Venusia), S. Italy (date: III-VI).
- (ii) *CIJ* 1.597 = *CIL* 9.6209 with facsimile; Brooten, 43-44; cf. Kraemer (1988: 219 no. 88 trans. only) comes from the same location and is of approximately the same date: Τάφος Φαλστινες πρεσβιτέρες, εἰρήνη ("Tomb of Faustina, elder. Peace").

A third Jewish inscription, not mentioned by Irvin, with the title *πρεσβιτέρες* from the same provenance and date is also republished by Brooten (43 = *CIJ* 1.590 = *CIL* 9.6230; *ILCV* 2.4895; cf. Kraemer (1988: 219 no. 88 [trans. only]). The spelling *πρεσβιτέρες* instead of *πρεσβυτέρας* in these inscriptions is the result of Latinized vocalization (cf. *presbitera* in *CIL* 10.2.8079).

From two further Jewish inscriptions using the actual word *πρεσβυτέρα* (Kisamos, Crete, IV-V: *CIJ* 1.731c = Brooten, 11-12, 41; and Bizye, Thrace, IV-V: *CIJ* 1.692 = Brooten 41-42; cf. Kraemer [1988: 219 no. 88 trans. only]), as well as from another employing the spelling *πρεσβυτήρα* (Malta, IV-V: A. Ferrua [1949: 513]; H. Solin [1983: 747 no. 12]; cf. Kraemer [1985: 431-438; 1988: 220 no. 89 trans. only] and *New Docs* 5 [1989]: 149), it is clear that *πρεσβυτέραι* existed in Jewish circles. Brooten (46-55, esp. 54-55) has argued convincingly that the term was functional, not honorific, and that women, as well as men, belonged to Jewish councils of elders; see also L.H. Kant (1987: 698 and n.170). That there is evidence for Jewish women elders in IV-V and perhaps, but not as conclusively, as early as III, does not prove that they existed in pre-III "Jewish Christianity" or "early Christianity." Inferences drawn from Jewish practices to Christian ones are not as conclusive as Irvin appears to assume.

G.H.R. Horsley (*New Docs* 4, 240 ad no. 6) has drawn attention to a label, on one of the Egyptian mummies in the Louvre Museum, published by F. Barratte and B. Boyaval (1979: 264 no. 1115), date II/III: Ἀρτεμιδώρας | Μικκάλου μη τ' (ρὸς) Πανισκιάινης πρεσβ' (υτέρας) | ἐκοιμήθη ἐν κυρίῳ, ("[mummy] of Artemidora daughter of Mikkalos, her mother (being) Paniskiane, *presbytera*; she fell asleep in the Lord" [trans. Horsley in *New Docs* 4, 240]). The abbreviation *πρεσβ'* is taken by the editors as an indication of age, but Horsley believes that, as the *nomen sacrum* provides an explicit allusion to Christianity in the text, it is much more plausible that "we have here an example of a female elder in the Church" (ibid.). He also suggests that it is likely that the designation refers to Artemidora, rather than to her mother, "as it is the deceased and her status that is in focus" (ibid.). An alternative resolution, of course, is *πρεσβ' (ύτιδος)* which may designate an "elderly lady" (cf. Titus 2:3) or some ecclesiastical office other than "female elder" (see below). Consequently, Horsley's suggestion, while attractive, does not provide unequivocal evidence for a II/III Christian *πρεσβυτέρα*.

Πρεσβυτης

In Christian circles, as well as in Jewish ones, the word *πρεσβυτης* appears to have been used somewhat interchangeably with *πρεσβυτέρα*; see *CIJ* 1.400 = *IRomJud* [1968]: 400 = Brooten (1982: 44); cf. *New Docs* 4, 240 ad no. 6; Kraemer (1988: 219 no. 88 trans. only). Most commonly this was so in the case of the shared meaning of "older woman" (e.g., Tat., *orat.*, 32). It was also used in the sense of senior widow (cf. *Const. App.* 2.28.3; 2.57.2; 3.5.6 with 2.28.1) and, later, of the heads of

religious communities (Pall., *h. Laus.*, *proem.* 3.5). Theologians, however, were at pains to point out that the term *πρεσβύτεριδες* given to these women in no way signified that they had the status or function of *πρεσβυτερίδες* ("female-presbyters") or of *ἱερίσσαι* ("priestesses"). The latter word was probably used metaphorically; J.K. Coyle (1978: 85) translates it "bishopsesses." See Epiph., *haer.* 79.4.1; cf. Thdt., *Titus* 2:3. The literary evidence for the ecclesiastical use of *πρεσβύτερις*, and the official interpretation of its use, is post-Constantinian in date. Epigraphic data is probably not much earlier. One of the well-known "Angels of Thera" inscriptions reads "Ἀγγελος | Ἐπικτοῦς | πρεσβύτιδος (*IAsMinChr* [1922]: 167; see also D. Feissel [1977: 210-212] and *New Docs* 1 [1981]: 121 no. 79), dated III-V by H. Grégoire in *IAsMinChr*. M. Guarducci (1974: 150-152) is skeptical of the Christian nature of this text, but even if it is Christian, there is nothing in the text to suggest why G.W.H. Lampe (*LPGL*, 1131) should list it as the only epigraphic support for the use of *πρεσβύτερις* to denote a Christian female-presbyter. Lampe's only other example of this use of *πρεσβύτερις* (*A. Mt.* 28) is similarly equivocal. It may simply have denoted a senior woman in charge of a group of (female-) deacons; see also *ad* 87.

Other epigraphic attestations of Christian *πρεσβύτεριδες* (e.g., G. Fiorelli [1878: 175-176 no. 31] = Manni Piraino "Iscrizioni" [1972]: 36-37 no. 13 (pl. 7); cf. *AE* 1975 [1978]: 454 and Kraemer [1988: 221 no. 93 trans. only] from Centuripae, Sicily: IV-V; see also *New Docs* 1, 121 no. 79) need not necessarily refer to Christian woman presbyters. The Council of Laodikeia, held sometime between 343 and 381 (see p. 345 below), stipulated that "the so-called *πρεσβύτεριδες* or *προκαθήμεναι* ("female presidents") were not to be ordained in the Church" (*can.* 11). Did this mean that they were not to be appointed at all (i.e., not any longer?) or was this another attempt to clarify that *πρεσβύτεριδες* were not to be identified with the clergy? A late Latin commentary interprets this canon as meaning: "Women who among the Greeks are called *presbyterai*, but by us are named older widows, women once married, and women on the register, are not to be stationed in a church as if they were ordained" (Isid. Mercat., *Decr. can.* 19); see Tabbernee (1987b: 33). See also Otranto (347-350); M.A. Rossi (1991: 73-78, 93); A. Jensen (1992: 356); Kraemer (1992: 184-185); and Trevett, 186-187.

Montanist(?)

Ammion's tombstone is unique. It is the earliest extant unequivocal epigraphic (or literary) reference to a Christian woman given the specific title *πρεσβυτέρα* in the sense of (female-) presbyter. Consequently, we

must either revise the traditional view, stated above, that even if there had been women elders at an earlier time, mainstream Christianity did not have women elders by early III, or we must argue that Ammion, while Christian, belonged to a church indulging in practices not (or no longer) sanctioned by the "official" church. The first option seems unlikely; more evidence would be needed to substantiate it. The second option, however, is extremely plausible. E. Gibson ("Uşak," 437-438) argues that Ammion was a Montanist *πρεσβυτέρα*; cf. Waelkens, 147. In addition to the likelihood, geographically, of a Montanist community in or around Temenothyrai, Gibson (434, 437) presents two main arguments: open profession of faith on the group of tombstones to which Ammion's belongs and the fact that there is clear independent literary evidence that Montanism, unlike mainstream Christianity, had women presbyters (438). The first of these arguments is not as strong as Gibson at first assumed and she modified it somewhat later (see *IPhrygChr*, p. 136). Montanists were not the only Christians to profess Christianity openly in early III; see *ad* 9. The second argument is persuasive. The presence of references to Montanist, or allegedly Montanist, practices is one of the better criteria for identifying inscriptions as possibly Montanist; see pp. 7-8 above. One of Epiphanius' complaints against the Quintillians, a subsect of Montanism (see pp. 346-347 below), is that "among them are women bishops and women presbyters and the like" (*ἐπίσκοποι τε πάρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα* [*haer.* 49.2.5]; see also *ad* 87). Augustine, perhaps in dependence upon Epiphanius, in his discussion of the Pepouzians (an alternative name for Quintillians) states that "they give so much pre-eminence to women that, among them, they are also honored with the priesthood" (*tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur* [*haer.* 27]; cf. Jo. D., *haer.* 49: *γυναῖξί δὲ ἀποδιδόντες τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἱερατεῦειν* ["and they are the ones who permit women to rule and to officiate as priests"]). These literary data, however, are from IV or later and may apply only to a Montanist subsect rather than to Montanism as a whole. Despite this, Gibson's identification of Ammion as a Montanist *presbytera* (perhaps, a *presbytera* belonging to a Montanist subgroup?) makes the best sense out of the total available evidence.

Unlike what we know about the then prevailing attitude to women and ministry in early mainstream Christianity (see R. Gryson [1976: *passim*] and Coyle [51-101]), almost everything we know about the Montanist attitude to women and their role in the church is consistent with the likelihood of them having had *πρεσβύτεραι*; see, for example, F.C. Klawiter (1980: 251-261). Tertullian's negative attitude to women assuming sac-

erdotal functions (*virg.* 9.1; cf. his, earlier, *praescr.* 41.5) must not be taken as conclusive evidence that there could not have been women clergy among the Montanists as argued by J. De Soyres (1878: 97); cf. P. de Labriolle (1913a: 508-512). There may have been quite a difference between Phrygian and African Montanism in practice as well as theology; see H.J. Lawlor (1908: 481-499). M. Walsh claims that Tertullian "in some ways tamed Montanism. He denied women the prominent role they had hitherto held in the movement. They were to have no priestly function, they were not to teach nor to speak in divine service" (1986: 133). If Walsh's interpretation is correct, Tertullian's *virg.* 9.1 provides evidence *for*, rather than *against*, the existence of Montanist women clergy pre-III. In any case, whatever the validity of Walsh's view, Tertullian cannot be taken as representative of Montanism outside of Africa Proconsularis (if that!). Even if adherents of the New Prophecy in Carthage did not advocate women clergy, that Montanists, or at least members of a Montanist subgroup, in Phrygia had women clergy well after Tertullian's time is attested, as we have seen, by later opponents of the movement. For the view that C Laod., *can.* 11, referred to above, was promulgated as a result of the influence of Montanist practices within Phrygian churches, see N. Afanasiev (1983: 61-71) but contrast Trevett, 187.

Montanists?

If Ammion, as seems assured, was a Montanist, it follows that Diogas and Artemidoros were also Montanists and that they were the successive bishops of the Montanist community in which Ammion served as presbyter. Similarly, at least some of the others for whom were erected the clearly Christian tombstones among the group of doorstones from Temenothyrai under discussion here (6-8) also belonged to this community; see *ad* 8.

5. Diogas' tomb

Uşak, in ruins of Antaplı Medrese
Now in Uşak Museum

III²

Ed. pr. — Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 436-439 no. 3 with trans. and photograph.

White marble door stele: Type G Uşak 1 with two doors; see *ad* 3. Bottom left corner (including lower pilaster), bottom edge and top right

corner broken or damaged. Height: 1.10m.-1.16m.; width: 1.46m.; thickness: 0.31m.-0.036m. (shaft), 0.44m. (top). The two doors are recessed. Each consists of one large panel, top of which is a transom. Left panel is decorated with carvings of large hand-mirror, comb, basket, and jar with stopper or pourer (cf. 6-8). Whole of right panel is devoted to a broad "wreath-shaped" symbol on top of two-legged table or altar. Left and right pilasters as well as surface above triple-banded arch of transoms are decorated with tendrils and leaves. Middle pilaster features open book-scroll. Inscription on projecting fascia at top first copied in 1961 by P. Herrmann, but not published. Cursive *sigmas* and *omegas*. Lunate *mus*. Second *upsilon* in *l.1* is carved without tail in ligature with *alpha*. Final *omega* in *l.1* is carved below the line. Letter height: 0.040m.-0.045m. (*l.1*), 0.030m.-0.035m. (*l.2*). Figure 2. Plate 2.

2 Ἀὐρ. Τατιανὴ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσα σεαυτῇ καὶ Διογᾷ συνβ[ί]ω
ἐβισκόπῳ μνήμης χάριν.

Aurelia Tatiane, while still living, (prepared this tomb) for herself and for her husband Diogas, *episkopos*, in memory.

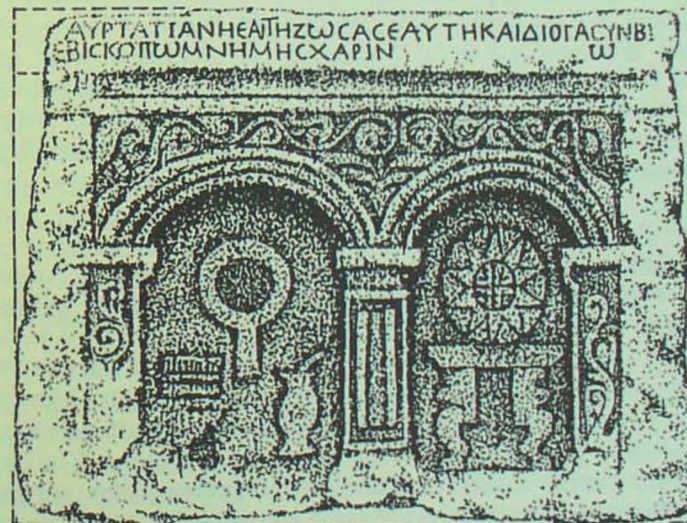


Fig. 2: Diogas' tombstone

Other edd.: Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 301-302, utilizing Herrmann's unpublished copy, with photograph; *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 150 no. 375 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1977]: 493; *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 136 no. 2; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 698-699 no. 50 with trans. and photograph; *SEG* 29 [1982]: 1418.

Variant readings:

- l.1 [̣̣ 10] ιανη̄ ε̄αντη̄: Gibson "Uşak" (*IPhyrChr*); -ανη̄ ε̄αντη̄: *BE*; σ[υμβι]φ: Gibson "Uşak" (*BE*; Tabbernee); σ[υμβι]φ: *IPhyrChr*. The underlined letters in the transcription given above were copied by Herrmann.
 l.2 [ἐπισκοπ]φ: Gibson "Uşak" (*BE*; *IPhyrChr*; Tabbernee).

Further references: *APh* 46 [1977]: 213; Tabbernee "Montanism," 493-494; *BE* [1980]: 497; S. Mitchell (1980: 203); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 103 with German trans.; *AE* 1979 [1982]: 614 (inadvertently cites *IPhyrChr* instead of Gibson "Uşak," but gives the correct page numbers for Gibson "Uşak"); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); Waelkens, 145; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407); *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 238; *SEG* 36 [1989]: 1191; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 406; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); R.S. Kraemer (1992: 167); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxvii; Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 251; C. Trevett (1996: 186, 206, 210 and n.27).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plate 5 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 21); Drew-Bear, plate 8 no. 2 [photo by Herrmann]; Waelkens, plate 56 no. 375 [photo by Herrmann].

Diogas

This, without doubt, is the tombstone of the person who is mentioned on 3-4 as the dedicator. Here, as in 4 (contrast 3), Diogas (hypocoristic for Diogenes) is spelled with -ι- rather than -ει-; see Gibson "Uşak," 436 and n.9. The spelling ἐπίσκοπος occurs also on 3-4.

Aurelia Tatiane

In c.212 (or slightly later) the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus (Caracalla) granted Roman citizenship to almost all of the free inhabitants of the Empire (*Dig.* I.5.17; Dio Cass., *Epitome* 78.9.4-5); see Herrmann (1972: 519-530). As the use of a *gentilicium* was one of the marks of Roman citizenship, many provincials took the name Aurelius or Aurelia in honor of the emperor who had granted them citizenship. Tatiane, Diogas' wife, appears to have been one of these. The *quasi-gentilicium* Aurelius/-a also functioned as a *praenomen* and was passed on to subsequent generations, at least until mid IV. Although not totally absent later, its extensive use devalued both the *gentilicium* and the *praenomen*, contributing to the widespread preference for single names by the end of IV; see I. Kajanto (1977: 421-428) and P. Gallivan (1992: 51-79). The name Tatiane (cf. 53) is derived from a Phrygian word for mother; see *ad* 6.

Epigraphy

The word ε̄αντη̄ is engraved twice by mistake. The stonemason seems to have been confused about the spelling of the word as well as the syntax. The first attempt (ε̄αντη̄), probably due to common pronunciation, was corrected by the insertion of a vertical stroke to form an *upsilon* in ligature. The word was then repeated by use of the second person σεαντη̄; cf. 7 and Waelkens, 148 no. 368.

Communion paten or "wreath-loaf"?

The large symbol in the right panel of Diogas' tombstone appears to be a developed, more stylized version of the decoration on the tombstones of Artemidoros (3) and Loukios (6). It differs from them in that its "wreath-shaped" symbol is much broader, is decorated with lines converging at points at the outer rim, giving the impression of ten-pointed star, and encircles a small circular (and convex?) object which is itself divided into quadrants by means of a cross. Each quadrant has a semicircular marking, giving the central object a three-dimensional look.

The "wreath-shaped" object is portrayed resting on a two-legged table, or altar (contrast 3, 6 which have a three-legged table or altar). The whole symbol is almost identical with those carved on 7-8, presumably by the same mason(s). M. Waelkens (150) is convinced that all these items symbolize eucharistic "wreath loaves" (on which, see *ad* 3). E. Gibson ("Uşak," 435) considers them to be carvings of a "communion paten in wreath." Perhaps in this and 7-8 the "wreath" is in fact the communion paten and the central object (interpreted by Gibson as the paten) a *panis quadratus* (see *ad* 3) portrayed as being on the paten. Could it be that two similar, but not identical, symbols were used to illustrate the Eucharist: the "wreath-loaf" (3, 6) and the communion paten containing the *panis quadratus* (5, 7-8)?

Other symbols

The left-hand "door" contains a number of decorations extremely common on Phrygian tombstones commissioned for women. Articles of toiletry were especially popular; e.g., combs (cf. 6-7, 23, 36, 39, 42, 47-48, 54, and, probably, 4); hand-mirrors (cf. 6-8, 36); *alabastra* (cf. 6-8). These symbols portrayed the beauty and elegance of the deceased. A knitting basket (cf. 29, 42) demonstrated the virtue of industriousness. See Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 3.

Literacy?

The stylized open book-scroll carved on the central pilaster (cf. 21), like wax tablets with stylus carved on other Phrygian tombstones (see *ad* 38), may have symbolized literacy; see Gibson "Koç Collection," 3. The extent to which the people named on any particular tombstone were, in fact, literate is impossible to tell. Scrolls and wax tablets, as common symbols, may have been pre-carved on the stone prior to purchase or, even if these symbols were commissioned, they may merely have reflected the way in which the dedicators wanted to portray the deceased (and themselves).

Montanist

For discussion of the Montanist identity of Diogas and Tatiane, see the commentaries on 3-4.

6. Markia's "cousin"

Uşak, in ruins of Antaplı Medrese
Now in Uşak Museum

III²

Ed. pr. — Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 434-435 no. 1 with trans. and photograph.

White marble door stele: Type F Uşak 1 with two doors; see *ad* 3. Bottom left corner (including lower pilaster) broken away. Carving otherwise unaffected. Bottom right edge and corner slightly broken away. Tenon missing. Height: 1.28m. (right) - 1.30m. (left); width: 0.80m. (shaft), 1.02m. (top); thickness: left: 0.22m. (bottom), 0.41m. (top), right: 0.25m. (bottom), 0.42m. (top). The two doors are recessed. Each consists of a large panel with arched transom. Left panel decorated with large hand-mirror, flanked by comb (left), and jar with stopper or pourer (right); cf. 5, 7-8; transom has spindle and distaff. Base ledge connects visually with base of right door, the panel of which is divided from transom by horizontal border. Right transom contains double-leaf motif. Right door panel has large representation of wreath-shaped symbol, encircling a cross of parallel lines, on top of three-legged table or altar; similar to 5, 7-8, and very similar to 3. Pilasters and surface above triple-banded arches of transoms are decorated with tendrils and leaves. Inscription on lower half of projecting top fascia was first copied (but not published) by P. Herrmann in 1961. Ligatures at II.1,2. Cursive *epsilons*

(apart from the ones which are carved in ligature) and *sigma*. Letter height: 0.018m.-0.025m. **Figure 3. Plate 1.**

2 Μαρκία Λουκίω ἀδελφ[ο]τέκνω καὶ Τατία τῇ γ[υ-]
ναϊκὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν.

Markia (prepared this tomb) for her cousin[?] Loukios and for Tatia, his wife, in memory.

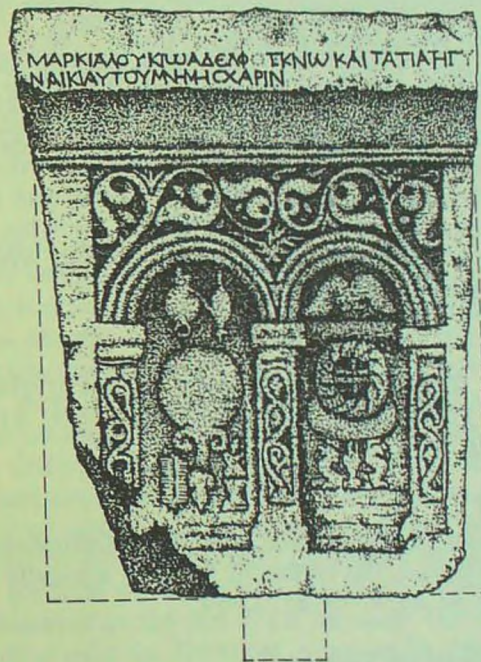


Fig. 3: Tombstone of Loukios and Tatia

Other ed.: *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 149 no. 372 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1977]: 493; *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 136 no. 3; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 699-701 no. 51 with trans. and photograph.

Variant readings:

I.2 μνήμης: Gibson "Uşak" (*IPhyrChr*; Tabbernee). According to M. Waelkens the *nu* is clearly visible.

Further references: *APH* 46 [1977]: 213; Tabbernee "Montanism," 494-495; D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 103 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); Waelkens, 145; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407); *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 238; *BE* [1989]: 688; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 406; R.S. Kraemer (1992: 167); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii, 62; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 251; C. Trevett (1996: 206, 210 and n.27).

Photographs: ed. *pr.*, plate 3 (Tabbernee, plate 22); Waelkens, plate 56 no. 372.

Cousin or nephew?

Ἀδελφότεκνον here may mean "cousin," as it does in Hipp. Th., fr. 2.6 (see *LPLG*, s.v. ἀδελφότεκνον; Gibson "Uşak," 435), although the literal sense of "brother's-child" (i.e., nephew) is also likely. For the use of ἀνεψιός to designate cousin on Phrygian tombstones, cf. 51, 60. In Phrygia, as in many ancient cultures, however, the distinction between "first cousin" and other cousins or nephews/nieces was not very clear. For the view that Loukios was, in fact, Markia's brother and that the term ἀδελφότεκνον is used here in the sense of "he who loves his sibling," see Kraemer, 167. In any case it is Markia, Loukios' relative, who erected the gravestone for Loukios and his wife Tatia.

Tatia

Tatia is derived from an apocopated form of a Phrygian word for "mother"; see L. Robert (1963: 348); L. Zgusta (1964: §1517-10 and p. 502); and *IPhygChr*, p. 145.

Spindle and distaff

Whereas 5 contains a knitting basket, alongside illustrations of similar objects popular for women, this tombstone features a spindle and distaff; cf. 4, 23, 36, 38-39, 42, 44, 47-49, 51, 53-54.

Authorized to celebrate the Eucharist?

An important feature of this tombstone is the "wreath-loaf" above a *mensa tripes* symbol (cf. 3 and similar, but not identical, symbols on 5, 7-8). E. Gibson ("Uşak," 437) interprets this symbol to indicate that the deceased was a member of the clergy authorized to celebrate the Eucharist (see also *ad* 3). This is a plausible interpretation. Two of the five gravestones from Uşak on which this, or the similar, motif appears give the title ἐπίσκοπος to the deceased (3, 5). The name and any other relevant details are missing on 8. The inscriptions on the remaining two stones, however, provide the names of the deceased, without ecclesiastical titles. Does this mean that they, too, were "clergy authorized to celebrate

the Eucharist"? Gibson ("Uşak," 434), apparently, believes that they were.

Waelkens (149) thinks that in the case of Loukios and, presumably, also in the case of the others where the motif appears without evidence of the deceased being clergy, the "wreath-loaf" had probably become a sign of Montanist faith rather than an indication of ability to celebrate the Eucharist. If so, this would enable us to identify as Montanist other inscriptions with the motif. But does this apply only to the "wreath-loaf" (e.g., 61) or to inscriptions with other representations of eucharistic bread (e.g., the *panis quadratus*)? The relatively frequent occurrence of eucharistic symbols on pre-Constantinian tombstones makes this most unlikely. On most of these tombstones they are probably no more than indicators of Christianity and suggest neither Montanism specifically nor the authority to celebrate the Eucharist; see also *New Docs* 4, 238.

Montanist

The Montanist nature of the Uşak stones (including the one under discussion here) seems assured by the fact that they belong to a group, which, on the basis of 4, can be identified, independently of the wreath-loaf motif, as Montanist. However, the possibility that Loukios was also able to celebrate the Eucharist must not be dismissed too quickly on the basis of the views expressed in the previous paragraph regarding the more general meaning of eucharistic symbols on other tombstones. The Uşak stones differ from those tombstones in that the ones from Uşak portray eucharistic bread and/or a communion paten *on top of a communion table or altar*. It is this additional feature which suggests that, even if eucharistic symbols on other tombstones are merely indicators of Christianity (official or otherwise), here they probably indicate some eucharistic function on the part of the deceased. This function, presumably, is presiding over the Eucharist, as would be the case with bishops such as Artemidoros (3) and Diogas (5-6). This is also likely if the deceased were presbyters. A less likely (but possible) further use of the symbol would be for it to have been employed on the tombstones of deacons, as deacons assisted at the Eucharist and distributed the eucharistic elements to those present and, afterwards, to any absentees; see, for example, Just., *I apol.* 65. It is at least conceivable, therefore, that Loukios was a Montanist presbyter or (perhaps) deacon.

7. "... and for himself"

Uşak, in ruins of Antaplı Medrese
Now in Uşak Museum

III²

Ed. pr. — *IllydiaKP* 2 [1911]: 261 with line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text.

White marble door stele: Type G Uşak 1 with two doors; see *ad* 3. Most of top fascia and left corner now broken away, but extant when inscription was first copied. Bottom left corner partly broken; right edge damaged slightly. Carving unaffected. Height: 1.09m.; width: 1.28m.; thickness: 0.39m. (bottom), 0.49m. (top). The two doors are recessed, each with an arched transom. Above each transom: arch of double rounded bands. Left transom contains carving of comb and small jar. Right transom empty. Panels of doors separated visually from transoms by double horizontal lines, repeated at base. Left panel has illustration of large hand-mirror. Right panel contains large wreath-shaped symbol, encircling a cross of double parallel lines on top of two-legged table or altar, almost identical with 5, 8 and similar to 3, 6. Pilasters and surface of stone above arches are decorated with tendrils and leaves. Inscription on top fascia, first copied by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein in 1908 while stone was *in situ* in wall of library of the Antaplı Medrese. One ligature. Cursive sigmas and omega. Letter height: 0.026m. **Figure 4. Plate 2.**

Ἀσκληπιάδης Μέλτης καὶ σεαυτῷ μνήμης χάριν.

Asklepiades (prepared this tomb) for Mel(e)te and for himself, in memory.

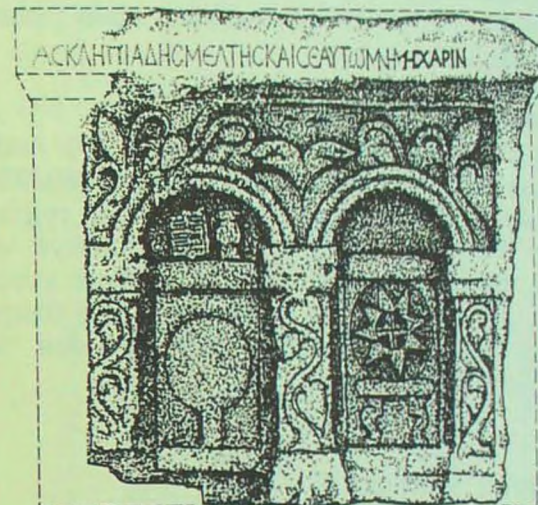
Other ed.: *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 149-150 no. 373 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 433 and n.4 with photograph; *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 136 no. 4; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 701 no. 52 with photograph.

Further references: Gibson "Upper Tembris Valley" [1975a]: 154 n.3; id., "Uşak," 438-439; *BE* [1977]: 493; Tabbernee "Montanism," 494-495; D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); Waelkens, 145; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407); W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 406; R.S. Kraemer (1992: 167); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxviii; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); C. Trevett (1996: 206).

Photographs: Gibson "Uşak," plate 6 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 23); Waelkens, plate 56 no. 373.

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed. pr.*, p. 139 fig. 84.



**Fig. 4: Tombstone of Melete
(and Asklepiades)**

Asklepiades and Melete

The "communion paten/eucharistic bread" symbol (cf. 3, 5-6, 8) indicates that Asklepiades and Melete were Christians who, presumably, were part of the Montanist community to which Ammion (4) belonged; see *IPhrygChr*, p. 136; cf. Gibson "Uşak," 433-435. But were they clergy "authorized to celebrate the Eucharist" as also claimed by E. Gibson ("Uşak," 433-435)—or, at least, able to assist at the Eucharist (cf. 6)? Unless the "communion paten/eucharistic bread" symbol here is merely a sign of Montanism (as suggested by M. Waelkens, 149), which is unlikely because of the representation of an altar or communion table as an integral part of the symbol (see *ad* 6), Gibson may well be correct.

Gibson argues that the symbol signifies that "the deceased was a member of the clergy authorized to celebrate the Eucharist" ("Uşak," 437; cf. 434 [my italics]). She does not, however, comment on the fact that in this particular inscription the deceased is a woman! Does this imply that Melete was a Montanist *πρεσβυτέρα*? If not, could she have been a (female-) deacon involved in assisting at the Eucharist (see *ad* 6)? Perhaps, as Asklepiades commissioned the tomb also for himself, the symbol

was intended to apply only to Asklepiades—distinguishing the eucharistic symbol in the right-hand door from the objects relating to women (on which, see *ad* 5) in the left-hand door. In which case he may have been a Montanist presbyter or deacon, unless he was the bishop who succeeded Diogas (5)—but this is unlikely, as episcopal status would probably have been inscribed (cf. 3, 5).

Epigraphy, orthography, and onomastics

Asklepiades (cf. 39) is formed from Asklepios (cf. 10). Asklepiades' wife's name was Melete, not Meletes (Gibson "Uşak," 438]). The use of the genitive instead of the dative is common in Phrygian epigraphy; see Gibson "Upper Tembris Valley," 154 n.3 and id., "Kütahya Museum" [1980]: 59 n.3. The contracted form, Melte, given on the tombstone, is an hypocoristic. As in 5, the engraver (or the person who composed the epitaph) appears to have had difficulty with the expression "for himself": $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\nu\tau\omega$ should have read $\epsilon\alpha\nu\tau\omega$.

8. Unknown Christians

Uşak, in ruins of Antaplı Medrese
Now in Uşak Museum

III²

Ed. pr. —*ILydiaKP* 2 [1911]: 263 with line drawing/facsimile.

White marble door stele: Type G Uşak 1 with two doors; see *ad* 3. Top fascia and bottom of pilasters already broken away in 1908. Only fragments of stone remain. Height: 1.15m.; width: 1.23m.; thickness: 0.27m. The two doors were recessed, each with a transom and an arch of double rounded bands above transom. Left transom contained illustration of comb. Panel of left door was separated visually from transom by means of double horizontal lines which may have been repeated at base (cf. 7). Left panel contained decorations of small hand-mirror, small jar, a pruning-hook, and a hatchet. In the right panel, not separated visually from transom, was a large wreath-shaped symbol, encircling a cross of double parallel lines, on top of a two-legged table; almost identical with 5, 7 and similar to 3, 6. Underneath this symbol was a wool-bow. Pilasters and surface of stone above arches decorated with tendrils and leaves. Inscription presumably commenced on fascia, first copied by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein in 1908 while stone was *in situ* in wall of library of the Antaplı Medrese. Partial inscription is extant on fragments of capitals of

left and middle pilasters. Ligatures at ll.2, 3. Cursive *epsilons*. Quadratic *sigmas*. **Figure 5. Plate 3.**

[-----]

ἀνέτ-
3 ησεν 5 μνήμης χ-
ἀπιν.

5 He (or she) erected (this tombstone), in | memory.

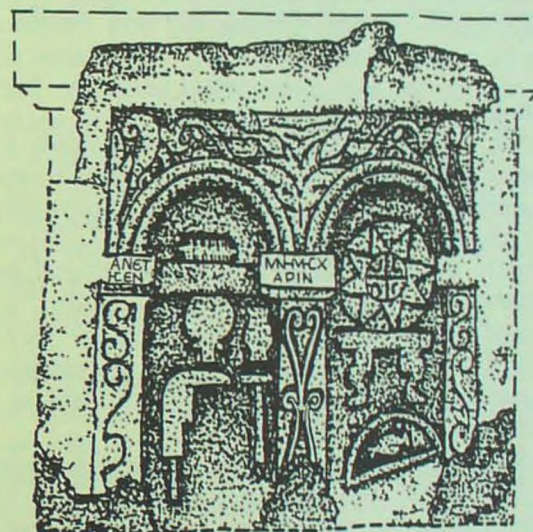


Fig. 5: Tombstone of unknown Christians

Other ed.: *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 150 no. 374 with line drawing/facsimile and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 433 and n.4, 438 with line drawing/facsimile and photograph; *IPhygChr* [1978a]: p. 136 no. 5; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 701-702 no. 53 with line drawing/facsimile and photograph.

Further references: Gibson "Uşak," 438; *BE* 1977: 493; M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 297-298 n.47, 287 n.155, 313); Tabbernee, 494-495; D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); Waelkens *Türsteine*, 145; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407); *BE* [1989]: 688; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 406; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxvii; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.230, 104 and n.428); C. Trevett (1996: 206).

Photographs: Gibson "Uşak," plate 7 fig. 1 (Tabbernee, plate 24 fig. 1); Waelkens *Türsteine*, plate 56 no. 374.

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, p. 139 fig. 86 (Waelkens *Türsteine*, 150 fig. 46); Gibson "Uşak," plate 7 fig. 2 (Tabbernee, plate 24 fig. 2).

Montanist clergy?

Because of the presence of the symbol in the right door (probably representing a communion paten containing the *panis quadratus*, on an altar or table (cf. 5, 7), this inscription is likely to be that of Montanist (see *ad* 4) clergy able to celebrate, or assist at, the Eucharist (cf. 3-7). The extant fragments, however, do not enable us to know anything else about the deceased other than what may be conveyed via the other symbols.

Agricultural motifs

The left "door" contains a carving of a special hook for pruning vines known as the *falx vinitoria*; see Waelkens (1977: 279) and a hatchet known as the *dolabra*; see *ibid.* The *falx vinitoria* is extremely common on Phrygian tombstones (cf. 23, 38, 41, 43, 48-49, 53, 59) with the *dolabra* only slightly less so; cf. Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 2011. More infrequent, however, is the appearance of the "wool-bow," an implement used to separate shorn wool; see Waelkens (1977: 287) and cf. *id.*, *Türsteine*, 116-117 no. 276 (pl. 42). In the doorstone under discussion here, a small part of the bow, normally attached to the top, is carved within the bow; see *ibid.*, 150.

According to Waelkens (1977: 280, 284), agricultural symbols indicate that the deceased had used the implements portrayed as tools of trade. Although it is, of course, possible that in particular instances, agricultural motifs, perhaps carved on the stone before the purchaser commissioned the text, simply reflected the general agricultural environment in which the deceased had lived, it appears that in most cases the portrayal of specific tools is a reliable indicator of the deceased's occupation. It is likely, therefore, that the deceased husband of this epitaph was involved in viticulture and the wool industry as well as having ecclesiastical responsibilities. Presumably even Montanist clergy had to supplement their stipends.

As the left panel also contains objects related to women—mirror, comb, *alabastron*—the tomb must have been prepared for the wife, as well as the husband. E. Gibson's suggestion that the multiplicity of symbols indicates that there were three deceased persons ("Uşak," 438) is not convincing. On the significance of the depiction of objects related to the daily life of the deceased on Phrygian sepulchral monuments, see

Waelkens (1977: 277-315). For the common omission of -σ- before -τ- (as in ἀνέστησεν here [II.2-3]) on Phrygian tombstones, cf. 40 and 61.

A Montanist workshop?

Given the similarity in style of 3-8 to slightly earlier doorstones from neighboring Trajanopolis, Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 145) suggests that either a large workshop with traveling stonemasons served both cities or that the workshop moved from Trajanopolis to Temenothyrai very early in III. The latter seems to Waelkens to be the more likely of the two. The reason for such a move, according to Waelkens, may merely have been economic in that Temenothyrai was a larger city and closer to marble quarries. He, however, also believes that religious factors may have been involved. He considers it thoroughly conceivable that the artisans of the workshop had converted to Montanism and that they, because of religious difficulties in Trajanopolis, resettled themselves in Temenothyrai, working for a local, presumably Montanist, community. The editors of *MAMA* 10 (p. xxxvii) adopt Waelkens' hypothesis and assume that the relocated workshop catered exclusively to the Montanist community, which they believe had existed in the Lydo-Phrygian borderland since before the end of II.

That the workshop moved from Trajanopolis to Temenothyrai is highly probable. Not only do very similar stones, from approximately the same period, come from both cities, but there is also evidence for the existence of another workshop in Trajanopolis, producing a different type of doorstone, during III¹; see *ad* 9 and Waelkens *Türsteine*, 145. This second workshop appears to have had mainstream Christians among its clientele. However, it is unlikely that either workshop catered exclusively for any one group of customers. Even the (later) workshops of the Upper Tembris Valley, which numbered many Christians among their customers, continued to serve (an even greater number of?) non-Christians; see *ad* 37 and cf. 53.

The other extant doorstones from Temenothyrai or Trajanopolis of this period do not give any indication that the people mentioned on them were Christians. Waelkens, for example, although indicating that Gibson "Uşak," 439-442 no. 4 (pl. 8) [= Waelkens *Türsteine*, 148-149 no. 371 (pl. 56)] was carved by the same stonemason(s) as those who produced our 5-8, does not classify this inscription as Christian; cf. *ibid.*, 145 with 321. Similarly, Waelkens (*ibid.*) does not classify *ILydia*KP 2.262 (fig. 85) [= Waelkens *Türsteine*, 148 no. 369 (pl. 56)] as Christian even though it was also produced by the same workshop. These two inscriptions commemorate different members of an influential family at Te-

menothyrai (see also Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai," 298-301) almost certainly not Christian. Not one of the extant inscriptions from the time of the workshop's (likely) earlier existence in Trajanopolis is classified as Christian by Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 321).

None of the stones from Temenothyrai which can be dated to the time of the episcopates of Artemidores, Diogas, or Diogas' (unknown) successor, other than 3, 5-8, has the "communion paten/eucharistic bread" symbol. If, as argued above, this symbol was used for clergy able to celebrate (or assist in the celebration of) the eucharist rather than as a more general symbol for Christian allegiance, the absence of this symbol does not automatically rule out the theoretical possibility that some of these doorstones were commissioned in memory of Christian (or even Montanist) lay people. However, in light of the highly speculative nature of the view that the workshop which produced 3-8 catered exclusively to the Montanist community at Temenothyrai, the other extant definitely early-III doorstones from that workshop (Waelkens *Türsteine*, 148-154 nos. 368, 370, 376, 391 [pl. 54-55]) have been treated here as non-Montanist inscriptions and, hence, have not been included in this corpus; see Appendix 4.

Trajanopolis

Map 12:B5 (Central Phrygia). Refounded in honor of Trajan (c.98-117) at a strategic location on the main road from Smyrna (modern İzmir; 6:C2) to Dorylaeion (Şarhüyük; 7:B7) between Temenothyrai (12:B3) and Akmonia (12:B6). Trajanopolis has long been identified with ancient ruins near the modern villages of Çarikköy (12:B5) and Ortaköy (12:A5); see M. Waelkens (1977: 297 n.47). According to Waelkens (*Türsteine* [1986]: 145-146, the provenance of 9 is decisive for identifying Çarikköy, approx. 12km. E. of Uşak, as the site of Trajanopolis. Another group of ruins near Gâvurören (12:A4), which is approx. 5km. N.W. of Çarikköy and 10km. N.E. of Uşak, has also been suggested as the site of Trajanopolis, but these ruins are of Grimenothyrai; see *ibid.*, 143-144; H. von Aulock (1987: 21-24, 43); and TIB 7 [1990]: 407. For earlier discussions, see CB 2 [1897]: pp. 595-597; F. Imhoof-Blumer (1898: 204-207); *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 279-283; D. Magie

(1950: vol. 1, 595; vol. 2, 1452 n.8); and A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 71).

9. Theodoros' tomb

Çarikköy, in fountain

III¹

Ed. pr. — Körte *Inscriptiones* [1902]: 34 no. 61.

White marble doorstele: Type F (or J?) Uşak 2; see *ad* 3. Top worn, especially at left. Top left corner broken. Left side slightly damaged. Top right corner and parts of right side slightly broken. Back cemented into wall. Bottom set in concrete in fountain. Waterpipe protrudes centrally through "door," at lower end. (Visible) height: 0.97m.; width 0.80m.; thickness unobtainable. "Door" (four panels with central post and "V" shaped capital) is recessed. Panels corniced but otherwise undecorated. Surrounding frame decorated with tendrils and leaves. Door divided from top fascia (decorated with palm leaves) by narrow cyma moulding containing seven stylized beads separated by vertical ridges. Inscription in *tabula ansata* carved centrally in frame above door below moulding. Quadratic *epsilon* and *sigma*; *upsilon* with horizontal bar in tail (cf. 3). Letter height: 0.028m. Figure 6. Plate 3.

Θεοδώρου (leaf)
2 Χρειστιανοῦ
μνήμης χάριν.

(The tomb) of Theodoros, a Christian, in memory.

Other edd.: **IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 35 with trans. and photograph; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 154 no. 392 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 267; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 642-643 no. 8.

Further references: *IPhyrChr*, pp. 98, 103, 139; *BE* [1979]: 534; P. Nautin (1979: 579); A. Ferrua (1980: 177); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 113 no. 6 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 501 no. 94e; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 35); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 135; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens, 145-146, 197-

198; *SEG* 36 [1989]: 1191; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 407; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xl nn.10-11; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.232).

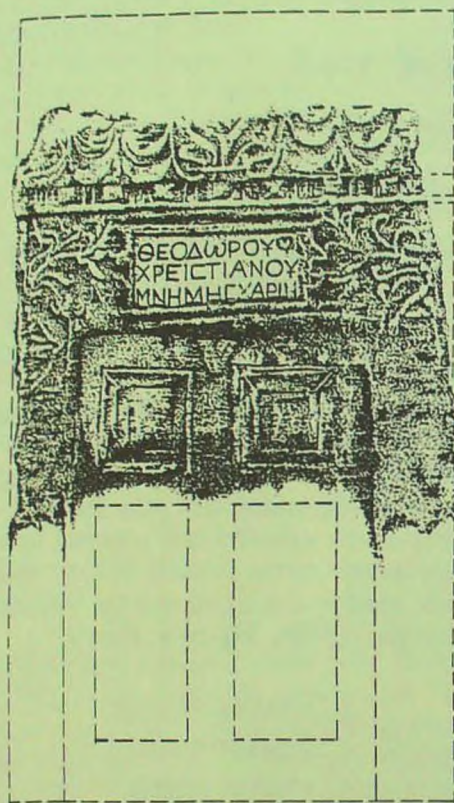


Fig. 6: Theodoros' tombstone

Photograph: *IPhrygChr*, plate 30 (Waelkens, plate 57 no. 392).

(The tomb of) Theodoros

Phrygian funerary inscriptions often use the genitive to indicate that the stone marks the grave or tomb of the person(s) mentioned; cf. 1, and perhaps 19 (where the genitive may have served as a dative). In this instance, however, there is little doubt that the genitive carries the sense of "(the tomb) of Theodoros." E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, pp. 98, 107) dated Theodoros' epitaph to IV; but M. Waelkens (154), because of the particular palm leaf decorations (popular c.II⁴/III¹), has been able to date it

more convincingly to III¹. Palm leaf decorations (cf. 57, 61, 88) on Christian tombstones symbolized "victory over death"; see Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 21.

Workshop

Although this doorstone was assigned to Akmonia by Elsa Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 103; followed by Mitchell, 39 and n.232), Çarınköy is situated within what was once the territory of Trajanopolis, not Akmonia (see Sheppard, 315), and is almost certainly (close to) the site of Trajanopolis itself; see p. 86 above. *MAMA* 10 (p. xl n.10) mistakenly records this inscription as having been copied at Uşak and assumes it to have been produced in a workshop in Temenothyrai. Waelkens (145-146), however, claims that the workshop which produced this tombstone was located in Trajanopolis and that, because the style of this doorstone differs greatly from other doorstones found in both Trajanopolis and Temenothyrai, this workshop was independent of (or established subsequent to) one which appears to have moved from Trajanopolis to Temenothyrai; see *ad* 8.

Tabula ansata

Phrygian artisans were fond of decorating their inscriptions by engraving them within a clearly delineated rectangular panel, normally sunken, surrounded by a border to which ornately carved "handles" (*ansae*) were attached at left and right; cf. 20, 36, 45, 56, 69-70. For an example from Galatia, see 87.

The spelling of the word "Christian"

The common substitution of -ει- for -ι- affected the spelling of the word Christian as it affected the spelling of other words, both in Phrygia (e.g., 17, 23) and Lydia (e.g., 13), as well as elsewhere; cf. the curious variant Χριστιειανός (94) from Rome. The feminine form Χρειστειανή appears in 22. Χρειστειανή is attested in 63 and may be restored in 13. The use of -ει- instead of -ι- occurs even more frequently in the spelling of the plural forms of the word Christian in the inscriptions under discussion here; e.g., 10, 19, 21, 24-27, 33(?), 36, 58, 69.

One particularly interesting example is 26 which uses -η- and -ει- in the same word: Χ(χ)ρηστειανο[ις] (l.6). The variation of spelling is due, in part, to the overlapping of sounds represented by -ι-, -ει-, and -η- in *koinē*, especially in provinces such as Phrygia which were not originally Greek-speaking. Pronunciation affected spelling, as did the literacy of the engraver. In part, the similarity of Χριστός/χρηστός (cf. Suet., *Claud.*

25.4) also led to the confusion of spelling the word Χριστιανός, as there was a widespread assumption, sometimes utilized by Christians themselves (e.g., Just. *I apol.* 4.1; Lact., *inst.* 4.7.5) that χρη-/χρη-/χριστιανός derived from the Greek word for "good"; see F. Blass (1895: 468-470); Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 350-353; Ferrua (1933: 13-26); H. Fuchs (1950: 69-74); O. Montevecchi (1979: 485-500); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 129; and M.J. Edwards (1991: 232-233 and nn.5, 6). See the following for epigraphic examples of the use of *eta* in the spelling of Christian(s): 37(?), 38, 42-43, 52, 95 (singular); 31, 38-40, 42-44, 46(?), 48-49, 50-52, 60-62 (plural). Cf. the papyrological examples in E.A. Judge and S. Pickering (1977: 65-69) and in Edwards, 232-235.

The word Christian(s) is spelled with an *iota* in the first syllable in 20, 28-29, 45, 48, 73, 93-94. No conclusions should be drawn from the variant spellings of the word in respect of Montanism. There was no peculiarly Montanist orthography, and the different types of spelling Christian(s) coincide in date and even within particular inscriptions (e.g., 48).

Montanist?

Calder, on the basis of provenance, date, and "open profession of Christianity," designated this epitaph as "probably Montanist" (267). Similarly, Gibson originally concluded ("Montanism" [1974]: 25) that, in Phrygia, people who confessed themselves Christians on their tombstones, could only have been Montanists. There is, however, no convincing evidence that early open profession of Christianity in Phrygia was restricted to Montanism. Third-century Phrygian Christians, as a whole, do not appear to have been concerned about declaring their identity and did so in a variety of ways. Open profession of Christianity, by itself, is an insufficiently strong indicator of Montanism. Additional data are required to classify this, or any other, epitaph as Montanist.

Mitchell (39 and n.232) provides theoretical support for a Montanist classification of this epitaph by postulating the existence of a Montanist workshop in Akmonia (see *ad* 22), but, even if there was such a workshop in Akmonia, this particular doorstone was not crafted there. According to Waelkens (145-146, 154), the workshop at Trajanopolis which did produce Theodoros' tombstone catered, among others, to "orthodox Christians," and he assumes, most probably accurately, that they, rather than Montanists, commissioned Theodoros' epitaph; cf. Tabbernee "Montanism," 643.

Hierapolis

Map 8:H1 (S.W. Phrygia). Not to be confused with the smaller city of Hieropolis (modern Koçhisar) in the Phrygian Pentapolis (8:D7), Hierapolis was situated in the Lykos Valley, approx. 11km. N. of Laodikeia ad Lycum (Eskihisar; 8:H1), near the foot of the mountain range separating the N.E. Lykos Valley from Central Phrygia. Hierapolis, however, unlike Laodikeia, was part of Phrygia, not Lydia. The ancient "holy city," clearly visible from surrounding settlements including Laodikeia, was built on a plateau rising approx. 100m. above the plain. This plateau consists of white material deposited, over centuries, by the hot springs for which Hierapolis was famous. The name of the modern village near the ancient site is Pamukkale ("cotton castle"). On Hierapolis, its territory and its inscriptions, see CB 1 [1895]: pp. 84-114; V. Schultze (1922: 411-435); S.E. Johnson (1950: 12-16); D. Magie (1950: vol. 1, 127-128; vol. 2, 987-988 n.24); P. Verzone (1959: 20-22; cf. 1967: cols. 1203-1223); G.E. Bean (1971: 232-246); F. Kolb (1974: 255-270); BE [1976]: 668; IHierap [1985]: pp. 47-54; and TIB 7 [1990]: 268-272.

10. Ammia and Asklepios

Pamukkale

Π⁴-III¹

Ed. pr. — IHierapJ [1898]: 319 with facsimile of majuscule copy by F. Winter.

Reused sarcophagus lid. Inscription, on short side of lid, copied by F. Winter in 1896. Neither dimensions nor details of artwork, if any, given. Quadratic *epsilon*. *Sigmas* carved as Σ. "Bull's horn" *omega* in l.2. "Horseshoe" *omega* in l.3. *Omega* in l.2 carved before the *iota*. Letter height not provided. **Figure 7.**

Αμμία
2 καὶ Ἀσ[κ]λήπιω.
Ἡ Χριστεῖανῶν.

For Ammia and Asklepios.
The (coffin is that) of Christians.

AMMIA
KAIAΣ///ΛΗΠΩΙ
ΗΧΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΝΩΝ

Fig. 7: Facsimile of sarcophagus inscription
honoring Ammia and Asklepios,
as published in 1898

Text reprinted and discussed: V. Schultze (1922: 428 and n.2).

Variant readings:

l.3 Χριστιανῶν; earlier *edd.* do not show partially illegible *omega*.

Further reference: R.M. Grant (1988: 88).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, p. 166.

Orthography and date

This inscription belongs to the period before c.212 when the *praenomen* Αὐρ. was granted (see *ad* 5). The ungrammatical ἡ Χριστειανῶν in l.3 suggests that the phrase designating this a coffin containing the remains of Christians had already become stereotyped by the time this sarcophagus was inscribed; cf. 9. Grant (88), who cites the inscription in translation only, assumes that there was sufficient space between the ἡ and the X in l.3 to insert a word such as ἐκκλησία or συναγωγή; cf. Schultze (428) who suggests ἀδεγφότης or ἐργασία. The facsimile of the majuscule text, however, does not allow such restoration. There is room for only one or, at most, two additional letters. For the substitution of -ει- for -ι- in Χριστειανῶν, cf. 26, 94.

Montanist?

While Schultze (478) had a few doubts whether another inscription found at Hierapolis, containing the name Prophetilla (11), should be classified as Montanist, he had almost no doubt that Ammia and Asklepios were Montanists. He argued that they were buried by the Montanist community in Hierapolis (428), but his argument was based on the assumption that an additional word such as "Brotherhood" or "Guild" should be presumed in l.3. Schultze assumed that the inscription should be dated approximately to the time of Apollinarius, the Hierapolitan bishop who, in c.170-180, combated the New Prophecy in his district

(see pp. 19-20 above). Similarly, Grant, who is obviously intrigued by the inscription, takes as secure a second-century date and postulates that we may have here an inscription honoring the prophetess Ammia, via whom Montanists traced their prophetic succession, and to Asclepius "the healer" (88). But, as Grant himself points out, Ammia, the prophetess, is linked with Philadelphia, not with Hierapolis, and Asclepius was not popular in Christian circles (*ibid.*) As Ammia and Asklepios were common Phrygian names, it is best to assume that we have here the sarcophagus inscription of an otherwise unknown Christian couple buried at Hierapolis. Because Hierapolis appears to have retained, at least, an ambivalent attitude toward Montanism after the time of Apollinarius before apparently becoming a rallying place for Montanists in IV and V (see *ad* 82), Ammia and Asklepios *may* have been Montanists, but, if so, there is no indication of this on their tombstone. By itself, open profession of Christianity, even as early as this, does not indicate Montanism (cf. 9).

11. Prophetilla

Pamukkale, near exit of cemetery road
N.W. of old city

c.200

Ed. pr. — Hogarth "Hierapolis" [1891]: 97 no. 25 with facsimile of majuscule text.

Sarcophagus, broken on right. Dimensions not provided. No details of any artwork given. Inscription first copied in May 1887 by party consisting of W.M. Ramsay, H.A. Brown and D.G. Hogarth. Quadratic *epsilons*. *Sigmas* as Σ. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Ligature at l.4. First *nu* in l.5 carved within *omikron*. Letter height: 0.06m. Figure 8.

5 Ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος καθ' ὃν κεῖται καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν
τόπος, καθὼς ὁ πηχισμὸς διὰ τῆς κτήσεως δηλοῦ-
ται, Ἀμμιανοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Μενάνδρου μυροπώ-
λου ἐν ἣ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Πρω-
φήτιλλα Ζωσίμου. Τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀντίγρα-
φον ἀπόκειται ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.

The coffin and burial-place on which it rests, and the surrounding plot according to the dimensions indicated by the

- 5 purchase deed, of Ammianos Diokles, the son of Menandros, ointment merchant, in which he shall be buried and his wife | Prophetilla, daughter of Zosimos. A copy of this inscription is preserved in the public archives.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟΣΚΑΘΟΝΚΕΙΤΑΙΚΑΙΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΗΝ
 ΤΟΠΟΣΚΑΘΛΟΠΗΧΙΣΜΟΣΔΙΑΤΗΣΚΤΗΣΕΛΣΔΗΛΟ
 ΤΑΙΑΜΜΙΑΝΟΥΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΜΥΡΟΠΛ
 ΛΟΥΕΝΗΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΩ
 ΦΗΤΙΛΛΑΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ
 ΦΘΑΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΡΧΕΙΟΙΣ

Fig. 8: Text of sarcophagus of Ammianos Diokles and Prophetilla, as copied in 1887

Other *edd.*: CB 1 [1895]: 27; *IHierapJ* [1898]: 262 with partial majuscule copy by C. Cichorius.

Text reprinted and discussed: V. Schultze (1922: 427-428 and 428 n.1 [part of II. 4-5 only]).

Variant readings:

- l.1 ἡ: CB, *IHierapJ*; ὁ τόπος, καθ' οὗ κεῖται: *IHierapJ*.
 l.4 αὐτός τε καὶ: *IHierapJ* (Schultze).
 ll.4-5 Προφήτιλλα: CB.

Further references: CB 2 [1897]: p. 550 *ad* no. 414 [= CB 1.27]; Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: col. 661; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 491 no. 1.

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 97; *IHierapJ*, p. 151 (part of Cichorius' majuscule copy only).

An empty sarcophagus

W. Judeich (*IHierapJ*, p. 151), on the basis of the majuscule copy by Cichorius reading KA.OYKEITAI and the majuscule copy by Hogarth/Ramsay reading KAΘONKEITAI, restored καθ' οὗ κεῖται in l.1, presumably taking this phrase to indicate that Ammianos Diokles, the owner of the sarcophagus and the one who commissioned the inscription, wanted to stress that he did not yet lie buried in the coffin. In the light of the later statement that Ammianos and his wife Prophetilla are yet to be buried in the σορός, it seems best to concur with the Hogarth/Ramsay reading of καθ' ὅν κεῖται, taking κεῖται to refer to the fact that the sarcophagus rested on a particular plot of land, which as the next phrase

shows, was delineated by the deed of purchase. That copies of inscriptions such as this were, indeed, kept by the public record office is apparent from the numerous inscriptions noting this fact; cf. Hogarth, 77 no. 1; 84-86 nos. 5-7; 88-90 nos. 9-11.

Ammianos' father's name, Menandros, is attested quite frequently in Phrygia (see Appendix 5). The name Ammianos is connected with the Phrygian name Ammia (cf. 34); see L. Zgusta (1964: 66). For the name Zosimos, cf. 59 and see *New Docs* 5 [1989]: 113. That name should probably not be described as based on a sobriquet; see A. Ferrua (1980: 177) *contra* *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 145.

Montanist?

The unusual Greek name Prophetilla is formed after the pattern of Latin names such as Falconilla and Septimilla; see CB 1, p. 118. At first, Ramsay assumed the name to be Christian, bestowed when prophetesses were prominent in Anatolian Christianity—either "orthodox" prophetesses before the end of II or Montanist even after that time (see *ibid.*). He dated the inscription c.200, thus allowing the possibility of Montanist influence. In CB 2, p. 550, however, Ramsay declared the religion of the deceased to be uncertain. Judeich (*IHierapJ*, p. 155) saw no grounds for even considering the name Christian. Despite acknowledging the necessary speculation involved, Schultze (428) argued for a possible connection between the name Prophetilla and the Montanist New Prophecy. This alleged connection, while not impossible in that Prophetilla may have been named by parents who belonged to "the New Prophecy" and later married into another Montanist family, is unable to be substantiated and is, in fact, most unlikely; see also Jalabert and Mouterde, col. 661.

Orkistos

Map 9:D5 (East Central Phrygia). Identified epigraphically with ruins near a tributary of the Sakarya (ancient Sangarios), immediately S.E. of Doğanay (formerly Alikân, Alikel Yayla, Ortaköy), approx. 30km. S.W. of Sivrihisar (9:C6; ancient Spaleia?) and 26km. N. of Hisarköy (Amorion; 9:E5); see Hamilton Researches I [1842]: 446-447; TIB 4 [1984]: 211 and Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 223. The city, which for a short time in late III/early IV, lost its autonomy to Nakoleia (modern

Seyitgazi; 9:C2) was situated at the junction of roads to Pessinus (Ballıhisar; 9:C6), Amorion, and Midaeion (Karahüyük; 9:A3) as well as Nakoleia (Ramsay Geography [1890]: 229; TIB 4, 97). Its territory formed the border of Phrygia with Galatia to the E., stretched to the central Phrygian Highlands in the W., and bordered the territories of Nakoleia and Amorion to the N. and S. respectively (Waelkens, 223; cf. MAMA 1 [1928]: pp. xxvi-xxvii; MAMA 7 [1956]: p. xxi). Kirkpınar (9:D4) is situated approx. 15km. S.W. of the ruins of Orkistos, approx. 7km. N.E. of Bağlıca (9:D4; ancient Petara?); see TIB 4, 137.

12. A case of mistaken identity

Kirkpınar

c.212-III⁴

Ed. pr. — MAMA 7 [1956]: 296b with line drawing/facsimile.

Doorstone, probably Type H Petara; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 8, 224, 225. Broken at right and below. Also damaged slightly at top left. Details neither of material nor measurements given by W.M. Calder, who discovered the stone in 1913. The monument is decorated with a single door divided into four panels. No details provided regarding any decorations carved in panels. A triangular pediment representing a gable is carved above the door. Akroteria, beside bottom corners of pediment, decorate top of door. Inscription is on face of projecting upper profile. Symbol indicating abbreviation is carved after AYP in l.1. The first kappa in l.3 was originally carved as a rho but then partially corrected by the engraver. Cursive epsilons and sigmas. Lunate *mus*. "Bull's horn" omegas. Assuming the accuracy of the restoration, there must have been a quasi-ligature at l.3. Letter height not provided. **Figure 9.**

- [A]ὐρ. Ἀριστόνεικο[ς τῇ σ-]
 2 υνβίω Αμια καὶ [υἱῶ γ-]
 λυ<<κ>>υτάτω Δόμ[νω κῆ ἔαν-]
 4 τῶ ζών. Οἱ Χρηστ[ιανοί].

Aurelios Aristoneikos (prepared the tomb) for his wife Amia and for his sweetest son Domnos and for himself while still living. The Christians.

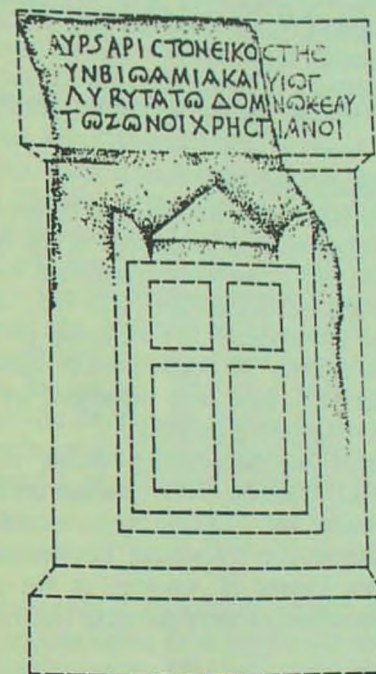


Fig. 9: Tombstone of Amia, Domnos (and Aurelios Aristoneikos)

Other edd.: *IPhygChr* [1978a]: 45 with trans.; *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 225-226 no. 578 with line drawing/facsimile.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 648 no. 14 with line drawing/facsimile.

Variant readings:

- l.1 [A]ὐρ 5: Waelkens.
 l.2-3 [υἱῶ ? γ]λυ(κ)υτάτω: Calder in MAMA (Tabbernee "Montanism").
 ll.3-4 ἔα]τω: Calder (*IPhygChr*; Tabbernee "Montanism"); [υἱῶ ? γ]λυ[κ]υτάτω: *IPhygChr*; [υἱῶ ? γ]λυ<<κ>>υτάτω: Waelkens.
 l.4 Χρηστ[ιανοί?]: Calder (Tabbernee), *IPhygChr*, Waelkens; χρηστ[οί]: *IPhygChr* alternate restoration (Waelkens).

Further references: *MAMA* 7, p. xxxviii; D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 116 no. 16 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 506 no. 150; D. Feissel (1981: 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 45); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 4 [1984]: 124-125, 137; Waelkens, 8, 198 and n.523.

Line drawing/facsimile: ed. pr., p. 135 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 648; Waelkens, 226 fig. 63).

Provenance, workshop, and date

W.M. Calder (in *MAMA* 7, p. xxi) claimed, on the basis of similarity in style with some doorstones from Amorion, that the one under discussion here came from that city. This was unquestioned by subsequent editors and commentators until M. Waelkens (8, 223-224, 225) showed conclusively that the stone was produced in a workshop probably at Petara, but certainly within the territory of Orkistos rather than of Amorion. This workshop, of course, may have been influenced by the style of doorstones produced in neighboring Amorion.

Calder's suggested late third-century dating (67), nevertheless, is likely to be correct (cf. Waelkens, 225), although the stone may also have been produced somewhat later. Despite my own earlier view that this inscription is post-Constantinian ("Christian Inscriptions," 136), the identification of Orkistos instead of Amorion as the correct provenance makes a pre-Constantinian date more plausible (see below).

Christians?

The word *Χρηστιανοί* is probably restored correctly in l.4. An objection to the restoration, however, is that normally *Χριστιανοί* is used without the article; see Calder in *MAMA* 7, p. xxxviii and cf. 21, 36, 57. E. Gibson (in *IPhygChr*, 124) tentatively suggests *χρηστοί* as an alternate restoration but considers *Χρηστιανοί* to be the more likely—as does Waelkens (225). Perhaps the designation *οἱ Χρηστιανοί* had become stereotyped; cf. 10. Line 4 is certainly the final line of the inscription (Calder, p. 66), excluding the possibility of restorations incorporating the *Xp.-Xp.* formula. Nor (contra Waelkens, 198) is it likely that what we have here is an abridged form of the formula.

Sometime between 324 and 326, the inhabitants of Orkistos petitioned Constantine and his sons to restore Orkistos' earlier status. The petition itself and related documents, including the imperial rescript granting the petitioners' request, were inscribed on a commemorative pillar erected at Orkistos soon after 331 when the city regained its independent status (*MAMA* 7.305 with photograph [pl. 20]. Supersedes *CIL* 3 [1873]: 352

and suppl. 7000 [= *ILS* 2,1 (1902): 6091]. Republished with French trans. and commentary by A. Chastagnol [1981: 381-416 (pls)]; cf. *AE* 1981 [1984]: 779. See also *MAMA* 7, p. xxviii; T.D. Barnes [1981: 377 n.13]; and Waelkens, 223, 225). A letter from Constantine to Ablabius, the *praefectus praetorio orientis* who had acted as an intermediary, inscribed on the front face of the pillar (panel I, ll.8-48) reveals that Constantine had acceded partly to the petitioners' request because the entire population of Orkistos was Christian (ibid., ll.39b-42a). Even allowing for exaggerated claims, there is no reason to doubt that Orkistos was, at least, predominantly Christian at that time. Like another (but unnamed) predominantly Christian city burned to the ground during the Great Persecution (see pp. 215-216 below), Orkistos may well have had a majority Christian population in late III. In any case, the Christians of Orkistos do not appear to have had any hesitation about using the word *Χρηστιανοί* inclusively to refer to the dedicator(s) as well as to the deceased on public monuments such as tombstones. The name *Domnos* was popular in Christian families; see ad 34. For the spelling *Amia*, instead of *Ammia* (e.g., 34), in N. Phrygia, see L. Zgusta (1964: §57-3) and cf. *IPhygChr* 26 (pl. 21); Waelkens, 71 no. 155; and Varinlioğlu "Uşak I" [1989]: 33 no. 20.

Montanist?

Although Calder (*MAMA* 7, p. xxxviii) claimed this as a Montanist inscription, there is no supporting evidence for this claim. Third-century inscriptions which openly profess Christianity even elsewhere in Phrygia need not be Montanist; cf. 9. In this instance, Montanism can probably be ruled out altogether. It is inconceivable that Constantine, after publishing anti-Montanist legislation (see pp. 343-345 below), would have granted Orkistos the status of a city if there were any hints that the nature of the inhabitants' Christianity was, or had been, Montanist. Perhaps if Montanism had been prevalent in Orkistos, this may have been kept from Constantine so as to not prejudice Orkistos' petition, but it is unlikely that total silence about the presence of Montanists at Orkistos would have been possible. It is much more likely that Calder was wrong about identifying this inscription as Montanist and that its open profession of Christianity was due not to Montanism but to the predominance of (mainstream) Christianity at Orkistos at the time the tombstone was erected.

Lydia

Hierokaisareia

Map 6:B3 (N.W. Lydia). Located at Arpalı on the opposite side of the river Glaukos from the site of the modern village of Beyoba (6:B3), Hierokaisareia (formerly Hierokome) received its name in 17 C.E. in honor of Tiberius. Its territory, which bordered that of Thyateira, (modern Akhisar; 6:B3), incorporated Chorianos, the katoikia of the Chorianonians, at or near modern Selendi, approx. 10km. to the E. (6:B4). See *ILydiaKP* 1 [1908]: p. 57; TAM 5, 2 [1989]: pp. 446, 447. Hierokaisareia originally belonged to the conventus of Pergamon (modern Bergama; 5:C1), but, later, to the conventus of Thyateira when North Lydia received its own conventus under Caracalla; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 83).

13. A Montanist(?) sarcophagus

Selendi, near mill

c.212(?)–248(?)

Ed. pr. — *ILydiaKP* 1 [1908]: 118 with facsimile.

Narrow white marble sarcophagus lid, broken at left and right. Extant length: 1.38m.; width: 1.00m.; thickness/height: 0.155m. Inscription carved on front edge. Copied by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein in 1906 in front of private house in Selendi where slab was preserved. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. *Upsilon*s have horizontal crossbar in tail (cf. 3, 9). Cursive *omegas*. Interpuncts at either side of alphabetic numeral in l.1. Letter height: 0.025m.–0.03m. Figure 10.

- [Ἐτους – –] μη(νὸς) Λάου .ι. Αὐρή(λιος) Γάιος
 Ἀφριανὸν Χριστιανὸς κατασκευά[σεν]
 2 [ἐαυτῷ καὶ Αὐ]ρη(λία) Στρατονεικιανῇ τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ
 οὔσῃ καὶ τῇ [Χριστιαν-]
 [νῇ, Μηδενὸς] ἐτέρου ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν τεθῆναι· εἰ δέ τις
 ἀ[λλότριον]

- 4 [νεκρὸν τ]ῆγα ἐπενβάλλῃ, θῆσει τῇ Χωριανῶν κατοικίᾳ
 [*] .α'.

In the year . . . , on the tenth (day) of the month Loös, Aurelios Gaios son of Apphianos, a Christian, prepared (this sarcophagus) for himself and for Aurelia Stratoneikiane his wife, being herself a Christian. No-one else has authority to place (the body) of another (here); but if anyone were to put in another corpse, that one shall pay 1,000 *denarii* to the *katoikia* of the Chorianonians.

Other edd.: *IAsMinChr* [1922]: 333; *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 37 with trans., but inadvertently omits to translate ll.2b-3a; *TAM 5,2 [1989]: 1299.

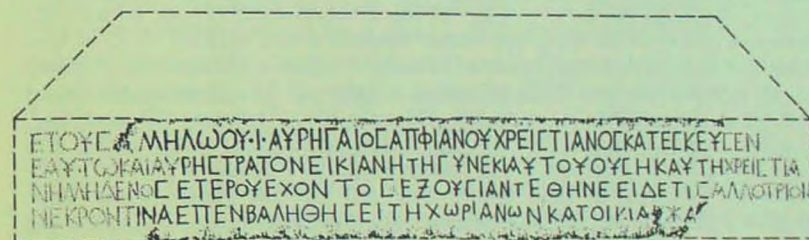


Fig. 10: Lid of sarcophagus prepared for Gaios and Stratoneikiane

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1912]: p. 59 (partial text only); Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 344-347 no. 13; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 65 n.1; *IGRR* 4 [1927]: 1314; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphe)" [1934b]: cols. 2536-2537 no. 13; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 718-719 no. 64.

Variant readings:

l.1 μη(νὸς): *ILydiaKP* (BE) does not mark partially illegible letters except the final *tau* in l.3 (which really is legible!); TAM does not mark partially illegible *mu* here, other edds. do not mark partially illegible letters at all; [A]υ[ρ]ή(λιος): *ILydiaKP* (*IPhyrgChr*); Αὐ[ρ]ή(λιος): *IAsMinChr* (Calder [Leclercq]; Tabbernee); [A]υ[ρ]ή: *IGRR* does not resolve abbreviation; Αὐρή: TAM does not resolve abbreviation or mark partially illegible *rho*; Αὐρήλιος: BE; Γάιος: *IAsMinChr* (Tabbernee); Γάιος: Calder [Leclercq], *IGRR*; κατασκευά[σεν]: TAM.
 l.1-2 κατασκευά[σε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐ]ρη(λία): *ILydiaKP* (BE); *IAsMinChr* [Tabbernee]; κατασκευά[σε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐ]ρη(λία): Calder (Leclercq) does not mark line divisions; κατασκευά[σε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐ]ρη: *IGRR* does not resolve abbreviation here; κατασκευά[σε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ Αὐ]ρη(λία): *IPhyrgChr*; Αὐ]ρη: TAM does not resolve abbreviation here.

l.2 οὕση κ(αὶ) αὐτῇ: *ILydiaKP* (*IAsMinChr* [Tabbernee]); οὕση κ(αὶ) αὐτῇ: Calder (Leclercq); οὕση κ[αὶ] αὐτῇ: *IGRR*; οὕση κξ αὐτῇ: *IPhyrgChr*; οὕση καὶ αὐτῇ: *TAM* does not mark partially illegible letter here.

ll.2-3 Χρειστανός; *BE* does not indicate restorations, line divisions; [Χρειστανῶν, μηδενός]; *TAM*.

l.3 [Χρειστανῶν, μηδενός]; *ILydiaKP* (*IAsMinChr* [Tabbernee]), Calder "Anatolian Heresies"; [Χρειστανῶν, μηδενός]; Calder "Philadelphia" [Leclercq; *IPhyrgChr*], *IGRR*.

ll.3-4 τις ἀλλότριον νεκρόν τινα: *ILydiaKP* τις [ἀλλότριον νεκρόν τινα]: *IAsMinChr* (Tabbernee); τις [ἀλλότριον νεκρόν τινα]: Calder (Leclercq); τις ἄλ | [λότριον νεκρόν τινα]: *IGRR* τις ἀλλότριον νεκρόν τινα: *IPhyrgChr*.

l.4 τινα: *TAM* does not mark partially illegible letter here nor in the rest of l.4; [(δηνάρια) .α.: *ILydiaKP*; (δηνάρια) .α.: *IAsMinChr* (Tabbernee); (δηνάρια) .α.: Calder; δηνάρια .α.: *IGRR*; (δηνάρια) .α.: Leclercq misreads sign indicating alphabetic numeral greater than 999 for an *iota subscript*; [(δηνάρια) .α.:]; *IPhyrgChr*.

Further references: Calder "Philadelphia," 352; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 301; Grégoire "Epigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 707-708; Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 63 n.4; id., *Monumenti* [1944]: 87-88 and n.169; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 217; J. Carcopino (1956: 114-115 n.86); *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 97; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 113, 117 n.28; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 187 n.2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100, 612 and n.104); Tabbernee "Montanism," 347 n.240; A.R.R. Sheppard (1979: 171 n.29); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 113-114 no. 8 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 337, 507 no. 160 (inadvertently cites *IPhyrgChr* 3 instead of 37); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92, 93 n.2); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 37); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); W.H.C. Frend (1984b: 436 n.200); *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1271; S. Mitchell (1993: 38 and n.225, 104 and n.423); Frend (1996: 194-195 and n.67).

Line drawing/facsimile: ed. pr., p. 58 fig. 54.

Open profession of faith

Aurelios Gaios, in commissioning this sarcophagus for himself and his wife Aurelia Stratoneikiane, has no hesitation in declaring that he was a Christian (l.1). Depending on the accuracy of the restoration in ll.2-3, it also appears that he was, in fact, willing to declare that both he and his wife were Christians. It is not clear whether he commissioned the sarcophagus at the time of his wife's death, or whether both of them were still alive when the sarcophagus was prepared. In either case, the profession of Christianity here is more unequivocal than that which only declares unambiguously the religion of the deceased with the single word Χριστιανός-ή; e.g., see, 17, 21-22, 36, 73, 93-95. As the words Χρειστανός (l.1) and (if restored correctly) Χρειστανῶν (ll.2-3) are separated by a considerable amount of text, it is improbable that there is an intentional use here of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula. At best, it may be considered a

precursor to the formula, which, thus far, has been identified clearly only on inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley. See also ad 42.

Date and orthography

Loös is the tenth month of the Asian Julian calendar which commenced its New Year on the anniversary of Augustus' birthday (23 September); see ad 17. While there are some epigraphic indications that the *Phrygian* calendar departed from that used in the rest of Asia by celebrating New Year's Day on August 1 (see ad 36), there are no such indications for Lydia. Consequently, Aurelios Gaios appears to have taken possession of the sarcophagus which he commissioned for his wife and for himself on a day corresponding to the second day of July. The part of the marble slab containing the year is broken away. Keil and von Premenstein (in *ILydiaKP* 1, p. 58), however, on the basis of letter style and orthography, argued for a mid-III date, narrowing it to after 212 because of the use of the *quasi-praenominalgentilicia* and before 248 because they believed the open declaration of Christianity to be an indicator of pre-Decian peaceful cohabitation of Christians with their non-Christian neighbors. The first editors' dating may well be confirmed by 17, which is very similar in style, including vocabulary and the imposition of a fine. It has a clearly visible date, i.e., 327 "Sullan era," = 242/3 C.E. There is no reason, however, why the inscription under discussion here could not be somewhat later in date. For example, 33, which is also very similar in style and vocabulary, contains a Christogram and probably belongs to III⁴ if not later. There appears to have been insufficient space on the left-hand part of the slab for Keil and von Premenstein's suggested restoration of ll.2a, 3a and 4a. There is, however, sufficient room in the right-hand bottom corner for an additional alphabetic numeral. Perhaps the last part of the text should be restored ✕, αφ', i.e., 1,500 *denarii* (cf. 17, l.22: [✕] ,βφ', i.e., 2,500 *denarii*). P. Herrmann's reading (*TAM* 5,2) of καὶ αὐτῇ is preferable to κ(αὶ) αὐτῇ, as the word καὶ, even in the sense of "also," is superfluous. The presence of the *kappa* here may be explained on the basis of local pronunciation and the text need not be "corrected." Consequently, E. Gibson's substitution (in *IPhyrgChr*) of κξ for κ(αὶ) here and in l.2 is unnecessary. For the name 'Απφτανός, see L. Zgusta (1964: p. 77) and cf. 'Απφτανή (17). See also ad 58. For variations of the name Stratonikiane, here spelled with -ει-, cf. 40, 43.

Montanist?

W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia," 345-346, 354) argued that the open use of the word Christian on a mid-III sarcophagus from the neighborhood of Thyateira must be Montanist. His claim was based not only on a comparison with the open profession on the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions, which he takes to be Montanist, but also on Epiphanius' report that for over a century the Christian church at Thyateira had been exclusively Montanist (*haer.* 51.33.4); see pp. 136-138 below. If Epiphanius' report is reliable, it is theoretically possible that the inscription under discussion here is Montanist as it fits the general time frame covered by Epiphanius' report.

Mitchell, who on the whole is disinclined to classify the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions as Montanist (104-105), nevertheless considers this inscription from "Thyateira" (sic) to supply "powerful supporting argument" for the Montanist nature of the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs. According to Mitchell, "if the inscription . . . is indeed Montanist, then so may be those of the Tembris Valley, which employ exactly the same formula" (104). As noted above, however, the alleged presence of the Xp.-Xp. formula is based on the restoration of the word Χρεισιανῆ at least ten words later in the text than the word Χρεισιανός. Even if, as seems likely, the restoration is accurate, the double use of the term Christian can hardly be deemed to be exactly the same as the more developed Xp.-Xp. formula of the Upper Tembris Valley. Little, if anything, is gained, therefore, by linking this inscription with the Xp.-Xp. ones. If it is indeed Montanist, it cannot substantiate the Montanist nature of the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs. Conversely, should the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs ever be proved Montanist, they could not substantiate the Montanism of this inscription. The Montanist nature of this particular inscription depends on its provenance, date, and on the accuracy of Epiphanius' report.

A major obstacle to classifying this sarcophagus inscription as definitely Montanist is the fact that the inscription comes not from the territory of Thyateira, as Calder tentatively assumed ("Anatolian Heresies," 65 n.1; cf. Mitchell, 104), but from an ancient settlement 18 km. S., belonging to the territory of a neighboring city. It is theoretically possible that the New Prophecy had spread to Chorianos, but even if it had, Montanism may not have been the exclusive form of Christianity there. The most that can be claimed, therefore, about Gaios and Stratoneikiane (and perhaps Apphianos) is that they were "possibly Montanists."

Africa Proconsularis

Carthage

Map 3:B6 (N. Africa Proconsularis). Situated at a natural harbor on the Sinus Carthagensis (Gulf of Tunis), 15km. from Tunes (modern Tunis in Tunisia; 3:C6), Carthage rivaled Alexandria (5:H3) as the second most important city in the Roman Empire—at least until IVth (Salv., gub. 7.16); see J. Ferron and G.G. Lapeyre (1949: cols. 1149-1233). A brief summary of early Christianity in Carthage, drawing on epigraphic as well as literary material, is provided by W.H.C. Frend (1977: 21-35). G. Schöllgen (1984: 155-267) also utilizes both literary and epigraphic data in his study of the social stratification of the Christian community at Carthage during the time of Tertullian. For more detailed surveys of the epigraphic data, see H. Leclercq ("Carthage" [1910b]: cols. 2190-2330) and L. Ennabli (1990: 35-52). The basilica majorum was built just outside the walls of Byzantine Carthage, approx. 1.5km. N. of the forum, in the area now encompassed by the district of Mcidfa; see ICKarth 2 [1982]: pp. 3-5 (including map on p. 4), 7-10. Hadrumetum lay on the Mediterranean coast approx. 120km. S.E. of Carthage at the site of modern Sousse (3:D7).

14. "Montanist" martyrs c.203 C.E.

Carthage: Mcidfa, in ruins of basilica majorum 523(?)–530(?)
Now in Carthage National Museum, inv. no. 1715

Ed. pr. — Delattre "Martyrs" [1907b]: 193-195 (facsimile of majuscule text for extant letters with restorations in miniscule) with photograph.

Thirty-four fragments discovered and reassembled by A.-L. Delattre in 1906-1907 to restore major portions of rectangular marble slab containing inscription. (Approximate) height: 0.80m.; width: 1.13m.; thickness: 0.03m. Greek crosses are visible at the beginning of ll.3-4. Lower

portion (only) of a cross is visible at l.2. Cross may also be restored legitimately at l.1 and probably at l.5. Inscription consists of elegant letters carved in the style common during the time of the Vandals. Double marks, signifying abbreviations, visible above first two Ts in l.4 and may be restored above S, N, and (probably) the final T. Letter height: 0.9m.-0.113m. Figure 11. Plate 34.

- [+ Hic] sunt marty[re]s
 + Satorus, Satu[r]n[inus],
 + Reboatus, S[e]c[undulus],
 + Felicit(as), Per[pet]ua, pas(si) n[on(as) Mart(ias)].
 5 [+] Maiulu[s] ----^{c.16}----

Here are the martyrs Satorus, Saturninus, Revocatus, Secundulus, Felicitas (and) Perpetua, who suffered on the 7th of March.

5 | Maiulus ...

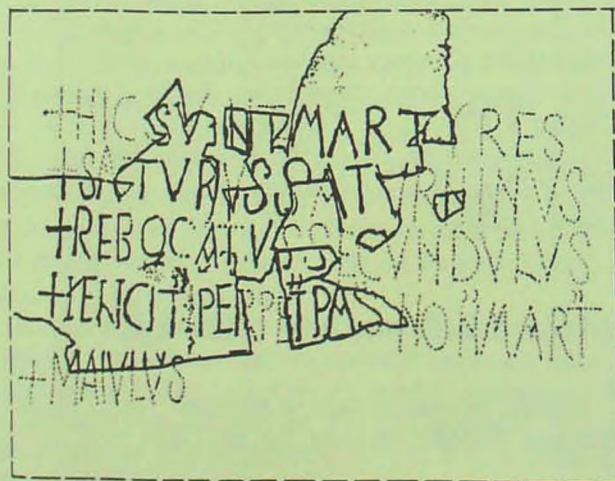


Fig. 11: Inscription honoring Perpetua, her companions and Maiulus

Other *edd.*: Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907" [1907c]: 405-406 (facsimile of majuscule text for extant letters with restorations in italics) with photograph; *CIL* 8, suppl. 4

[1916]: 25038 (facsimile); Duval *Africae* I [1982]: 13-16 no. 6 with photographs; **ICKarth* 2 [1982]: 1 with facsimile and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: A. Pillet (1907: 249-253 with photograph); A. Héron de Villefosse (1907a: 185-186); *AE* 1907 [1908]: 98; Delattre "Carthage" [1910]: 49 (facsimile); Leclercq "Carthage" [1910b]: cols. 2238-2245 (facsimile) with French trans. and photographs; Marucchi *Epigrafia* [1910]: 180 no. 176 (= *Epigraphy* [1912]: 185 no. 176); Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 714-715 (facsimile) with photograph; id., *Epigraphik* [1917]: 217-218 (facsimile) with partial German trans.; *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 2041; Delattre *Épigraphie* [1926]: 52-53 with photograph; J. Vaultrin (1932: 264-265 with facsimile); Leclercq "Perpétue" [1939a]: cols. 432-437 with facsimile and French trans.; H.P.V. Nunn (1952: 35 with trans.); W.H.C. Frend (1977: 25 with trans.); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 681-683 no. 36 with trans., facsimile, and photographs; Ennabli "Carthage" [1986]: 189-192 with photograph.

Variant readings:

l.1 Delattre in Héron de Villefosse (1907a) does not restore cross; previous *edd.*, apart from Duval (l.5) and *ICKarth*, do not mark partially illegible letters or symbols; SVNT · MARTYRES: Marucchi here and elsewhere suggests interpuncts.

l.2 Satorus: *ICKarth*; SATVRNINUS: Delattre in Héron de Villefosse (1907a), id., "Martyrs," (*AE*; Marucchi; Vaultrin); SATURNINUS: Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907" (Pillet; Leclercq [Kaufmann; Tabbernee]; *CIL*; *ILCV* [Frend]); Saturninus: Nunn (sic).

l.3 RIBOCATVS: Delattre "Carthage"; Reboatus: *ICKarth*; SECVNDVLVS: Delattre (Pillet; Marucchi; Leclercq [Kaufmann; Tabbernee]; *CIL*; *ILCV* [Frend]); SECVN(dulus): Vaultrin.

l.4 Felicit(as): *ICKarth*; FELICIT PERPET: Delattre in Héron de Villefosse (1907a), id., "Martyrs" and "Carthage" (Pillet; Vaultrin; Leclercq [Tabbernee]; Marucchi; *ILCV* [Nunn; Frend]) does not resolve abbreviations; FELICIT PERPET: Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907" (Kaufmann); PAS ...: Delattre in Héron de Villefosse (1907a); PAS////: Delattre "Martyrs" (Pillet); PASI: *CIL*; PAS-I/////: *AE*; PAS ...: Marucchi; pasi[o non. Mart.?): *ILCV*; PASS NON MART: Delattre "Carthage"; PAS NON MART: Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907" (Leclercq [Kaufmann *Archäologie*; Tabbernee] Vaultrin, Frend); PAS[si non mart.]: Kaufmann *Epigraphik*; pas(si) n[on(as) Martias]: *ICKarth*; pas(si) n[on(as) mart(ias)]: Ennabli.

l.5 MAIVLVS ...: Delattre in Héron de Villefosse (1907) does not restore cross; +MAIVLVS? //: Delattre "Martyrs" (Tabbernee); MAIVLV //: Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907"; *CIL*, *AE* do not restore cross and only print tops of partially visible letters; +MAIVLVS ...: Pillet; MAIVI (Maiulus) ...: Delattre "Carthage" does not restore cross; [+] Maiulus [. . .]: *ILCV* (cf. Nunn); +MAIVLVS: Vaultrin; +MAIVLVS ...: Marucchi; ... MAIVLVS ...: Leclercq "Perpétue"; [. . .] Maiulu[s] ...: Duval; [(croix)] Maiulus: *ICKarth*; + Maiulu[s...]: Ennabli; Leclercq "Carthage" (Kaufmann) and Frend omit l.5.

Further references: Delattre (1907a: 516-531); Héron de Villefosse (1907b: 176; 1907c: 191-192); Delattre "Basilica Majorum" [1908]: 59-69; P. Monceaux (1908b: 198-200); Héron de Villefosse (1909: 377-378); Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: col. 1439; Monceaux (1912: 469-470); F. Grossi Gondi (1923: 411 n.3); Delattre (1930: 303); H. Delehay (1933: 377-379); Leclercq "Meidfa" [1934a]: col. 36; *ILTun* [1944]:

1004; J. Ferron and G.G. Lapeyre (1949: col. 1161); Frend (1952: 160 n.2); N. Duval (1972a: 1116-1119); H. Musurillo (1972: 109 n.4); R. Rader (1981: 11, 17 n.42); Duval *Africae* II [1982]: 682-683, 711-712; *ICKarth* 2, pp. 3-18; Frend (1983: 222); G. Sanders (1983: 264-265; D. Mazzoleni (1983: 228-229); Frend (1984b: 833-834, 861 n.42); M. Kajava (1984: 193-194); F. Vattioni (1984: 192); J.-M. Lassère (1985: 168); M. Rassart-Debergh (1985: 675); W. Tabbernee (1989a: 196, 201); B.D. Shaw (1993: 42); Frend (1996: 124, 366).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, 194 [of fragments] (Pillet, 251; Leclercq "Carthage," cols. 2241-2242 fig. 2123 [Kaufmann, 714 fig. 293; Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 15 (no. 2123)]); Duval *Africae* I, 15 fig. 11b [of fragments]; Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907," 405 = *Épigraphie*, 53 [of reconstruction] (Leclercq "Carthage," cols. 2241-2242 fig. 2124 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 15 (no. 2124)]); *ICKarth* 2, p. 10 fig. 4 *bis* [of reconstruction] (Ennabli, plate 1); Duval *Africae* I, 14 fig. 11a [of reconstruction].

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 194; Delattre "Inscriptions 1906-1907," 405; cf. Delattre in Héron de Villefosse [1907a: 186]; Pillet 250; *CIL* 8, suppl. 4, p. 2499; *AE*, p. 30; Delattre "Carthage," 49; Leclercq "Carthage," col. 2243 [Kaufmann *Archäologie*, 715; id., *Epigraphik*, 218; Tabbernee "Montanism," 681]; Vaultrin, 264; id., plate 11 [of reconstruction]; Leclercq "Perpétue," col. 435.

Greek and Latin crosses

The Greek cross, or *crux quadrata*, with its distinctive equilateral horizontal and vertical bars, is to be distinguished from the Latin cross, or *crux immissa*, the horizontal bar of which crosses the vertical at a distance approximately one-third from the top. Both types are to be found decorating inscriptions at the beginning of lines; e.g., cf. 92, 95 (Greek) and 18, 86 (Latin). There is no correlation between Greek/Latin text and Greek/Latin crosses. Crosses are rare, although not non-existent, on pre-Constantinian Christian monuments; e.g., see 17. In respect of the inscription under discussion here, of course, the use of the cross is not surprising in that while the text commemorates third-century Christian martyrs, the monument itself is post-Constantinian in date (see below).

Perpetua and her companions

Perpetua and the other martyrs, apart from Maiulus (on whom, see below), mentioned by this inscription were executed, most likely, on the 7th of March 203, during a brief, but fierce, persecution. On the date, see Leclercq "Perpétue," col. 420 and Shaw, 3 n.2. Traditionally, the impetus for the persecution has been attributed to an alleged edict of Septimius Severus forbidding conversion to Judaism or Christianity (S.H.A., *Sev.* 17.1); see M. Plautnauer (1918: 153-155); Frend (1965b: 319-321; 1974: 333-351; 1975: 470-480); P. Keresztes (1970a: 447-448; 1970b: 565-578); C.M. Robeck (1992: 11). The evidence provided by the "edict," however, is suspect—especially in respect of its application to

Christianity; see T.D. Barnes (1985b: 331-332). The *Historia Augusta* is, at best, a source of dubious value regarding the life of Severus; see Barnes (1967: 95; 1978: *passim*) and A.R. Birley (1971: 11, 325-326). While Severus' prohibition of Jewish proselytization could have been factual, the unsubstantiated application of such a prohibition to Christianity may convey no more than a further example of the religious prejudice of the late non-Christian author of the *Historia Augusta* (cf. S.H.A., *Heliogab.* 3.4.5 and *Alex. Sev.* 22.4 where it can be shown beyond doubt that the application to Christianity is fictitious); see Barnes (1968a: 40-42). As was the norm in the pre-Decian era, the outbreaks of persecution which occurred in various places at different times during Severus' reign appear to have been local in origin and not initiated by the emperor; see Barnes (1968b: 509-531) and, for a specific example during 202/203, J.G. Davies (1954: 73-76).

A more or less contemporary account of the martyrdom of Perpetua and her companions has survived in Latin and Greek versions (*Pass. Perp.*; *M. Perp.*), the latter being a later translation of the Latin; see J. Campos (1959: 357-381). Studies on the literary style of the various sections have confirmed that the *passio* is basically what it purports to be: personal accounts (diaries?) by Perpetua (3-10; cf. 2.2; 10.15; 14.1) and Saturus (11-13; cf. 14.1) of their experiences, introduced and enlarged by an editor who witnessed the events described (1-2; 14-21); see W.H. Shewring (1929: 56-57); E.R. Dodds (1965: 49-52); A. Fridh (1968: 30-40); Robeck (1992: 12-18, 87-94); and Shaw, 20-33, who, however, doubts that Saturus' account is truly first-hand. The *passio* contains no hint of an edict or any other form of imperial or proconsular initiative. Even after their arrest, the prisoners were not certain that they would be given a trial (5.1). The proconsul is cited variously as Minucius Timinianus or Minutius Oppianus. His name, however, was undoubtedly Minucius Opimianus; see *PIR* 2 [1898]: 441; B.E. Thomasson (1960: vol. 2, 104-105); Birley (1971: 221 n.1); Barnes (1971: 266-267; 1985b: 334). Opimianus had died recently and been succeeded by a procurator named Hilarianus (6.3), on whom see *PIR*² 4, 2 (H) [1958]: 175. This Hilarianus is probably to be identified with P. Aelius Hilarianus (*PIR*² 1 (A) [1933]: 190); see Barnes (1971: 163); J. Rives (1996: 1-25).

Perpetua and the others were sentenced by Hilarianus to fight the beasts at the games held on the occasion of the fourteenth birthday of Severus' younger son Geta (*Pass. Perp.* 7.9; 16.2-3). A comment made by Tertullian in writing to a later governor of Africa Proconsularis suggests that the Carthaginian Christians were prevented from burying Per-

petua and her fellow martyrs in a separate Christian *area sepultarium* (*Scap.* 3.1). Hence, it is unlikely that they were buried together.

14². Perpetua's original tombstone?

Another inscription found in the basilica bearing the single name Perpetua (*CIL* 8.4.25272 = *ICKarth* 2.42 with photograph; also published in *ILCV* 1.2040 *adn.*; cf. Tabbernee "Montanism," 683-684 no. 37 with line drawing/facsimile), was claimed by Delattre ("Basilica Majorum," 61-63; cf. *AE* 1908 [1909]: 75) as perhaps being her original tombstone. This stone is now in the Carthage National Museum (inv. no. 1711). The text reads: *Perpetue • filie | dulcissimae*. The simplicity of the tombstone (fig. 12) is compatible with a IIIrd date but could also indicate that the stone belongs to early IV; see *ICKarth* 2, p. 69.



Fig. 12: Epitaph of a Perpetua, sweetest daughter

The absence of the term "martyr" and of Christian symbolism may be explained by the view that, if this indeed is Perpetua's tombstone, it was probably commissioned by her father; see Leclercq "Carthage" [1910b]: cols. 2246-2247. A person who, according to the *Pass. Perp.*, had tried vigorously to persuade his daughter to renounce her faith (3.1-3; 6.1-2) would hardly have recorded her allegiance to Christianity. Moreover, very few Christian tombstones, at that time, carried any distinctively Christian marks. The absence of the *gentilicium* "Vibia" (*ibid.*, 2.1), however, is more difficult to explain. Perpetua was a Roman citizen whose family belonged to the higher echelons of society; see D.E. Groh (1976: 44 and n.9); G. Schöllgen (1984: 199-202); Shaw

(1993: 10-11); Rives (22-23). Consequently, this may not be the original tombstone of the martyr after all. Perpetua was not an uncommon name in and around Carthage; e.g., *CIL* 8.4.25273 = *ICKarth* 2.23 with photograph (also published in *ILCV* 1.2040 *adn.*); *ICKarth* 1 [1975]: 9, 170, 234; and *ICKarth* 2.433(?). This inscription, therefore, is more than likely that of a fourth-century Perpetua—perhaps named in honor of the martyr; see also I. Kajanto (1963: 98, 99) and *ICKarth* 2, p. 69. If so, she is unlikely to have been a Montanist as Perpetua was considered a catholic rather than a Montanist martyr, but Montanists, of course, could also have named their daughters after her. Similarly, there are a number of extant inscriptions which name women called Felicitas; see Kajanto, 52, 53, 97; *ICKarth* 1.85, 1.94, 1.111, 1.296, 1.298, 2.407(?), 2.409(?), 3.28, 3.117, 3.118(?), 3.250, 3.312, 3.342(?), 3.419, 3.578. None of these can be assumed to have been the tombstone of the Felicitas who died in 203.

Revocatus and Felicitas

The social status of Perpetua's companions is not certain. *Pass. Perp.* 2.1 (*Revocatus et Felicitas, conserva eius*) is often translated as "Revocatus and his fellow slave Felicitas" (e.g., Musurillo, 109), but *conserva*, in this context, is ambiguous. According to C. Mazucco (1989: 190-200), Felicitas may have been Revocatus' slave or concubine. M.A. Tilley (1994: 847) suggests that it is more likely that both were slaves of the same owner—equivocally reported to allow for the possible allusion to a "heavenly" (as well as an "earthly"?) owner. "Fellow-servants," however, could simply refer to their joint allegiance to God, in which case, as pointed out long ago by Groh (1974: 227), their classification as slaves may well be erroneous. Although Tilley considers Felicitas "not yet married" (*ibid.*), the possibility that, irrespective of their social status, Revocatus and Felicitas were indeed married should not be ruled out; see Schöllgen (248-249) and A. Jensen (1992: 205).

The martyrs' tomb?

The discovery of the large slab of marble, under discussion here, containing the names of the six martyrs mentioned by the *passio* suggested to Delattre that he had found the *martyrium* of Perpetua and her companions, if not their earliest graves. The underground crypt, in which the fragments of the marble slab were found, was situated in the center of the principal nave of the *basilica majorum* and was accessible by stairs at either side. The burial vault contained a number of tombs which Delattre took to be the tombs of Perpetua and the others.

Neither the archaeological nor the epigraphic evidence provides indisputable evidence that this subterranean vault was indeed the final, if not the original, burial place of Perpetua and all her companions. The tombs are not able to be identified independently as being the tombs of specific martyrs by means of any objects found in them, nor does the inscription prove that the tombs contain the bones of all or any of the martyrs named by the inscription.

A commemorative plaque

The name *Maiulus* in *l.5* suggests that the marble slab contained a listing of famous African martyrs and that this list adorned the crypt, irrespective of whether the crypt contained the bones of the martyrs mentioned. There is no need to assume, as does Shaw (42, 43 n.92) that the slab is a *mensa martyrum*. *l.1*, normally restored (as above) *hic sunt martyres*, when linked with the restored date of the death of Perpetua and her companions in *l.4b*, suggests that what follows is a commemorative list of the martyrs who suffered on the 7th of March. The recording of the date of the martyrs' death is not surprising as *CIL* 8,4.25038a = *ICKarth* 2.2 (also published in *ILCV* 1.2041 *adn.*), if restored correctly, similarly records the date of the martyrdom of Secundulus and the others; see Leclercq "Mcidfa," cols. 36-38. If the date is restored correctly in *l.4b*, it is possible that the date of Maiulus' martyrdom was also inscribed on the now missing part of *l.5*. Perhaps the names of other famous North-African martyrs and the dates of their deaths followed. As with all conclusions based on restored texts, however, extreme caution should be exercised. Perhaps *l.4b* did not contain a reference to the date of the martyrs' death after all, and perhaps *l.1* should be restored slightly differently, depending upon whether it is assumed that some relics of these martyrs were indeed deposited in the crypt of the basilica.

14³. A mosaic displaying the names of Perpetua and Felicitas?

Adorning places other than the martyrs' own tombs with the names of famous martyrs appears to have been common in Carthage. In 1902, P. Gaukler discovered a rectangular pavement mosaic 4.00m. long and 2.90m. wide in the ruins of an anteroom which was part of the chapel of the monastery of St. Étienne in the district of Dermech: *Ed. pr.* — P. Gaukler (1903: 416-418) = *CIL* 8,4.25037 = *ILCV* 1.2040; Duval *Africae* I, 7-10 no. 3 (cf. *ICKarth* 3 [1991]: 298). The mosaic, now in the

Bardo National Museum in Tunis (inv. no. A.228), consists of seven "medallions" (exterior diameter: 0.65m.) each containing an inner circle (diameter: 0.27m.) with the name of a martyr. Only the text of medallions 3-7 and a small part of the text of the second medallion have survived. The restored text (Duval *Africae* I, 9 no. 3) of the seven medallions (figs. 13-15) reads:

[*sanct(a) Perpetua?*]
 [*sanct(a) Felici*]|*tas?*
sanc(tu)s | *Speraltus*
sanc(tu)s | *Istefal**nus*
sanct(a) | *Sirilca*
sanc(tu)s | *Satulus*
sanc(tu)s | *Satur**ninus*

There is no doubt that the last two martyrs named on this late sixth-century mosaic are two of Perpetua's companions. Gaukler (417) argued that, on the basis of symmetry, Perpetua and Felicitas could be restored as the first two in the list, making the Christian protomartyr St. Stephen the central martyr, flanked by Speratus (*M. Scill.* 1-17), one of the first known African martyrs. On this reasoning, St. Sirica would perhaps be one of the first known female African martyrs, but if so no literary or liturgical evidence has survived. A man named Siricus from Hadrumetum is mentioned in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Perhaps the relics of martyrs from Hadrumetum were, at some stage, transferred to Carthage and, in the process, a mistake was made regarding the gender of Siricus; see Duval *Africae* I, 10; II, 711-712, and Ennabli, 193. Alternatively, as Ennabli suggests (*ICKarth* 3, p. 199), Sirica may have been the abbess who founded the convent of St. Stephen—the medallion to the right of Istefanus being devoted to honoring her. While this theory would identify a woman named Sirica, it is difficult to imagine that, even if she was the founder, she would be given the designation *sancta* and included in this series of North-African martyrs unless she too was a martyr. On the prothetic *i-* in the name *Istefal**nus* (*l.3*), cf. 40 and see *ad* 43. The restoration of the names Perpetua and Felicitas here is plausible, especially in the light of the extant letters *-tas* in the remnant of medallion 2. If so, the monastery may have served as a new sanctuary for the cult of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas in Carthage (*ICKarth* 2, p. 30), but the evidence is not conclusive.

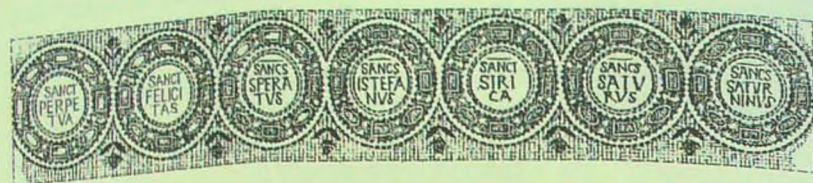


Fig. 13: Mosaic honoring
North-African martyrs

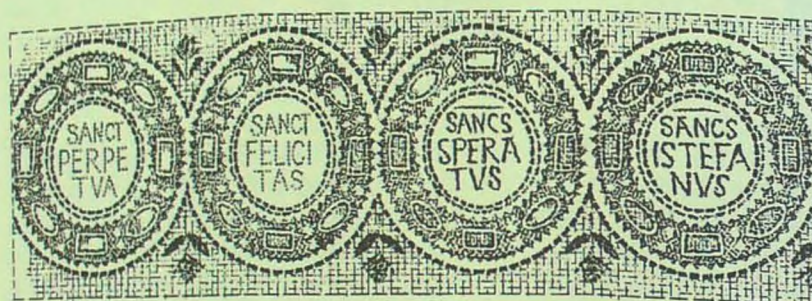


Fig. 14: Medallions 1-4 of mosaic
honoring North-African martyrs

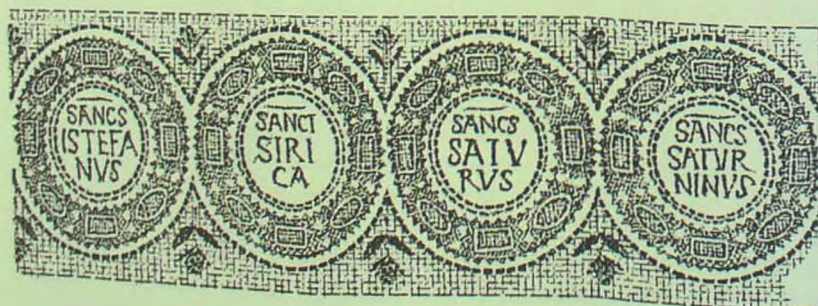


Fig. 15: Medallions 4-7 of mosaic
honoring North-African martyrs

14⁴. A mural commemorating martyrs (including Perpetua and Felicitas?)

The names Perpetua and Felicitas may also have been painted on the wall of a baptistery in the district of Sayda (Sainte-Monique). N. Duval and A. Lézine (1959: 120-121) published descriptions of some murals, including inscriptions, discovered there in 1955; see also Duval *Africae* I, 12-13 no. 5. The main mural contains paintings of a series of persons, portraits of three of whom are partially preserved although the faces of two of these have been defaced deliberately—perhaps at the time of the Arab occupation of North Africa. The bust of the central figure, however, is almost completely intact. It is that of a beardless young man with a serene face whose hair is encased by a *nimbus* containing a cross. He is dressed in classical “apostolic” garb: white tunic with blue bands and a *pallium* (see Duval and Lézine, fig. 39). Only the last two letters of a word, *-us*, are visible above the central figure. From a comparison with the extant inscriptions above two of the other figures, it is clear that *-us* is the end of the name of a martyr. Perhaps, because of the manner of dress and the centrality of the figure, we may restore [Stephan]us (cf. above), although, less likely, [Saturnin]us is also possible (again, cf. above). On the immediate right of the central figure the inscription above the defaced portrait reads *s[a]n[ct]us Saturus*, while the one on the extreme right only has the word *sanctus* visible. Because of the order of the names in the mosaic described above, *Saturninus* should probably be restored here, rather than above the central figure. The clear reference to *sanctus Saturus* suggests that Perpetua and Felicitas (and presumably the other martyrs) were also portrayed on this mural (see *ibid.*, 121).

Date of the commemorative plaque

Despite the fact that at least the names Saturus and Saturninus adorned places other than the crypt in the *basilica majorum* and that neither archaeological nor epigraphic evidence proves beyond doubt that Perpetua and her companions were buried there, Delattre’s hypothesis that the basilica contained their *martyrium* gains strong literary support from Victor of Vita’s statement in reference to this basilica: *Basilicam maiorem* (i.e., *maiorum*) *ubi corpora sanctorum martyrum Perpetuae atque Felicitatis sepulta sunt* (*Hist. pers.* I.3.9.). Before becoming a bishop, this late fifth-century North-African church historian had been a presbyter at Carthage. Consequently, it is likely that the *basilica majorum* did, in fact, contain at least some of the relics of Perpetua and her companions and that the *basilica* was either built around an earlier *martyrium* or that a

new one was created at the time of the construction of the basilica in IV. The relics of other African martyrs, such as Maiulus, could have been included, either at that time, or added later.

The actual commemorative plaque under discussion here, however, appears to date from a slightly later period. Liliane Ennabli's careful study of the various lettering styles of the numerous extant epigraphic fragments from the basilica, the nearby Christian cemetery and from other locations in Carthage (*ICKarth* 2, pp. 19-30) suggests that this particular memorial dedication belongs to the end of the Vandal period. A likely more precise period would have been during the reign of Hilderic (c.523-530); see *ibid.* and Ennabli "Carthage," 191.

Maiulus

According to Tertullian, a Mavilus of Hadrumetum was condemned to the beasts by a governor of Africa Proconsularis in 212 (*Scap.* 3.5[6]). The governor in question is normally assumed to have been Scapula, the governor to whom Tertullian addressed the apology containing the reference to Mavilus. This Scapula was either P. Julius Scapula Tertullus Priscus, *consul ordinarius* 195 (*PIR*² 4, 3 (I) [1966]: 557) or, more likely, the latter's cousin C. Julius (Scapula) Lepidus Tertullus, *cos. suff.* c.195-197 (*ibid.*, 554); see Barnes (1986: 202 n.8); Birley (1991: 81 n.1); and the stemma on p. 272 of *PIR*² 4, 3. However, irrespective of the exact identity of the recipient of Tertullian's treatise, the governor who had Mavilus executed was probably Caecilius Capella, one of Scapula's predecessors in office; see Birley (1991: 81-98). If so, Mavilus was martyred between 184 and 192, as Capella appears to have been proconsul of Africa within this period, probably either between 184-188 or 191-193; see *ibid.*, 87-90 esp. 89 n.28.

The liturgical calendar of Carthage lists the feast of a martyr Maiolus as being on the 11th of May (*PL* 13.1219); cf. H. Lietzmann (1911: 5), as does the *Mart. Hier.* (AASS Nov. II.2.247), but this martyrologium also lists three others named Maiulus, the third of whom is to be commemorated on the 7th of March (*ibid.*, 2.45; 2.105; 2.132). The latter, however, may merely be a doublet based on the mistaken assumption that the martyrs listed on the inscription under discussion here all died on the 7th of March. Nor is it clear whether the Mavilus mentioned by Tertullian died at Carthage or, less likely, at Hadrumetum. If at Hadrumetum, and if Mavilus is indeed to be equated with Maiolus, his relics may have been transferred to Carthage at some later stage; see Duval *Africae* I, 16; II, 711-712. The various references to "Maiolus," "Mavilus," or "Mai-

ulus," of course, may have been to quite distinct people not otherwise known; see Barnes (1971: 267-269).

Martyrs of the catholic church

It is obvious from the frequency with which Saturus, Saturinus and (probably) Perpetua and Felicitas were honored in early catholic art and literature (including sermons) that Christians at Carthage and elsewhere continued to view them as catholic martyrs. Their feast day is 6 [7] March. It is possible, however, that Perpetua and the others belonged to a group within the Carthaginian church which was favorably disposed towards "the New Prophecy" (see pp. 54-59 above). If so, Perpetua and the others may be considered martyrs with pro-Montanist sympathies even if they were not actually Montanists.

15. A Montanist(?) patriarchal decretal

Carthage: Douar ech Chott

III¹(?)-V¹(?)

Now in Carthage National Museum, inv. no. 3117

Ed. pr. — Delattre "Communiqué" [1900]: CXC-CXII (majuscule text only).

Square white marble slab, broken at each corner and damaged slightly at all sides. Discovered by A.-L. Delattre in 1900. Height: 0.22m.; length: 0.21m.; thickness: 0.024m. The twelve extant lines invariably commence or end in the middle of a word and do not relate readily to subsequent or previous lines. The left and right sections of a once larger slab were probably cut off and subsequently lost. Alternatively, as suggested by A. Héron de Villefosse (1900: CXCI), the inscription was carved on three adjoining slabs of the same dimensions—the extant slab being the middle one. In l.5, the engraver appears to have at first omitted NON which was then added by amending the initially-carved letters ACC. The horizontal bars of A, E and F are frequently missing. The spelling *aput* (rather than *apud*) in l.3, *adeque* (rather than *adaeque*) in l.8, and *jubandos* (rather than *juvandos*) in l.10 is no doubt due to pronunciation and need not be restored correctly. The first extant letters in l.5 were most probably preceded by NUN, but, as there are other possibilities, the word *nundinarum* has not been restored here. It is, nevertheless, tentatively assumed in the translation given below. Letter height: 0.008-0.010m. **Figure 16. Plate 34.**

[-c.28 -sanct]issimorum patriarcharum et univer[sorum- -c.28 -]
 [-c.33 -]PA sanctitate. Unde cum diu disceptare[tur -c.30 -]
 [-c.33 -]imus dispositionem sanctae memoriae [-c.33 -]
 [-c.34 -]RE vel pascere neque publice neque apud suos[-c.32 -]
 5 [-c.32 -]dinarum «n»on accedant. Set quoniam A[-c.36 -]
 [-c.31 -]a honorificentia commemorare et PR[-c.34 -]
 [-c.33 -]simus. Sed quia res tam gravissima aper[ta est -c.30 -]
 [-c.31 -]quae appellatur protogamia adeque primas [-c.36 -]
 [-c.33 -]IONEM venire ausus fuerit. Qui vindicav[erint -c.28 -]
 10 [-c.30 -]quo)cumque modo jubandos esse putaverint C[-c.33 -]
 [-c.33 -]TIS promisit ipse vos eidem mercedi parti[cipare -c.27 -]
 [-c.31 -]ne)que die nuptiarum, quarta feria fiant [-c.33 -]

... of the most holy patriarchs and of all ... / ... (PA) by holiness. Whence, when it had been long disputed ... / ... we [ratify?] the prescription of venerable memory ... / ... (RE)
5 or to eat neither publicly nor amongst their own ... | ... let them not approach the marketplace(?). But since (A) ... / ... to commemorate with(?) great honor and (PR) ... / ... we But because a matter so very grave [is evident?] ... / ... which is called *protogamia* equally first ... / ... (IONEM) he would have dared to come. Those who will have
10 punished ... | ... in whatsoever way they will have considered they should be helped (Ç) ... / ... (TİS) he himself promised you to share in the same reward ... / ... nor on the day of marriage, on the fourth day let them be done ... /.

Other *edd.*: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905" [1906]: 124-125 no. 3 (majuscule text); *CIL* 8, suppl. 4 [1916]: 25045 with line drawing/facsimile; Seckel "Inscripf" [1921]: 989-1017, esp. 990; Bickel "Protogamia" [1923]: 426-440; *ICKarth* 3 [1991]: 381 with French trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Héron de Villefosse (1900: CXCI [parts of II.1, 2, 6, 11 only]); AE 1901 [1902]: 5 (facsimile of majuscule text with suggested corrections and restorations in miniscule); H. von Soden (1923: 43); *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 1003; Tabernee "Montanism" [1978]: 721-724 no. 66 with line drawing/facsimile.

Variant readings:

l.1 [. . .]: Previous *edd.* do not indicate the approximate number of letters missing at the beginning or end of lines; ///ISSIMORVM: Delattre "Communiqué"; [*Episcopi Africae fidelibus Sancti*]ISSIMORVM: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); [beat]iss.: ILCV (alternative restoration); [. . . sanctiss]imorum: ICKarth (restoration); UNIVI///: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE [majuscule]); univ[er]s . . . : AE (miniscule); VNIVIR[sae ecclesiae]: CIL; VNIVIR[sorum episcoporum decreta bigamos expellunt]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von

Soden); *univir(sorum episcoporum . . .*]; Bickel; *univir[sorum episcoporum . . . : ICKarth*
(restoration).

1.2 PA SANCTITATE: Delattre (AE; CIL [Seckel (Bickel; von Soden)]; ILCV) records a clearly legible P; . . .]a Sanctitate: ICKarth (extant text); . . .]a Sanctitate: ICKarth (restoration); DISCEPTARE///: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE); . . . Seckel [extant text] (Bickel; ILCV); [de ecclesia ut ipsa maneat in prototy]PA VNDE CVM DIV DISCEPTARE [mus utrum fidelibus cum bigamis exclusis]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); <archety>pa: Seckel (alternative restoration).

1.3 ///IMVS: Delattre (AE; CIL [Seckel (Bickel; Von Soden)]; ILCV) records a clearly legible I; [communicare liceat tandem approbav]IMVS: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); <recolu-^{us}imus: Seckel (alternative restoration; <eamque sequentes statuimus: Seckel (alternative restoration); . . . hanc sanc]imus: ICKarth (restoration); MEMORIA///: Delattre "Communiqué" incorrectly shows E of MEM as partly illegible; MEMORIA///: AE; MEMORIA I///: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; MEMORIAE [- - - - - qua cavetur ut non audeant fideles] Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); memoriae . . . : Bickel and ILCV do not mark partially illegible final E.

1.4 [bigamum exclusum vel hospitio recip]ERE: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden);
 ////ARE VEL: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; . . . jere vel: ICKarth (extant text); . . .
 bib]ere vel: ICKarth (restoration); APVTSVOs: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905";
 SVO////: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE); SVO[s addidimusque ut fideles ne cum bigamis]:
 Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); suo(s): Bickel does not mark partially illegible letters here
 or elsewhere.

1.5 ///DINARVM NON: Delattre (AE; Seckel [Bickel; Von Soden]; ILCV) does not show that D is partially illegible; [colloquio misceantur forum tempore nun]DINARVM NON ACCEDANT SET QVONIAM A[liquibus perverse placuit ut pro bigamis]; Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); . . . negotium nun]dinarum; ICKarth (restoration); . . . «nun]dinarum non accedant set quoniam ali . . . » Bickel.

1.6 ///A HONORIFICENTIA: Delattre (AE) shows clearly legible A; ///A HONORIFICENTIA: CIL; . . .]a honorificentia: ICKarth (extant text); . . . maxim]a honorificentia: ICKarth (restoration [sic]); . . . ///m honorificentia: Seckel [p. 990]; [defunctis oretur et offeratur nos eos cu]M: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); COMMEMORARE ET PR///: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE); ET PA[tefacere]: Héron de Villefosse; ET PI: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; ET PR///: CIL; . . . ///[honorificentia: Bickel; PR[o eorum dormitione in ecclesia orare et annuis]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); et p . . . : Bickel; et pr[æ] . . . : ICKarth (extant text); et pr[æ]corari . . . : ICKarth (restoration).

1.7 [*diebus oblationes facere nulli perm*]SIMVS SED: Seckel [tafel III]; . . .]imus sed: *ICKarth* (extant text); . . . sanc]imus sed: *ICKarth* (restoration); APIR[[[[: Delattre (AE [majuscule]; *CIL*; *ILCV*); *aper*[te?]: AE (miniscule); *aper*[[[[: Seckel [p. 990]; APIR[[torem desiderat definitionem in licitam omnem]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); *apir* . . .]: Bickel, *ICKarth* (extant text).

1.8 [declaramus conjunctionem praeter eam qu]AE: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden);
 ///AE APPLIATVR: Delattre (AE [majuscule]); ae app<e>llatur: ILCV; APPIATVR
 CIL; ad<a>eque: ICKarth (restoration); ///PRIMAS: Delattre (AE) records a clearly legible
 S; PRIMA///: CIL (ILCV); Prima: ICKarth (extant text); PRIMA[s post fidem nuptias Ex-
 cludetur autem qui]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); prima<s post baptisma>: Seckel
 (alternative restoration); prima<s post conversionem>: Seckel (alternative restoration);
 prima(e post fidem nuptiae) . . . : Bickel; prima[e nuptiae . . .]: ICKarth (restoration).

l.9 . . . accipere commun]ionem: *ICKarth* (restoration); [*cumque contra quamcumque hanc constitut]IONEM VENIRE AVSUS FVERIT QVI VINDICAV[erint in transgressores (tale praemium accipient]*: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); VINDICA: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE); VINDICAV: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; *vindicav* . . . : Bickel, *ILCV*; vindica[. . . : *ICKarth* (extant text); vindica[tus est . . . : *ICKarth* (restoration).

l.10 [Taliter vero punientur] quicumque eos quo]CVMQVE: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); VVMQVE: Delattre (AE); (ad)jubandos: *ICKarth* (restoration); PVTABERINT O[]: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE); PVTABERINTO[]: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; PVTABERINT Con[servate protogamiam sequentes paracletum]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); putaverint o[]: *ICKarth* (restoration).

l.11 []: Delattre (AE; Bickel); []: *CIL*; []: Seckel [extant text] (*ILCV*); . . .]: *ICKarth*; Dominus Iesus Christus: *ICKarth* (commentary); [quatenus sicut mercedem centuplam ius]TIS: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); VQS: Delattre (AE [majuscule]), *CIL* (Bickel); u[]: *ILCV*; PARTI[cipetis Ceterum constituimus ut primae]: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); parti[cipatos iri . . . : *ICKarth* (restoration).

l.12 [nuptiae quae neque sexta feria fiunt ne]que: Seckel [tafel III] (Von Soden); <quas celebrari oportuit nunc us]que: Seckel (alternative restoration); [ieiunia quoque legitima, cum usus est quis]que: Bickel [alternative restoration] (*ILCV*); []VE DIE: Delattre (AE); -ove die: Seckel (alternate reading); . . . que die nuptiarum: Bickel; . . .]que die: *ICKarth* (extant text); . . .]que die: *ICKarth* (restoration); IERIA IANT[]: Delattre "Communiqué" (AE [majuscule]); feria fian[]: AE (miniscule); FERIA FIANT: Delattre "Inscriptions 1898-1905"; fieri fian[. . . : *ICKarth* (extant text [sic]); feria fian[tur . . .]: *ICKarth* (restoration).

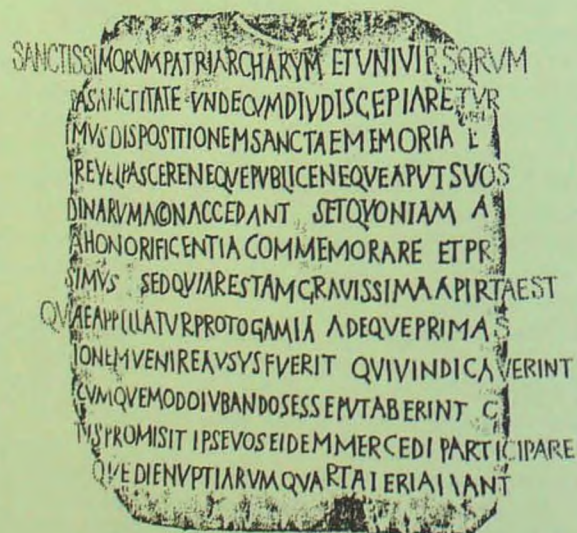


Fig. 16: Inscription on extant fragment of patriarchal decretal

Further references: H. Koch (1922: cols. 171-172); H. Lietzmann (1922b: 79-80, 238); P. Maas (1922: col. 311); AE 1924 [1924]: 86; Lietzmann (1924: 157); *APH* 2 [1928]: p. 853; H.-G. Opitz (1933: col. 209); *ILTun* [1944]: 1008; J. Ferron and G.G. Lapeyre (1949: col. 1162); K. Aland (1960a: 159); W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 302 n.197); Tabbernee "Montanism," 499; Frend (1984b: 349, 364 n.75); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 256-257; C. Trevett (1996: 114, 211).

Photograph: *ICKarth* 3, p. 245 no. 381.

Facsimiles/line drawings: ed. pr., p. CXCI (AE); *CIL* 8,4 p. 2500 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 722).

Translation

As the extant inscription consists of only the central portion of the original text, it is impossible to provide a satisfactory translation. If Héron de Villefosse's suggestion is accurate, at least 30 letters are missing from the beginning and end of each line. Even if fewer letters are missing, extensive restoration is still required to reconstruct a viable Latin text for translation. E. Seckel ("Inscription" [1921]: tafel III [printed following p. 1016]) has produced an extensive restoration, but his text is too speculative to serve as the basis for a complete translation. Similarly, L. Ennabli's translation (*ICKarth* 3, p. 246) is, at crucial points, dependent upon her restorations (ibid., pp. 245-246) and upon a number of assumptions which, while plausible, are not definitive. The general thrust of the contents of the whole inscription, however, is clear. The inscription enumerates rules of conduct for members of a particular community.

A decretal

From the extant central portion of this inscription, it is apparent that it proclaimed publicly an official position on certain activities, including *protogamia*, in opposition to hotly debated contrary views. Delattre (CXCI-CXCII) thought the fragment to be part of either an imperial ordinance or, in his view more likely, a late IV episcopal judgment regulating catholic marriages in reaction to Manichaean practices. Both the date and the religious origin assigned to this inscription have been challenged, but its juridical nature seems assured.

Date

Delattre's dating of this inscription (CXCI-CXCII) was based partly on a limited correlation between the fragment's vocabulary and that of a sermon preached by Augustine in Carthage (Aug., *serm.* 90) and partly on the differences between late IV catholics and Manichaeans on issues such as marriage. E. Bickel (426-440), followed by Ferron and Lapeyre

(col. 1162), considered the inscription Donatist rather than catholic and preferred a fifth-century date. The form of the letters and the style of the inscription allow the view that it could have been engraved earlier than proposed by Delattre and Bickel; see Seckel (1990 and n.4 [citing Hermann Dessau], 1017 and n.140) and Frend (364 n.75). However, Ennabli has shown (*ICKarth* 3, p. 246) that the engraving could have been done by the same stonemason who produced some extant late fourth-century epitaphs in Carthage. Letter-form and style, of course, are fallible criteria. It is prudent, therefore, to date the inscription merely as III¹-V¹, with the likelihood that it belongs to the later, rather than earlier, period within this range.

Montanist?

According to Seckel (1991), the key to understanding this fragment correctly lies in the words *patriarcharum* (l.1) and *protogamia* (l.8). He claimed that both were Montanist terms, and he reconstructed the whole inscription to read as the decretal of a Montanist patriarch resident at Carthage, c.270 (taf. III).

If we are to believe Jerome (*ep.* 41.3), Montanists had a well-established hierarchy, including the office of patriarch before catholic Christianity began to use the term patriarch in official documents; see Seckel, 1991 and Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 254-257. Consequently, if this inscription is to be dated to III rather than IV or V, and if Jerome's reference to Montanist patriarchs is to be taken literally rather than (as argued by C. Marksches [1994: 11]) analogically, the decretal could, possibly, be Montanist. This is so especially if, like Seckel (1991 n.16), we eliminate from consideration other Christian sectarian groups such as Nestorians and Marionites, which developed patriarchates earlier than catholic Christianity, because these groups did not have any connection with Carthage and if, conversely, we also eliminate groups such as the Novatianists who, while having links with Carthage, show no evidence of early patriarchates; see Seckel, 1997.

Carthaginian adherents of the New Prophecy, such as Tertullian, certainly had strong views about the sanctity of *first* marriages—to the extent that they rejected not only divorce but also the right to remarry following the death of one's spouse (e.g., *Tert.*, *mon.* 4.3; *pud.* 1.20; *Marc.* 1.29.4). Theoretically, Seckel (1993-1996), followed by Koch (col. 171), von Soden (41-43), and Frend (349, 364 n.75), could well be correct in claiming that the term *protogamia* expressed Montanist teaching on monogamy.

The evidence, however, for this decretal being Montanist is not strong. There is no independent evidence that there ever was a separate Mon-

tanist community in Carthage with its own bishop, let alone one with the title of patriarch; see pp. 54-55 above and p. 142 below. The word *patriarcharum* (l.1) refers to more than one patriarch and, hence, cannot apply simply to the head of the Montanist community in Carthage—if there ever was such a person. The inscription can be restored to suggest that more than one patriarch was involved in issuing the decretal and that it was the result of synodical action, but, if so, we have no knowledge of such a Montanist council nor do we know for sure whether there was ever more than one Montanist patriarch at a time; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257. Perhaps the decretal came not from Montanism itself, but from the Tertullianists (on whom see pp. 475-476 below), but, although these may have adopted Tertullian's views on marriage, there is no evidence that they had patriarchs.

P. Maas (311) argued for a Jewish rather than Christian origin of the inscription by showing that the word *protogamia* is used in the Talmud to signify the "prenuptial celebration" rather than a "first marriage." Seckel himself (1991) had already admitted the possibility of a Jewish context for the word *patriarcharum* in this inscription. On the use of the term "patriarchs" in Jewish inscriptions to refer to important "ruling dignitaries" in local Jewish communities, see L.H. Kant (1987: 696 and n.150).

If, as I assume, Ennabli is correct in dating the inscription to very late IV or early V, the use of the term patriarchs in catholic circles would no longer be anachronistic. As Ennabli points out, the term could refer to the primates of Carthage and Numidia, although she prefers (*contra CIL*) to view it here as a reference to the biblical patriarchs—introduced into the inscription as a means of stressing continuity of faith, church, and the prophets (*ICKarth* 3, p. 246). Ennabli argues, rather convincingly, that the inscription records recommendations regarding the conduct of the religious life (especially that of clergy) enacted during an otherwise unknown North-African catholic church council (*ibid.*, 244-246).

In light of the many other viable options in respect of the identity of the community which published the rules of conduct partly extant in this inscription, it seems best to designate this decretal as "unlikely Montanist," especially if the inscription should indeed be dated to IV⁴ or V¹. If so, the decretal is most probably catholic, although it may be Donatist, or even Jewish.

Italia

Rome

Map 4:E3 (West-Central Italia). Founded, according to legend, in 753 B.C.E., Rome was built around a ford which crossed the Tiberina (Tiber) at the location of the boundaries of the territories of the ancient Latines, Sabines and Etruscans. Situated only 23 km. from its seaport, Ostia (4:E2), Rome became an important commercial as well as political power, especially after the defeat of Greece and Carthage, both in c.146 B.C.E. Following numerous military conquests during the period of the Republic (c.510-27 B.C.E.), Rome became the virtual capital of the world during the first centuries of the Empire (27 B.C.E.-476 C.E.). The city's political importance declined after the establishment of Diocletian's tetrarchy (c.284). Its ultimate fate was sealed when Constantine transferred government to Constantinople (c.330). Christianity, including splinter groups, proliferated rapidly in Rome, as attested by the wealth of extant archaeological and epigraphic remains from the pre-Constantinian period; see, for example, J. Stevenson (1978); Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985].

16. Inscriptions commemorating a group of Aurelii

Hypogaeum on the Viale Manzoni

c.212-282

Ed. pr. — Bendinelli "Ipogeo" [1920]: 126 (line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text only).

Rectangular mosaic of black and white tiles built into the floor of one of the large tomb-chambers (chamber A) in an underground private sepulcher (*hypogaeum*). Damaged at top right corner, worn slightly, especially at edges. Length: 2.70m.; width: 1.75m. Border consists of internal solid black line, exterior to which alternating groups of black and white tiles form geometric pattern. Discovered in 1919. Inscription of black tiles. Interpuncts at l.5 to indicate abbreviations. The artist omitted the A from PRIMAE in l.3 and used FRATRIS instead of FRATRIBUS in l.5.

Right hasta of A is normally two or three tiles longer than left hasta, except in the first A of l.3. Similarly, the right diagonal hastas of the M are longer than the left hastas. Letter height: (approx.) 0.85m. **Figure 17. Plate 39.**

Aurelio Onesimo

Aurelio Papirio

Aureliae Prim<a>e virg(ini).

Aurelius Felicissimus

5 fratri<bu>s et colibert(is) b(ene) m(erentibus) f(ecit).

To Aurelius Onesimus, Aurelius Papirus (and) Aurelia Prima, a virgin. Aurelius Felicissimus has built (this burial chamber)

5 | for his well-deserving brothers and colleagues of freed status.

Other edd.: Bendinelli "Aureli" [1922]: cols. 320-322, 369-370 with photograph and line drawing/facsimile; Wilpert *Aurelio Felicissimo* [1924]: 3-4 with photograph and line drawing/facsimile.

Text reprinted and discussed: T. Ashby (1921: 842); F. Grossi Gondi (1921: 127); Marucchi "Ipogeo" [1921a]: 44-47 (majuscule text only); R. Paribene (1921: 97 [majuscule text only]); H. Lietzmann (1922b: 157-158 [majuscule text only]); *AE* 1924 [1924]: 99 (majuscule text with suggested correction in miniscule); H. Chéramy (1924: 405); Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 7 with line drawing/facsimile; Marucchi *Catacombe* [1932]: 670-672 (majuscule text with miniscule restorations); Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 2 (line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text only); J. Carcopino (1956: 88-92 with French trans., photograph, and line drawing/facsimile); **AE* 1956 [1957]: 235 (majuscule text with suggested corrections in miniscule); J.M.C. Toynbee (1971: 199-212) with line drawing/facsimile; Chicoteau *Glanures* [1976]: 14-16 (majuscule text only) with photograph; J. Stevenson (1978: 111-113 [line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text only]).

Variant readings:

l.1 ONISIMO: Stevenson.

l.2 PAPIRIO: Chéramy.

l.3 PRIME: Bendinelli (Marucchi "Ipogeo"; Lietzmann; Cecchelli; *AE*) but notes that *Prime* should be *Primae*; PRIMAE: Paribene; *Prime*: Grossi Gondi; PRIM.: Chéramy does not resolve abbreviation; PRIM(ae): Marucchi *Catacombe*; Virg: Grossi Gondi, Chéramy do not resolve abbreviation; virgini, Carcopino.

l.4 FELICISSIMVS.: Chéramy; *Felicissimus*: Wilpert (Cecchelli *Aureli*).

l.5 FRATRIS: Bendinelli (Paribene; Marucchi; Lietzmann; Wilpert; Cecchelli; Toynbee; Chicoteau; Stevenson) notes that *fratris* should be *fratribus*; COLIBERT: B.M.F. Bendinelli "Ipogeo" (Grossi Gondi; Paribene; Marucchi "Ipogeo"; Cecchelli, *AE* [1924] do not resolve abbreviations; *Colibert(is)*: Bendinelli "Aureli" (Carcopino); *coliberti(s)*: Lietzmann; *Co(n)libert(is)*: Wilpert; (Cecchelli *Aureli*; Marucchi *Catacombe*); COLIBERTB:MF: Stevenson.



Fig. 17: Mosaic dedication to three Aurelii

Further references: Grossi Gondi (1920: 463); O. Marucchi (1920: 54); G. Bendinelli (1921: 169-170); F. von Duhn (1921: col. 111); Marucchi (1921b: 88); G. de Jerphanion (1922: 68); Grossi Gondi (1923: 36); G. La Piana (1925: 270); H. Achelis (1926: 65-71); K. Lehmann-Hartleben (1926: cols. 97-98); M.I. Rostovtzeff (1927: 148-155); Cecchelli *Aureli*, 56-72; M.H. Swindler (1929: 401); F. Saxl (1931: 101-105); G. Lugli (1938: 436); P. Mingazzini (1942/3: 355-369); Cecchelli *Monumenti*, 78-80; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 214-215; L. Hertling and E. Kirschbaum (1949: 16); Carcopino, 132, 158-159, 171; Toynbee (1957: 263); N.M. Denis-Boulet (1965: 126); CDFAC, 2d ed. [1973]: 77; N. Himmelmann (1975: 7-9); A. Ferrua (1978: 588); R. Turcan (1979: 164, 170-174); P.C. Finney (1980: 442-443 with line drawing/facsimile); H. Kaiser-Minn (1981: 85-91); E. Nash (1981: 311-318 with line drawing/facsimile and

photograph); W.H.C. Frend (1984b: 280-281); Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 33; Frend (1996: 209-211).

Photographs: Bendinelli "Aureli," cols. 321-322 fig. 15; Wilpert, p. 3 fig. 1 (Chicoteau, 14); CDFAC, 77 [Aur A1] (Carcopino, plate 31; Nash, 313 fig. 1077).

Line drawings/facsimiles: ed. pr., 126 fig. 3 (Cecchelli *Monumenti*, 2); Bendinelli "Aureli," cols. 369-370 fig. 31; *ibid.*, plate 1 (Rostovtzeff, 147; Cecchelli *Aureli*, plate 3[b]; Carcopino, plate 2; Toynbee [1971: 209 fig. 19]; Finney, 442 fig. 4; Nash, 311 fig. 1075); Stevenson, 112.

Date

Located W. of the Porta Maggiore, on the corner of the Viale Manzoni and the Via Luzatti, the *hypogaeum* containing this mosaic inscription is situated within the ancient Aurelian walls—indicating that the *hypogaeum* itself was constructed at a time before 282. As it consisted of six burial chambers, elaborately decorated with frescoes, the detailed work of preparing these chambers must have been undertaken over a period of time prior to the completion of the wall. After 282, the *Sepulchrum Aureliorum* was within the city limits, precluding its continued use as an *hypogaeum*. The *quasi-gentilicia* and the use of the term *co-libert(is)* in l.5 suggest a date after 212/3 for the inscription. As in the case of the provincials given citizenship by Caracalla (see ad 5), these Roman *liberti* perhaps took the *gentilicium* of the emperor who liberated them—unless they were emancipated by another member of the *gens Aurelii*.

The Aurelii

Although Aurelius Felicissimus' dedication includes the word *fratris* (i.e., *fratribus*), its juxtaposition with *co-libert(is)* suggests that the deceased (who included a woman) were "brethren" in the sense of close members of the same group. Most of the artwork in their burial chamber and the adjoining ones is religious. For the view that these *Aurelii* could have been related to each other by blood as well as by religion, see Toynbee (1957: 263). The name Onesimus was a common name for slaves which became popular among Christians because of its New Testament example (Col 4:1; Phlm 10); cf. 31, 50, 68² and see *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 179-181.

Co-religionists

There is nothing on the mosaic inscription itself to indicate the religion to which this group of people belonged. The frescoes provide the only clues to the nature of their religious adherence. Not surprisingly, the scenes depicted are drawn from a wide range of literary and cultural mo-

tifs and are often difficult to identify precisely. Many scenes are at least ambiguous. For example, paintings depicting initiations or people (esp. women) with hands raised in an attitude of prayer probably betray Christianity, but non-Christians also initiated people into a variety of cults, and the orant (a term adapted by art historians from the Latin *orant*: "one who prays") was not an exclusively Christian figure; see Snyder, 19-20. Portraits of individual men may represent apostles, but not necessarily so. The creation of Adam and Eve and allusions to other Old Testament stories depicted in the frescoes are probably Christian, but could, at least theoretically, also be Jewish.

A beautiful fresco (Cecchelli *Monumenti*, facing p. 8; cf. *CDFAC*, 77 [Aur A5]) portrays a shepherd sitting on a mountain ledge, scroll in hand, watching his flock in the valley below while one of the animals lies intimately at his feet. This is probably a pictorial representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd (contrast the sculptured versions which invariably portray the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep across his shoulders). However, here, as elsewhere in catacomb art (see Snyder, 23), there are sufficient parallels with representations of Orpheus in paradise to indicate that the scene is not unequivocally Christian. Interestingly, all but one of the animals in this fresco, including the one at the shepherd's feet, appear to be goats.

Similarly, scenes depicting the entry of a hero into a city where he is met by a delegation before speaking to the assembled multitude (Cecchelli *Monumenti*, plates 12-13; cf. *CDFAC*, 77 [Aur A20]) have been interpreted, with almost equal validity, as the triumph of a Greek or Roman conqueror; the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem; the triumph of the Anti-Christ prior to the "Second Coming of Christ"; the Second Coming itself; the entry of Christ into the Heavenly Jerusalem; the triumph of Hercules; and the monthly religious festival in honor of Epiphaneus, son of Carpocrates; see Stevenson, 114-116.

In contrast to the ambiguity about the original meaning of the "triumphal entry" scenes, there is little doubt about the depiction of the return of Ulysses in another fresco (Cecchelli *Monumenti*, facing p. 100; cf. *CDFAC*, 78 [Aur A25]; Frend, 268-269). Divided horizontally into two panels, the fresco clearly shows Penelope and her loom meeting Ulysses dressed as a beggar while her three suitors approach. Even this fresco, however, is not exempt from alternative explanations. For example, Turcan (esp., 168-173) sees here the story of Circe rather than Penelope.

One of the paintings in chamber B shows a male figure with his right hand pointing to a Latin cross (*CDFAC*, 78 [Aur B5]). This is a clear in-

dication of Christianity. A *graffito* (Bendinelli "Aureli," col. 370 fig. 32; cf. *CDFAC* 2d ed., Appendix 5 [1980]: 8 [Aur A28]) portrays an orant whose right hand also appears to point to a tiny cross (not seen by Bendinelli). Bendinelli's reproduction of this orant's large head contains intersecting horizontal and vertical lines, which C. Cecchelli (*Monumenti*, 82) takes to be another intentional early cross. I, however, could not find any trace of the horizontal line in the *graffito* itself. This *graffito*, in any case, is not part of the main decorative artwork of the *hypogaeum*. It is scratched on the wall of a passageway. Hence, it is probably the work of a later visitor to the *hypogaeum*, and the cross may even have been scratched at a time later still than the drawing of this crude figure.

Montanist?

There is no doubt that the people who commissioned this *hypogaeum* were Christians. Nevertheless, given the extensive use of classical motifs and the presence of non-orthodox elements in even the ambiguous Christian artwork, it is unlikely that Aurelius Felicissimus and his friends belonged to mainstream Christianity. If so, as there is evidence for the existence of Montanists in Rome at about this time (see p. 31 above), could this sectarian form of Christianity have been Montanism?

Cecchelli (*Monumenti*, 80, 100-101; *Aureli*, 56-72) proposes two major indicators of Montanism in the artwork of this *hypogaeum* along with some supporting data. Firstly, he draws attention to the prevalence of the portrayal of feminine elements, including the presence of women among the initiates, the prominence of Eve in the depiction of the creation of humankind, the orant and the use of the adjective *virgo* for Aurelia Prima. Secondly, he argues that the open use of the cross (with which he compares the open use of the term virgin) was characteristic of third-century Montanism. Neither of these indicators is conclusive. While it is true that Montanism, more so than mainstream Christianity, emphasized the role which women could play in the church, especially among the clergy (cf. 4), there is no unambiguous data in the artwork of the *hypogaeum* proving that women were being portrayed intentionally as virgin-prophetesses or female clergy. Cecchelli (*Monumenti*, 81) interprets one of the figures in chamber B as being a "veiled prophetess," but this interpretation is by no means definite. Secondly, the presence of the cross in this (non-public!) burial place is not surprising. But even in public, open use of the cross in early or mid III does not necessarily point to Montanism; see *ad* 17.

Cecchelli's supporting indicators of Montanism are equally inconclusive. He argues that the depiction of the "Heavenly Jerusalem" is con-

sistent with Montanist eschatology drawn from the Book of Revelation, but the "New Jerusalem" of earliest Montanism was a missionary, rather than an eschatological, concept. Montanism did not develop a distinctive eschatology until well after this fresco was painted; see W. Tabbernee (1989b: 52-60). If the fresco was, indeed, intended to portray the celestial Jerusalem, it is as likely to have been commissioned by an adherent of mainstream Christianity or of another Christian sect as by a Montanist. Similarly, any alleged representation of the anti-Christ may be attributed to a millenarianism which is as likely to have been non-Montanist as Montanist.

Assuming some of the portraits (e.g., Cecchelli *Monumenti*, facing pp. 52, 68, cf. Frend, 1984b: 271) to be those of the apostles, Cecchelli (ibid., 101) argued that this was consistent with the Montanist respect for the apostles whom they acknowledged as *pneumatici*, even if they had not been inspired by the (Montanist) "Paraclete." Veneration for the apostles, however, can hardly be considered a criterion for judging these frescoes to be Montanist. At best, it can be said that interpreting these paintings as apostles does not rule out a Montanist interpretation. Likewise, a fresco containing a figure with a book and a rod (Bendinelli "Aureli," pl. 14) may depict an initiation scene, but whether it can be claimed with Cecchelli (*Monumenti*, 100) that the book and the rod indicates this to be a Montanist "charismatic" initiation symbolizing both written and oracular prophecy, is doubtful.

Cecchelli (ibid., 100; cf. Grossi Gondi [1921: 133-134]) also claims the style of the painting of the "Good Shepherd" as possible supportive evidence for Montanism, drawing on the similarity between elements of this fresco and the language used to describe the "Good Shepherd" in the epitaph of Aberkios of Hieropolis. However, even if Aberkios were to be identified with the Avircius Marcellus mentioned by the late second-century Anonymous opponent of Montanism quoted by Eusebius, an identification questioned by Margherita Guarducci in *EG* 4 [1978] (see p. 53 n.13 above), it must not be forgotten that Avircius was an *opponent*, not a supporter, of Montanism; see Anon., *ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.16.3. Consequently, if anything, any alleged similarities between the painting and the epitaph should argue against, rather than for, an exclusively Montanist interpretation of the fresco. In any case, the portrayal of the "Good Shepherd" in this instance may not even be Christian, or, if it is, it may have been influenced by non-Christian mythology; see above.

The portrayal of the clearly non-Christian story of Ulysses and Penelope is interpreted by Cecchelli (*Monumenti*, 100-101) as a depiction of the Montanist rejection of second marriages. Penelope is the

heroine, who refused all efforts to tempt her to remarry, despite reports that Ulysses had died. Cecchelli's ingenious suggestion is certainly consistent with Montanist teaching as understood by Tertullian (see *ad* 15), but there is no extant literary evidence that Montanists ever utilized the Ulysses story for this, or any other, purpose. The absence of such evidence, of course, may merely be the result of the limited data which has survived about Montanism. There is extant evidence, however, that Gnostic sects were accused of allegorizing classical epics in order to give them a Christian meaning; e.g., see Hipp., *haer.* 1.23; 6.14. According to Hippolytus (*haer.* 5.3), the Naassenes, in particular, considered Homer as a prophet, and Hippolytus quotes a Naassene allegorical interpretation of Penelope's suitors as "awakened souls" (ibid., 5.2). As Hippolytus appears to have had contact with contemporary Naassenes (ibid., 5.3), there was probably a Naassene group in Rome by early III; see Stevenson, 114. Consequently, the co-religionists buried in the *hypogaeum* may have belonged to this sect; see Carcopino, 110-111, 115-116, 124-131, 354, and Frend, 1984b: 281, 1996: 210-211. However, it is equally likely that they may have belonged to one or other of the many Gnostic sects in Rome; e.g., the Orphites or the Carpocratians (Wilpert, 42) or perhaps the Valentinians (Grossi Gondi [1920: 436]; Marucchi [1921a: 47; 1921b: 83-93]; Achelis, 67). However, Finney, following Toynbee (261-270), rejects a Gnostic interpretation altogether (1980: 442-450; 1994: 86 and n.92, 136 n.10).

Given the diversity of the artwork contained in this *hypogaeum*, all that can be said with certainty is that those buried there were eclectic syncretists. They were probably Christians, but perhaps Christians who did not belong to mainstream Christianity. It is unlikely that they were Montanists as the blatant use of Homeric epics, even for allegorical purposes, does not appear to have been a Montanist characteristic. It is more likely that they were Gnostics, but, if so, the specific type of Gnosticism is still a mystery. Stevenson (92-3) suggests that they were Dynamic Monarchians rather than Gnostics, but this view appears to be based merely on the fact that this Christian sect was also present in Rome at about the same time and that its members had an appreciation of classical philosophy (ibid., 116-117).

16². More Montanists?

Although it is extremely unlikely that the *Aurelii* discussed above were Montanists, the possibility that they were, in fact, Montanists cannot be

ruled out totally. Hence, for the sake of providing a comprehensive corpus of Montanist and alleged Montanist inscriptions, the only other extant inscription from chamber A of the *Sepulchrum Aureliorum* needs to be included here: Bendinelli "Aureli," col. 426 with photograph [fig. 61] (cf. *CDFAC*, 77 [Aur A2] (Nash, 314 fig. 1079); Nash, 312 [fig. 1076]). This inscription (fig. 18), an epitaph, reveals that the children of members of the (not yet satisfactorily identified) sect were also buried in the *hypogaeum*, and it provides the names of two more adult members—the deceased child's grieving parents. The inscription is on a marble slab, broken at right. Bendinelli restores the end of l.1 as *Myrsin[ae filiae]*, the end of l.2 as *vi(xit annis)* and the end of l.4 as *Iulia Lyd[ia(?) paren]*. Reading Julia rather than Junia, however, produces an additional -I- in the extant text, which should then be transcribed as *Iuli{i}a*. The next letter is as likely to be a partially extant P as a partially extant L. The text suggested below takes into account the limited space available for additional letters on the missing right-hand part of the slab. The spelling *quai* rather than *quae* in l.2 is presumably the result of pronunciation.

As with the other *Aurelii* commemorated in the *Sepulchrum Aureliorum*, the case for Aurelius Martinus and his family being Montanists is extremely weak and is completely dependent upon the way in which the frescoes and other artwork in the *hypogaeum* are interpreted.

*Aureliae Myrsin[ae]
dulcissimae, quai vi[x(it) an(nis)]
V, mens(ibus) VI, die(bu)s XI.
Aurel(ius) Martinus et Junia, p[aren-]
5 tes, fecerunt.*

To sweetest Aurelia Myrsina, she who has lived five years, six months, (and) eleven days. Aurelius Martinus and
5 Junia, (the) parents, | have made (this epitaph).

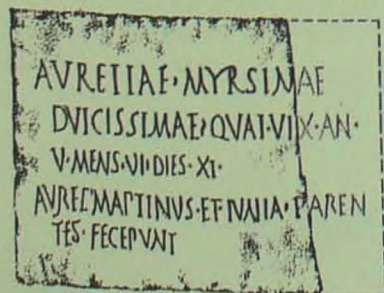


Fig. 18: A child's funerary inscription

Part III

Montanist and Allegedly Montanist Inscriptions

c.225-274 C.E.

Introduction

Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (c.230-268), in a letter written to Cyprian of Carthage in 256,¹ refers to "those called Cataphrygians" as an example of heretics whose baptism must be deemed invalid (*ap. Cypr., ep. 75.7.3-4*; cf. 75.19.4). Firmilian had an accurate knowledge of Montanism, reporting that Montanists "try to claim that they have new prophecies" (75.7.3; cf. 75.19.4). He also tells Cyprian: "If we ask them what Christ they preach, they will reply that they preach the one who sent the spirit which spoke through Montanus and Prisca" (75.7.3). But does this mean that there was a contemporary group of Montanists at Caesarea at the time when he wrote his letter? His phrasing may merely have been hypothetical, based on information he had gained about Montanism, not through contact with contemporary Montanists in Cappadocia but from the anti-Montanist synod, held in Ikonion in Phrygia c.230-235, which he had attended early in his career (75.7.4; cf. 75.19.4). Firmilian's account of an unnamed ecstatic prophetess in Caesarea (75.10.1-11.1) may refer to a Montanist who caused trouble for the church in Cappadocia c.235-236,² but her identification as a Montanist is by no means certain.³ Epiphanius (*haer.* 48.14.3) believed that there were (still) Montanists in Cappadocia in IV, but it is not certain whether he had independent knowledge of this or whether he merely deduced it from Firmilian's letter. Irrespective of whether it can be proved that there were Montanists in Cappadocia in III³, it is certain that there were Montanists in Phrygia at that time. That there had also been Montanists in at

¹ On the date, see G.W. Clarke (1989: 256 n.17).

² See K. Aland (1960b: 116-117); J.A. Fischer (1974: 268); F.C. Klawiter (1975: 172); Clarke (1989: 263 n.44, 266 n.49); S. Elm (1989: 221-222); and C. Trevett (1995: 269 n.23; 1996: 97-98, 168, 171 [= Quintilla?], 188-189, 192).

³ A. Jensen (1992: 352-359) argues strongly that this prophetess did not belong to the New Prophecy, a view already expressed by P. de Labriolle (1913a: 483-487) and P.H. Lafontaine (1963: 11-12).

least some of the neighboring provinces, probably including Cappadocia, a decade or two earlier is assured, as the bishops from those provinces decided that a policy was needed to deal with the proper procedure by which any Montanists desiring to join the mainstream church might be admitted.⁴ This policy, agreed on by the Asian bishops at Ikonion, was of sufficient relevance to Firmilian in 256 to warrant mentioning it to Cyprian (Firmil., *ap. Cypr., ep.* 75.7), who was concerned with the broader issue of rebaptism stimulated by the aftermath of the Decian persecution.

Thyateira

According to Epiphanius (*haer.* 51.33.4), the whole church at Thyateira in Lydia had, for a period of 112 years, been Montanist but had returned to mainstream Christianity shortly before he wrote his book on heresies. He dates the alleged Montanist takeover at Thyateira to the "ninety-third year after the ascension of the Savior" (*ibid.*). Elsewhere Epiphanius dated the ascension to the equivalent of 30 C.E. (*ibid.*, 51.26-27). Consequently, according to the information provided, the Christian church of Thyateira became Montanist in 123 and remained so until 235. These dates, however, conflict with other data. Epiphanius' only unambiguous statement regarding the date of the origins of Montanism itself gives "the nineteenth year of the reign of Antoninus Pius" (*ibid.*, 48.1.2), i.e., 156/7, which, while earlier than Eusebius' twelfth year of Marcus Aurelius (*chron. Olymp.* 238.1 [*ad annum Abrahami* 2188]), i.e., 171/2,⁵ is still not sufficiently early to be reconciled with the date 123 for the fusing of traditional Christianity with the New Prophecy at Thyateira. Conversely, as Epiphanius gives the impression that the church at Thyateira had returned from its diversion into the Phrygian heresy not all that long before he wrote (*c.*375/6), the year 235 is too early for that event to have occurred then. These dates, therefore, make no sense and Epiphanius' information must be interpreted differently. W.M. Calder, in 1923, argued that the 112 years should be subtracted from 375/6 to give the year 263/4, which he took initially to be the date when Thyateira lapsed into Montanism.⁶ Convinced by K. Holl's hypothesis, Calder amended his original view in an *addendum* to the same article to agree

⁴ See Fischer (1984: 267-271).

⁵ On the date of the origin of Montanism, see G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (1954: 7-15); W.H.C. Frend (1964: 499-506, esp. 504-505); T.D. Barnes (1970: 403-407), Taberner (1978: 757-781; and Trevett (1996: 26-45).

⁶ Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 346.

with Holl that the year 263/4 should be taken as the date when mainstream Christianity re-established itself at Thyateira and that the 93 years mentioned by Epiphanius should also be counted backwards from that year, giving 170/1 as the date in which the church became Montanist.⁷ There is, however, no warrant for this ingenious suggestion—even if the end result almost coincides with Eusebius' date for the origin of the movement. Holl had to postulate a *lacuna* in the text to support his hypothesis that the number 93 and not 112 referred to the period during which Thyateira was Montanist.⁸

F.C. Klawiter,⁹ rejecting the Holl/Calder hypothesis, argues instead that the 93 years refers to the period between when the book of Revelation was written and when the church at Thyateira became Montanist (i.e., *c.*189) and that the 112 years should also be counted from the time when the book of Revelation was written but applied to the time when the Thyateiran church returned to orthodoxy (i.e., *c.*208). Klawiter's theory depends heavily on a related hypothesis, namely that the tradition about the Montanist church was originally part of Gaius' anti-Montanist polemic,¹⁰ including an argument against the Johannine authorship of Revelation, and that Hippolytus, in responding to this argument, provided the detail that the church at Thyateira had again become orthodox.¹¹ Klawiter combines both hypotheses by postulating that Epiphanius was utilizing data, including the numbers 93 and 112, which he found in the now lost work(s) defending the Apocalypse.¹² A major problem with Klawiter's theory, which he acknowledges,¹³ is that Epiphanius believed that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Claudius (*haer.* 51.33.9), i.e., sometime between 41-54. This would make 147 the latest date for

⁷ *Ibid.*, 354; cf. K. Holl (1922: 307).

⁸ Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 354.

⁹ Klawiter (1975: 314-321).

¹⁰ See p. 31 above.

¹¹ Klawiter (1975: 317-320); cf. H. von Campenhausen (1972: 237-243) and J.D. Smith (1979: 206-262).

¹² Klawiter (1975: 317-321). Ebedjesu (*cat. libr. eccl.* 7) mentions that Hippolytus wrote *capita adversus Caium et apologiam pro apolypsi et evangelio Ioannis apostoli et evangelistae*. These may have been two separate works, i.e., one titled *Chapters against Gaius* (Κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαῖου), of which five Syriac fragments are extant, and another one called *On the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse* (Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως) as listed on the base of Hippolytus' statue; see EG 4 [1978]: 535-545 no. 3, ll.5-8 (left side). It is also likely that the latter is, in fact, to be identified with the former as two parts of the same work; see B. Altaner and A. Stuiber (1980: 167).

¹³ Klawiter (1975: 319).

the beginning of Montanism at Thyateira, which is still prior to the date Epiphanius gives for the origin of the whole movement. Klawiter,¹⁴ hesitantly, suggests that Epiphanius may not have been aware of this contradiction, but also admits that his hypothesis may not be correct.¹⁵

If both the Holl/Calder and the Klawiter hypotheses are incorrect, we are left with the view that the number 112 does indeed refer to the period when the church at Thyateira was Montanist and that it had ceased to be such in Epiphanius' own time (ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ [*haer.* 51.33.4]). Klawiter points out correctly that this phrase is not sufficiently specific to enable it to be used as a reference point from which to calculate the precise date of the beginning of Montanism at Thyateira, but he suggests that, if this option is the correct one, the church at Thyateira probably became Montanist around mid III, i.e., at least by 263/4.¹⁶ Elsewhere I have argued that it is conceivable that Epiphanius' reference correlating the start of Thyateira's excursion into Montanism with a time span reckoned from the ascension may be off by exactly a century.¹⁷ If the number was intended to be 193 instead of 93, irrespective of whether the error lay in Epiphanius' source or was made by Epiphanius himself, Thyateira became Montanist c.223 and did not return to the mainstream of Christianity until c.335 when, perhaps, as a result of Constantine's legislation against Montanists and others in c.325-326, it, once again, became part of the officially sanctioned church.¹⁸ The latter could be said to have occurred in Epiphanius' time. Given the basic unreliability of Epiphanius' chronology and the general nature of his knowledge about Montanism, it is probably best to say little more than that he believed that Thyateira lapsed totally into Montanism for more than a century sometime between mid III and IV.³ Irrespective of whether Epiphanius was correct, his supposition makes it theoretically possible that at least some Christian inscriptions from Thyateira during this period should be classified as Montanist.

Smyrna

The *Martyrdom of Pionius* mentions that, during the Decian persecution, probably in February 250 (*M. Pion.* 2.1; cf. 23.1), a Eutychianos from the Phrygian heresy (ἐνα ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φρυγῶν ὀνόματι

Εὐτυχιανόν) was imprisoned in Smyrna (*ibid.*, 11.2) along with a presbyter of the catholic church named Limnos and an unnamed Macedonian woman (*ibid.*, 4.2; cf. 19.1).¹⁹ It would be fascinating to know what Eutychianos was doing in Smyrna at that time so as to be arrested for refusing to sacrifice in accordance with Decius' edict. Was he a resident of Smyrna? If so, was there a local Montanist church there in mid III? H. von Campenhausen's theory that the whole Quintus episode in *M. Polyc.* 4 is a late, albeit pre-Eusebian, anti-Montanist interpolation into the original account of Polycarp's martyrdom²⁰ potentially lends support to the presence of a Montanist community in Smyrna during III. However, von Campenhausen's theory rests on the caricaturization of Montanists as voluntary martyrs.²¹ Although Quintus was a Phrygian and a person who foolishly rushed toward martyrdom, neither of these is sufficient to label him Montanist and to designate the alleged interpolation as anti-Montanist.²² Similarly, S. Ronchey's attempt to date the whole of the *M. Polyc.* to III³, is based, in part, on the alleged anachronism of the reference to Quintus as a Montanist.²³ Arguments dating the *M. Polyc.* before c.160 and the rise of Montanism earlier still in an attempt to enable *M. Polyc.* 4 to stand as an integral part of the text and as a non-anachronistic reference to a Montanist voluntary martyr²⁴ remain unconvincing.²⁵

The story of Quintus is insufficient evidence to confirm the existence of a Montanist community at Smyrna, either in mid III or earlier. The story of Eutychianos, nevertheless, may, by itself, be sufficient warrant for presuming a Montanist community in Smyrna at least by c.250. Alternatively, Eutychianos may have come from the relatively nearby Thyateira. If so, would that support the theory that the church at Thyateira was totally Montanist at that time? Or did Eutychianos come from another contemporary Montanist community in Phrygia or elsewhere? Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell.

¹⁹ Despite the fact that Eusebius places Pionius' martyrdom in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*h.e.* 4.15.46; cf. 4.14.10-15.1), there is no doubt that it occurred in the reign of Decius; see Barnes (1968b: 529-531) and H. Musurillo (1972: xxviii-xxix).

²⁰ Von Campenhausen (1957: 18-20).

²¹ For the position that this view of Montanism is incorrect, see W. Tabbernee (1985: 33-44), followed by Trevett (1996: 123-129), but see also the opposite position taken by G. Buschmann (1995b: 105-145).

²² Tabbernee (1985: 41).

²³ S. Ronchey (1990: esp. 36, 48-53, 69-78). The attempt is deemed unsuccessful by J. den Boeft and J. Bremmer (1995: 146-151).

²⁴ Buschmann (1995b: esp. 105-113, 129-130); cf. Trevett (1996: 41, 47, 124).

²⁵ Cf. den Boeft and Bremmer, 148, 149, 151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 319-321.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 319-320.

¹⁷ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 766.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 766-767.

Pergamon

The Latin recension of the *Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice* places the events described in these *acta* in the reign of Decius (*M. Carp.* [L] 1.7). Although the references to the emperor and to a proconsul named Optimus²⁶ are probably later additions to the original version, the Decian date may well be correct as the proconsul's question regarding whether Papyrus belonged to the curial class, present in both recensions (*M. Carp.* [G] 24; *M. Carp.* [L] 3.1), is more appropriate in a third-century context than a second-century one.²⁷ Similarly, the insistence on sacrificing in accordance with the emperor's orders (*M. Carp.* [G] 11; *M. Carp.* [L] 2.1) suggests the persecution of Decius, rather than the time of Marcus Aurelius to which Eusebius (*h.e.* 4.15.48) relegates these *acta* along with those of Polycarp and Pionius.

Papyrus (= Pamphilus) is described as a deacon from Thyateira (*M. Carp.* [L] 1) who, although not a senator, was a citizen of that city (*M. Carp.* [G] 24-27; cf. *M. Carp.* [L] 3.1). Unless the response in *M. Carp.* [L] 3.2 is meant to be taken metaphorically, it appears that Papyrus was very wealthy. He may have traveled extensively to win Christian converts as he indicated that he had "spiritual children in every province and every city" (*M. Carp.* [L] 3.3; cf. *M. Carp.* [G] 32). In light of the possibility, noted above, that the church at Thyateira was totally Montanist at this time, could Papyrus have been an influential Montanist leader whose spiritual children were also adherents of the New Prophecy? Does his presence at Pergamon suggest a Montanist community there in mid III? Agathonice has often been considered a Montanist, or at least a person strongly influenced by Montanism,²⁸ because she "threw herself joyfully upon the stake" (*M. Carp.* [G] 44). Her apparent voluntary martyrdom, modified in the Latin recension by references to her arrest and trial (*M. Carp.* [L] 1.6), is insufficient, by itself, to declare her a Montanist or to consider the Greek version "Montanistic."²⁹ Of greater significance is the fact that in the Latin recension Agathonice refers to Papyrus and Carpus as her "venerable teachers" (6.1), suggesting some catechetical relationship. If Papyrus was indeed a Montanist, then

²⁶ On whom, see W. Hoffmann (1942: cols. 804-805) and D. Magie (1950: vol. 2, 1586).

²⁷ See Barnes (1968b: 515).

²⁸ J. Chapman (1911: 523); H. Lietzmann (1922a: 52-53); and cf. Frend (1965b: 272).

²⁹ See Tabbernee (1985: 40).

Agathonice's other teacher, bishop Carpus from Gordos (*ibid.*, 1),³⁰ may also have been a Montanist. If so, was he a visiting emissary from Julia Gordos indicating that there was also a Montanist community there? The answer to all these questions depends on the validity of dating both the events described by the *M. Carp.* and Epiphanius' description of Montanism at Thyateira to periods which overlap during the Decian persecution and on the accuracy of relevant details in both accounts. Neither of these, however, is assured.

Pamphylia?

The *Acts of Achatius* describe the alleged trial of a number of Christian clergy in Pamphylia during the Decian persecution. In a crucial passage, Achatius, the main hero, is told by Marcianus, the governor: *Cataphrygas aspice homines religionis antiquae <et> ad mea sacra conversos reliquisse quod fuerant et nobiscum diis vota persolvere* ("Observe the Cataphrygians, people of an ancient religion which they have abandoned to such an extent that they not only come to my sacred rites but, in a complete turnabout, sacrifice at our daily votive offerings" [*Act. Achat.* 4.8]).³¹ According to this account, Marcianus pointed to the apostasy of some contemporary Montanists, whom he erroneously considered to belong to a religion at least as old as Christianity itself, to provide Achatius with a precedent for abandoning his religion. This line of approach appears to have been popular among Roman officials trying to induce Christians to sacrifice, rather than having to put them to death. Pionius, for example, was told: "Ἴδε Εὐκτήμων ὁ προεστὼς ὑμῶν ἐπέθυσεν, πείσθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς" ("Behold, Euktemon, one of your leaders offered sacrifice, you should be persuaded also" [*M. Pion.* 15.2]). If reliable, the *Acts of Achatius* would provide evidence for Montanists residing in Pamphylia, c.250. If so, this could conceivably strengthen the case for identifying the Koumana mentioned by the Anonymous in connection with an anti-Montanist bishop named Zotikos (*ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.17) as being a village in Pamphylia.³² The *Acts of Achatius*, however, are totally spurious.³³ The details contained in them cannot be taken as having any historical value.

³⁰ That is, Julia Gordos in Lydia N.E. of Thyateira; on which, see L. Büchner (1912: col. 1595).

³¹ Perhaps to be identified with Terentius Marcianus; see Magie (1950: vol. 2, 1571 n.35, 1600).

³² See p. 21 n.20 above.

³³ See H. Delehay (1966: 256-258).

Carthage

Turning our attention to Montanist communities outside Asia Minor, we could expect the "Montanist circle" of which Tertullian had been a member to have separated from the Carthaginian church by Cyprian's time (c.249-258). This does not appear to have been the case. To the contrary, it seems that this group had become reconciled with the other members of the church during III². If so, this would explain why Cyprian so freely utilized Tertullian's writings (Hier., *vir. ill.* 53) and why these writings were not destroyed. Cyprian, although the recipient of Firmilian's letter mentioning Montanism, never mentioned Montanism in his own correspondence. He adopted the precedent provided by Firmilian in order to deal with problems resulting from the Novatian schism, not in order to (re)baptize adherents of the New Prophecy. Perhaps an echo of the Montanist circle can be heard in the name Montanus, borne by a Carthaginian martyr who was executed in 259 as a result of Valerian's second edict (*Pass. Montan.* 2.1; cf. 15.1), although the name may be a mere coincidence. If this man had been born in Carthage, say c.215-220, his parents may have belonged to Tertullian's group of Montanist sympathizers. The *passio* itself, however, provides strong evidence that whatever factions there had been a few decades earlier, they belonged to the past as, in the *passio*, both "catholic" and "spiritual" emphases are neatly merged.³⁴

It is possible that disgruntled adherents of the New Prophecy eventually left to form a separate community, perhaps adopting the name "Tertullianists."³⁵ But, if so, this must have occurred well after Cyprian's time.³⁶ It is equally likely, however, that the Tertullianists had a completely different origin.³⁷

Rome

Unlike at Carthage, there is no evidence that the Montanist and anti-Montanist factions of the church at Rome were reconciled during III. This is not surprising as, again unlike Carthage, Montanism had become a separate community in the capital of the Empire sometime before 200.³⁸ Montanists existed in Rome at least until V¹, if not later.³⁹ Specific

³⁴ See J. Trigg (1984: 242-246).

³⁵ See pp. 475-476 below.

³⁶ See D. Powell (1975: 33-54).

³⁷ See p. 476 below.

³⁸ See p. 31 above.

³⁹ See p. 473 below.

details about the history of Roman Montanism during III²⁻³ are not provided by the extant sources.

Palestine

There are a number of clear references to Montanism in Origen's commentaries (e.g., *comm. in Mt.* 15.30; *in Matth. ser.* 28, 47; *comm. in 1 Cor.* 14.36; *fr. in ep. ad Titum* 5.291) as well as some dubious references in his other writings (e.g., *princ.* 2.7.3; *Cels.* 7.9). Origen's knowledge of Montanism, however, is superficial. There is nothing in his writings which he could not have gained from second-hand reports. Hence, his writings do not provide evidence for Montanist communities either at Alexandria or at Caesarea in Palestine, where he settled in 231 and wrote his commentary on Matthew in 244. He may have had some personal contact with Montanists in Caesarea in Cappadocia if he, indeed, resided there for about two years c.235-238 (Pall., *h. Laus.* 64; cf. Eus., *h.e.* 6.17.1). This, however, depends not only on the accuracy of Palladius' report, which may simply be a deduction based on Eusebius' more general reference, but also on whether there were, in fact, contemporary Montanists in Cappadocia around the time when Firmilian attended the synod at Ikonion. Perhaps all that should be postulated is that Firmilian may have been one of Origen's sources about Montanism, irrespective of whether such alleged communication about the Cataphrygians occurred in Cappadocia or in Palestine where Firmilian visited Origen (Eus., *h.e.* 6.27.1).

Inscriptions

The Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions from the fifty-year period spanning the middle of the third century all display Christianity openly through the use of the word Christian (17, 19-29, 30(?), 31 and/or the use of the cross (17, 18).

During III²⁻³ Christians and non-Christians seem to have co-existed relatively peaceably in Phrygia. By III¹, some Phrygian Christians had felt secure enough to record on tombstones that the deceased had been a Christian.⁴⁰ Many more did so during the rest of the century. This is consistent with the increasing use of the word Christian as a general self-designation and as a term by which civil servants and others could identify the followers of Christ.⁴¹ The Decian persecution (c.249-251) also

⁴⁰ See part II above.

⁴¹ See Bremmer (1991: 11-20).

facilitated general familiarity with the term Christian.⁴² It appears to have had little, if any, negative effect on people's readiness to declare Christian allegiance on publicly displayed monuments.

Open profession of Christianity is seen most clearly in those epitaphs which contain the so-called "Christians for Christians" (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς) formula from the Upper Tembris Valley. This formula, however, was not the earliest to be used by Christians in Phrygia nor the only one to be linked by scholars, negatively or positively, with Montanism.

The "Eumeneian formula"

Numerous third- and early fourth-century Phrygian inscriptions conclude with the phrase ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, or some variant. Extremely common in and around Eumeneia (modern Işıklı),⁴³ it is also found in the Upper Tembris Valley⁴⁴ and elsewhere.⁴⁵ Like similar sepulchral threats, the formula sought to protect tombs against vandalism or unauthorized burials by invoking divine wrath on any potential grave violator. Such a person "will have to deal with God," i.e., "be answerable to God."⁴⁶ Yet unlike some other sepulchral threats,⁴⁷ the ambiguity of ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ means that it is not clear which divinity is invoked.

⁴² Ibid., 18.

⁴³ E.g., *CB* 2 [1897]: 355-379; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. III" [1926]: 59 no. 179, 84 no. 208; Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 38; *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 429-435; *IPhyrDB* [1978]: 44-48.

⁴⁴ Gibson "Upper Tembris Valley" [1975a]: 151-157.

⁴⁵ For example, in the Plain of Kırbasan (e.g., *CB* 2 [1897]: 446 = *MAMA* 4 [1933]: 355; *MAMA* 4.357); at Akmonia (e.g., *CB* 2 [1897]: 563; *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 409-412); Sebaste (e.g., *CB* 2.448-451); Apameia (e.g., *CB* 2.385-386, 388-392, 394-396, 399; *MAMA* 6 [1939]: 232-235); an ancient site near Afyon (e.g., *MAMA* 4.31, cf. Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 36 no. 5); Synnada (e.g., Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 342-348 no. 102; = 35; Amorion (e.g., *MAMA* 7 [1956]: 298). Some Phrygian inscriptions of unknown provenance with this formula also exist (e.g., A.R.R. Sheppard [1979: 180]). A few examples occur outside of Phrygia, presumably on the tombs of Phrygian immigrants: e.g., Rome (*CIG* 4 [1877]: 3902r) and Caesarea in Cappadocia (Grégoire "Rapport" [1909]: 67 no. 46).

⁴⁶ See *CB* 2 [1897]: pp. 496-498; W. Scheepelern (1929: 86-87); Calder "Eumeneian Formula" [1939b]: 15-26; id., "Epitaphs" [1955]: 26; *MAMA* 7 [1956]: p. xxxvii; *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 393-413; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 312-316; Sheppard (1979: 169-380); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 66-70; Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 136-139.

⁴⁷ Especially those invoking specific gods, e.g., Μὴν καταχθονίος (see *CMRDM* 1 [1971]: 145-147, 149-151, 154).

While non-Christians had no reason to be ambiguous about the identity of their gods, Christians (and Jews) would naturally be attracted to a formula which could be interpreted monotheistically or, at least, neutrally.

G. Kaibel⁴⁸ was among the first to suggest that the formula may be Christian. L. Duchesne⁴⁹ and W.M. Ramsay,⁵⁰ independently, proved that it was definitely used by Christians. Ramsay later admitted that the formula was also used by "pagans."⁵¹ M. Waelkens, who redates *MAMA* 4.31 to III¹, thus providing one of the earliest examples, also argues for the non-Christian nature of at least some of these inscriptions.⁵² Calder popularized the view that the formula was originally Christian but was imitated occasionally by Jews.⁵³ Conversely, A.R.R. Sheppard argues that Christians, in fact, imitated an originally Jewish formula. Whatever the precise connection, Jewish use is attested.⁵⁴ Perhaps there was some inevitable borrowing between Phrygian native religion, Christianity, and Judaism in respect of this formula.

Clues to the possible Christian nature of particular inscriptions are often provided by an expansion of their imprecations to include adjectives describing the character of the god whose wrath is invoked, e.g., τὸν ζῶντα θεόν ("the living God");⁵⁵ τὸν ἀθάνατον θεόν ("the undying God")⁵⁶ or τὸν κριτὴν θεόν ("God the Judge").⁵⁷ While each of these descriptions of God may be Jewish rather than Christian, the first of them is found also on an inscription⁵⁸ dated 257/8, dedicated by a presumably, but not indisputably,⁵⁹ Christian presbyter. If, as seems likely, at least some of the people who set up these third-century tombstones were Christians, it is significant that they were only prepared to reveal their Christianity through relatively ambiguous terms and phrases. Not until

⁴⁸ Kaibel *Epigrammata* [1878]: 169.

⁴⁹ L. Duchesne (1883: 31).

⁵⁰ Ramsay "Cities I" [1883]: 400-401.

⁵¹ *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 498.

⁵² M. Waelkens (1979: 126-127).

⁵³ Calder "Eumeneian Formula" [1939b]: 15-26; id., "Epitaphs" [1955]: 25-27; *MAMA* 7 [1956]: xxxvii.

⁵⁴ Scheepelern (1929: 86-87); *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 399-406, 412-413; Th. Drew-Bear (1976b: 248); D. Feissel (1980: 463); L.H. Kant (1987: 685-686 and n.95, 705 and n.229).

⁵⁵ E.g., *CB* 2 [1897]: 355-356, 362, 364, 374, 378.

⁵⁶ E.g., *ibid.*, 388.

⁵⁷ E.g., *ibid.*, 394.

⁵⁸ *IPhyrDB* [1978]: 48.

⁵⁹ See Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 138.

later were they prepared to combine the Eumeneian formula with increasingly overt expressions of Christianity. For example, an inscription from Pınarbaşı (formerly Abiye, Upper Tembris Valley) combines a conspicuous cross with the variant ἔ[σ]τη αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἰ παντοκράτωρα Θεόν ("he [or she] will be answerable to the all-powerful God").⁶⁰

A Montanist connection?

Calder, by classifying the inscriptions employing the Eumeneian formula as "non-provocative" and contrasting them with the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions which he characterized as "provocative," saw an inverse relationship between these so-called "crypto-Christian" inscriptions and Montanism. He argued that, whereas "orthodox" Phrygian Christians employed the Eumeneian formula, Montanists, motivated by a zeal bordering on fanaticism, courted potential martyrdom in order to confess their faith openly by means of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula.⁶¹

A. Strobel, on the other hand, taking issue with Calder, argues for a more direct link between the "Eumeneian" inscriptions and Montanism. On the basis of the discovery of some of these inscriptions at ancient sites in the Plain of Kırbasan⁶² west of Eumeneia, Strobel claims that the formula, in fact, originated there as part of the cult of Leto and Apollo and was adopted by the Christians of this plain before it spread east to Eumeneia and beyond.⁶³ The two main theses of Strobel's book are that the center of Montanism was located in the Plain of Kırbasan⁶⁴ and that Montanism was deeply influenced by Phrygian native religion, especially the cult of Apollo,⁶⁵ a major shrine of which was also located in the Plain of Kırbasan.⁶⁶ Not surprisingly, Strobel sees a strong positive connection between Montanism and the formula which he wants to rename as the "formula from the Plain of Kırbasan."⁶⁷ He argues that while, by itself, the formula is insufficient proof of Montanism, when linked with other criteria such as onomastics and location, it may be utilized as supportive evidence.⁶⁸ Neither of Strobel's main theses, however, is convincing.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ Gibson "Upper Tembris Valley" [1975a]: 151; cf. *BE* [1976]: 675.

⁶¹ See below.

⁶² E.g., at Sirkli (*CB* 2 [1897]: 446 = *MAMA* 4 [1933]: 355) and Dumanlı (*MAMA* 4.357).

⁶³ Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 66-70, 74-83, 218-220.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, esp. 126, 220.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, esp. 36-37, 230, 292-297.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, esp. 208-218.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

and his theory about the origin of the Eumeneian formula is highly speculative.⁷⁰

The Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς formula

As indicated above, the Χρ.-Χρ. formula has been especially linked with Montanism. The formula is certainly more explicitly open about the Christianity of those named on the tombstone than the Eumeneian formula (and even than the Χριστιανοὶ inscriptions) in that it declares the religion of the *dedicators* as well as of the deceased. Put simply, the formula proclaims that one group of Christians who are named and often stated to be still alive commissioned the tomb on behalf of another group of Christians, normally their named deceased relatives.

The Χρ.-Χρ. formula may not have attracted special attention if Ramsay had not pointed out that the Χρ.-Χρ. tombstones (on the whole) belong to the third century. Pre-Constantinian inscriptions which publicly acknowledge the Christianity of the dedicators as well as of the deceased were deemed anachronistic anomalies requiring interpretation. Ramsay's initial view was that they could be explained by local toleration of a characteristically aggressive, but orthodox, Christianity established in Phrygia by missionaries from Bithynia.⁷¹ He argued that the remoteness of the Upper Tembris Valley meant a minimal presence of local officials, leaving the treatment of Christians entirely in the hands of their neighbors. Ramsay's own subsequent discovery of the presence of a thriving imperial estate in the Upper Tembris Valley at this very time,⁷² and the lack of independent evidence for either the Bithynian origin of North-Phrygian Christianity or the virulent nature of Bithynian Christianity⁷³ led to explanations of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula which linked it to Montanism. Again, it was Ramsay who first pointed out a possible connection, noting some similarities between the attitude of the dedicators of these inscriptions and some alleged aspects of Montanist theology and practice.⁷⁴ At first he still held to his theory of a Bithynian provocative type of Christianity and

⁶⁹ See, for example, T.E. Gregory (1982: 757-758); S. Mitchell (1984: 225-227); K.-W. Tröger (1984: cols. 720-721); G. May (1984/5: 231-234).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁷¹ Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: esp. 246-248, 263-264.

⁷² Ramsay *Geography* [1890]: 177; cf. Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 188-190, 199-200; Magie (1950: vol. 2, 1327 n.44); and J.H.M. Strubbe (1975: 230-236).

⁷³ See Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 310; *id.*, "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 67 n.1.

⁷⁴ Ramsay "Monuments V" [1889]: 398-400.

argued that this was at least partly responsible for the rigoristic nature of Montanism.⁷⁵ In *CB* 2, for example, Ramsay hesitantly attributed the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions to the Montanists but was not completely convinced of the accuracy of this as he could point to no open profession inscriptions at the ancient site which he identified as Pepouza.⁷⁶ In a significant article on Phrygia, published in *HDB*, Ramsay maintained his view that Christianity had spread to Northern Phrygia from Bithynia. He was prepared, at that stage, to state no more than that the inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley were "more akin to the Montanist type" than inscriptions from other parts of Phrygia.⁷⁷ Not long after the *HDB* article was published, Ramsay reverted solely to his theory of Bithynian influence to explain the nature of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions.⁷⁸ J.G.C. Anderson, however, combined both explanations.⁷⁹ Calder, on the other hand, was adamant that Montanism alone explains the open profession on the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions.⁸⁰ He appears ultimately to have convinced his mentor.⁸¹

Montanist nature?

The Montanist nature of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions has been supported, inter alia, by J.W. Crowfoot,⁸² H. Leclercq,⁸³ C. Cecchelli,⁸⁴ C.H.E. Haspels,⁸⁵ Klawiter,⁸⁶ B.W. Goree,⁸⁷ and K. Painter.⁸⁸ Acceptance of this view, however, has not been universal. P. de Labriolle,⁸⁹ W. Schepeleyn,⁹⁰

⁷⁵ Ibid., 398.

⁷⁶ *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 491; cf. Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: col. 1440.

⁷⁷ W.M. Ramsay (1900a: 868).

⁷⁸ Ramsay (1904: 195).

⁷⁹ Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 196, 202.

⁸⁰ See esp. Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 317-336; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62-63; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 301; id., "Notebook" [1929]: 266; id., "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 422; id., "Epitaphs" [1955]: 27-31.

⁸¹ See Ramsay (1931: 12).

⁸² J.W. Crowfoot (1897/8: 83).

⁸³ Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols 2530-2544.

⁸⁴ Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 63 and n.4; id., *Monumenti* [1944]: esp. 87-88.

⁸⁵ *IPhygHaspels* I [1971]: p. 216.

⁸⁶ Klawiter (1975: 184-189, esp. 187).

⁸⁷ B.W. Goree (1980: 65-67, 150).

⁸⁸ K. Painter (1991: 283-284).

⁸⁹ De Labriolle (1913a: 489). Significantly, de Labriolle does not include Xp.-Xp. inscriptions in his collection of source material for the history of Montanism (id. 1913b).

⁹⁰ Schepeleyn (1929: 80-82).

and A. Ferrua⁹¹ have argued that the inscriptions merely show the vitality of Christianity in Phrygia during the last part of III. H. Grégoire, who at first adopted Calder's view, supporting it by drawing attention to a Montanist open profession inscription from Dorylaeion (63), later considered the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions simply as evidence of harmonious church-state relations.⁹² Elsewhere I have also argued against the Montanist nature of these inscriptions.⁹³ One of the strongest arguments against the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions being Montanist is their provenance. Apart from the dubious evidence of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions themselves, there is no evidence whatsoever of Montanists having existed in the Upper Tembris Valley, whereas there is evidence of Montanism elsewhere in Phrygia. Moreover, not one of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions contains peculiarly Montanist nomenclature, terminology, or other references to specifically Montanist practices and beliefs.

E. Gibson, who at first considered the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs to be Montanist,⁹⁴ was no longer totally convinced of their Montanist character by the time she published her monograph on these inscriptions.⁹⁵ According to Gibson, the evidence does not permit us to decide whether the openness displayed by the Xp.-Xp. formula was due to Montanism or simply in line with the vaunting of wealth and culture by means of the decorations and symbols carved on the stones themselves.⁹⁶ Moreover, although having argued already that many of the Xp.-Xp. monuments were produced in the same, obviously Christian, workshop catering to a predominantly, but not exclusively, Christian clientele,⁹⁷ Gibson questions whether it necessarily follows that the clients who chose the Xp.-Xp. formula must have been Montanists.⁹⁸ Gibson's evaluation has been adopted by F. Blanchetière,⁹⁹ P. Nautin,¹⁰⁰ Waelkens,¹⁰¹ and G.J. John-

⁹¹ Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 165-221; cf. Trevett (1996: 208).

⁹² Cf. Grégoire "Epigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 708 with id. (1964: 16).

⁹³ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 331-359; id., "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-139, esp. 128-133; id. (1989a: 198-199).

⁹⁴ Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: esp. 18-25; id., "Upper Tembris Valley" [1975a]: 155 n.7; and id., "Uşak" [1975b]: 437-438.

⁹⁵ *IPhygChr* [1978a]: p. 143.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 143-144.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 41-45. See also G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-366) but contrast Sheppard (1980: 314-315).

⁹⁸ *IPhygChr* [1978a]: p. 144.

⁹⁹ Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 446-447.

¹⁰⁰ P. Nautin (1979: 578).

¹⁰¹ Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 89.

son¹⁰² but judged to be too conservative by Th. Drew-Bear,¹⁰³ S. Mitchell,¹⁰⁴ and H.W. Pleket¹⁰⁵ who, separately, advance further arguments why the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions must not be considered Montanist. J. and L. Robert, however, favored retaining Calder's interpretation.¹⁰⁶ Strobel is undecided about the issue, although he suspects they are not, or at least not exclusively, Montanist.¹⁰⁷ The Montanist character of these inscriptions continues to be defended strongly by W.H.C. Frend.¹⁰⁸ The "open profession" of Christianity of the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs need not indicate that their dedicators "flaunted" their Christianity because they were Montanists. It certainly should no longer be argued that voluntary martyrdom was a characteristic feature of Montanism. Nor is there any indication on any of the Xp.-Xp. monuments that the deceased were martyrs or had in any way suffered as a result of provocatively flaunting their faith.¹⁰⁹

Symbols and orthography

There are no distinctive symbols or decorations on any of the Xp.-Xp. tombstones (including the ones to be dated III⁴ or later), or for that matter on stones bearing the Eumeneian formula or the single word Χριστιανός/-οί, which could not have been placed there by members of mainstream Christianity. No conclusions, therefore, can be drawn about the alleged Montanism of any given inscription on the basis of the artwork surrounding it.¹¹⁰ The only reason why some of the symbols, such as a cross (e.g., 38) or a *crux gammata* (60), decorating Xp.-Xp. inscriptions, have been considered Montanist is the twofold assumption that they were carved on third-century tombstones while "orthodox" use of such symbols could not be documented, at least not in Phrygia, until after Constantine.¹¹¹ The logic inherent in this claim is tenuous. The data may simply mean that the "orthodox" use of such symbols was earlier than at first thought or that particular tombstones with these symbols are, in

¹⁰² Johnson (1994: 354).

¹⁰³ Drew-Bear (1980: 347-348).

¹⁰⁴ Mitchell (1980: 202-204; 1993: 40, 104-106, esp. 105).

¹⁰⁵ H.W. Pleket (1980: 197-198). See also *TIB* 7 [1990]: 127.

¹⁰⁶ In *BE* [1979]: 508.

¹⁰⁷ Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 104-112.

¹⁰⁸ Frend (1988b: 32-34; 1965a: 81, 269 n.50; 1984a: 528-531; 1984b: 422; 1985: 70-71; 1989: 29; 1994: 276-277; 1996: 100, 130, 195, 387).

¹⁰⁹ See also Mitchell (1980: 203).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Pleket (1980: 197).

¹¹¹ E.g., Leclercq "Croix" [1914b]: cols 3062-3063.

fact, post-Constantinian. There is no incontrovertible connection between these symbols and Montanism. Similarly, orthography provides no conclusive warrant for identifying inscriptions as Montanist. Montanist inscriptions shared with non-Montanist inscriptions common vowel substitutions such as -ει- for -ι-, -η- for -ι-, and -ου- for -ο-, noted already, as well as -αι- for -η-, -ε- for -ι-, -ι- for -ευ-, -ι- for -ιε-, -ο- for -οι-, -υ- for -οι- to be found in the inscriptions included in this part of the book. Note also the substitution of -δ- for -τ- and -ν- for -μ-.¹¹²

Johnson¹¹³ argues that the Xp.-Xp. formula (like the symbols on these monuments) was a stock motif added, or suggested, by Christian stonecutters rather than necessarily requested by their customers. Johnson also postulates that the first word of the formula "may have been intended to include the stonecutter(s) along with the surviving relatives in the dedication and that the formula may have served as a professional signature and trademark."¹¹⁴ However, the incorporation of the artisans into a dedicatory formula would probably have seemed to have been overly intrusive by customers who were not directly related to these artisans, even if they were also Christians.

Irrespective of whether the stonecutter(s)' influence on the final product was quite as great as Johnson suggests, there is no doubt that it was greater than has usually been assumed. Christian customers may well have been influenced by Christian artisans to include the Xp.-Xp. formula on a tombstone. Consequently, the initiative behind the open profession of Christianity on the Xp.-Xp. monuments may perhaps be attributed more directly to the stonecutters than to the customers. There is nothing, however, to suggest that, even if this were so, these artisans were Montanists.

Eras

Some of the epitaphs republished below provide their own date, normally at the beginning of the inscription by means of the word ἔτους ("of the year") followed by alphabetic numerals. Less often the day of the month (μηνός) is also given. Frequently, the word for year or month is abbreviated or omitted. The C.E. equivalent of the supplied date, however, depends upon identifying correctly the era utilized in the inscription. In Phrygia, during the period under discussion, the most commonly

¹¹² On the orthography of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions, see Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 129-130.

¹¹³ Johnson (1994: 352-353).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 353.

used era was the Sullan era—reckoned from the reconquest of Asia Minor by Sulla in 85/4 B.C.E.¹¹⁵ In neighboring Lydia, the Actian era, reckoned from the battle of Actium (31/30 B.C.E.), was also popular.¹¹⁶ Use of this era spread from Lydia into some cities in N.W. Phrygia.¹¹⁷ Certain cities within Phrygia preferred their own eras, e.g., Laodikeia ad Lycum, which employed an era dating from c.96 C.E.¹¹⁸ Unless otherwise stated, however, it is presumed that the dated Phrygian inscriptions, discussed in this and subsequent parts of this corpus, employed the Sullan era, and those from Lydia used the Actian era. Galatian inscriptions normally used an era reckoned from 25/24 B.C.E., the date when Galatia became a Roman province.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Ramsay *Geography* [1890]: 441-442; W. Kubitschek (1894: col. 638); *CB* 1 [1895]: pp. 201-205; Kubitschek (1928: 76); E.J. Bickerman (1968: 73). For epigraphic evidence showing that the Sullan era was still in use in Phrygia as late as V-VI, see *LBW* 3, 5 [1870]: 980; and *MAMA* 4 [1933]: 322.

¹¹⁶ P. Herrmann (1972: 528 and n.32).

¹¹⁷ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 327.

¹¹⁸ *BMC (Phrygia)* 25 [1906]: 296-297 nos. 109, 114-115, 118; *ibid.*, 314-315 no. 217; F.K. Ginzel (1906/14: vol. 3, 38); and *ILaodikeia* [1969]: 3. For other Phrygian cities with their own eras, see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 328.

¹¹⁹ J.G.C. Anderson (1910a: 165); *SEG* 42 [1992]: 1161, 1163.

Inscriptions

Phrygia

Pepouza(?)

Map 12:G5 (S.W. Phrygia). Situated in the hill country N. of the Büyükmenderes (Maiandros), 49km. N. of Pamukkale (8:H1) and 46km. S. of Uşak (8:B3), Üçkuyu is one of the Turkish villages often suggested as the site of Pepouza, e.g., G. Radet (1895: 531). W.M. Calder ("New Jerusalem" [1931]: 424) preferred to identify Üçkuyu with Tymion and placed Pepouza at nearby Bekilli (12:G3). The accuracy of neither of these suggestions is assured; see L. Robert (1962: 132); BE [1978]: 19; H. von Aulock (1980: 60-61); and pp. 27-28 above. The ancient settlements at Bekilli (see TIB 7 [1990]: 210) and Üçkuyu (see Strobel *Das Heilige Land* [1980]: 84-86, 202-204 and TIB 7, 412) were within the territory of Dionysopolis; see Th. Drew-Bear (1976b: 262) and TIB 7, 234. W.M. Ramsay (*CB* 1 [1895]: 127-128) tentatively located Dionysopolis at Ortaköy (12:H2), but that village is more likely to be the site of Atyochorion (see p. 18 and n.9 above). A. Strobel (42, 125) argues that Dionysopolis was situated near modern Çal (12:I3). Von Aulock (1987: 13-17 and map) places Dionysopolis N.W. of Çal but S. of the Büyükmenderes. It is more likely, however, that Dionysopolis was located due N. of Çal on the other side of the Meander (12:H3) and that it belonged to the conventus of Apameia; see Robert (127-149, 191, 260, 356, 425-426); C. Habicht (1975: 82); A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 71-72). S. Mitchell (1993: 40 n.243) tentatively identifies Dumanlı (12:F4) as the site of Dionysopolis.

but this is probably too far north; see also pp. 487-488 below.

17. An eternal house

Üçkuyu, in garden wall

24 May or 16 July 243

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 42 with trans. and photographs.

Nine fragments of white marble which, when joined, form five extant pieces of a funerary altar. Stone unearthed by workers before World War II, 500m. S. of the village, on the road to Bekilli. (Approximate) height: 1.05m.; width (of front face): 0.47m.; width (of right face): at least 0.30m., but probably 0.40m. (depending on accuracy of restoration of l.20); thickness of fragments: 0.10. Dimensions of individual pieces provided by E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, p. 116). Moulding at top, partly preserved. A shallow Latin cross (0.07m. x 0.035m.) is incised on the corner of one piece, classified by A. Strobel (*Das heilige Land* [1980]: 119) as the top of the altar. Front and right faces of stone contain inscription, partly extant, copied by Gibson and, independently, by Strobel. The *eta* and *alpha* above l.1 are part of the date and should be read as belonging to l.1. The engraver, obviously decided to add the *eta* to the *mu* to provide the first two letters of *μη(νός)* and then also added an *alpha* for *ἀ(πιόντος)* to give a more precise date. Abbreviation mark above AYP in l.1. Quadratic *epsilon*s and *sigma*s. Lunate *mus*. Letter height: 0.03m.-0.04m. Figure 19. Plates 7-9.

On top:

†

On front face:

η(νός) ἀ(πιόντος)
[Ε]τους τκζ' μ ι', δ'. Αὐρ.
Σατορνείνος δ[ι]ς
Χρεισιανός [έν]θά-
δε κείται κατασκευ-

- 5 άσας αὐτῶ [τὸν αἰώ-]
[νιο]ν οἶκογ [ἔτι ζῶν]
[ώ]ς μηδεγ[ι ἄλλω ἐξ-]
ὄν ἐ[πει]σε[νέγκειν]
ἄ[λλον ἐν τῷ μνημ]εῖω
10 [ἐὰν μὴ] τὴν γυναικα
[αὐτοῦ] Ἀπφιανήν [---]
[-----] Ι [-----]
[-----] Η [--- καὶ τὰ
[τέκνα] αὐ[τῶν Εὐγε-]
15 νίο[ς καὶ-----καὶ]
Σα[τορεῖνος-----]
PIECE 1
PIECE 2
PIECE 3
PIECE 4

On right face:

- TOE [----- Φί-]
λι<π>πα γ[υναικὸς τοῦ]
Σατο[ρνείνου-----]
20 θήσει π[ροστείμου]
τῷ τα[μίω]
[*] βφ.
PIECE 1
PIECE 4

In the year 327, the fourth day of the last third of the tenth month. Aurelios Satorneinos, son of Satorneinos, a Christian, lies here, having prepared | for himself, while still living, an eternal house with the provision that no one is permitted to bury another in the tomb | except his wife Apphiane. . .; and their children Eugenios | and. . . and Satorneinos. . . Philippa wife of Satorneinos. . . (anyone violating this tomb) | shall pay a fine of 2,500 *denarii* to the treasury.

Other ed.: Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 117-120 with photographs and German trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92-94; esp. 93 n.2) does not reprint whole text but does suggest emendations; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1202; *BE* [1983]: 412 (II.1-9a only); Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 136 inscr. A (piece 1 only) with trans.

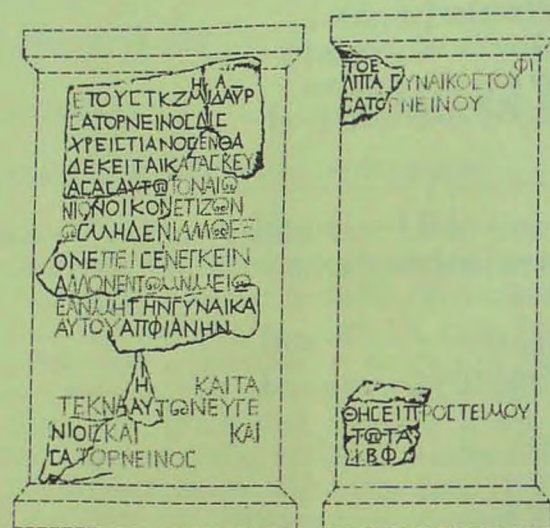
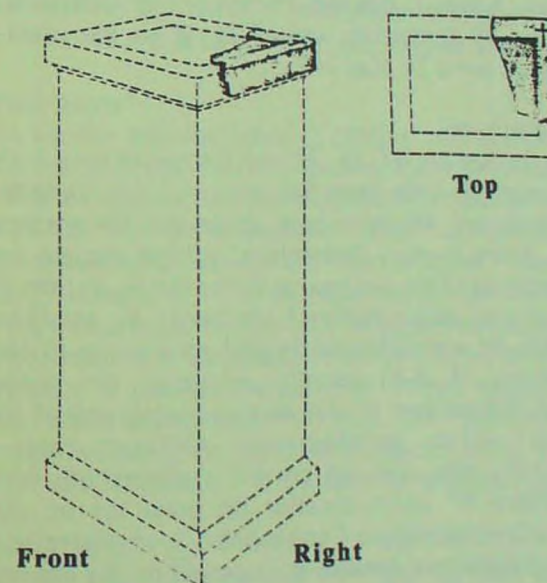


Fig. 19a: Front and right face of Satorneinos' tombstone

Variant readings:

- I.1 [Ἐ]τους τζ... μ... ιδ... Αύρ.: Snyder separates η[νός] from -μ- of I.1, gives incorrect impression of letters missing, no signs to indicate alphabetic numerals.
 I.4 κ[ατασκευ]α: Rigsby.
 II.4-5 κατασκευάσας: *IPhrygChr* (SEG; Snyder), Strobel.
 I.5 αὐτῶ: *IPhrygChr* (SEG).
 I.6 οἶκον: Strobel (BE) and Snyder do not mark partially illegible letters.
 I.7 [ω]ς: *IPhrygChr* (Snyder).
 I.8 ἐ[πει]σε[νε]κεῖν: Strobel (BE).
 I.9 ἄ[λλον] - - - - -: *IPhrygChr*; ἄ[λλον] - - - - -: Strobel; ἄ[λλον] - - - - - BE; ἄ[λλον]...: Snyder; Ε[Ω]: Rigsby.
 I.10 [- - - - -] τὴν γυναῖκα: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); [- - - - -] τὴν γυναῖκα: Strobel.
 I.11 [- - - - -] Ἀφίανην [- - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG), Strobel.
 I.12 I [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); I [- - - - -]: Strobel.
 I.13 H [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); H [- - - - -]: Strobel.
 I.14 [- - - - -] ΑΥ [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); [- - - - -] ΑΥ [- - - - -]: Strobel.

- I.15 ΝΙΟ [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); ΝΙΟ [- - - - -]: Strobel.
 I.16 Α [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr*; ΣΑ [- - - - -]: Strobel.
 I.17 ΤΟΕ [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); ΤΟΕ [- - - - -]: Strobel.
 I.18 ΑΙΠΑ [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); ΑΙΠΑ [- - - - -]: Strobel; ΑΙΠΑΤ: Rigsby.
 I.19 ΑΤΩ [- - - - -]: *IPhrygChr* (SEG); ΣΑΤΟ [- - - - -]: Strobel; ΣΑΤΟ: Rigsby.
 I.20 θήσει: *IPhrygChr* (SEG), Strobel.
 I.21 τῶ: Strobel.
 I.22 [*] Β Φ [- - -]: *IPhrygChr*; [*] Β Φ [- - -]: Strobel.



19b: Top of Satorneinos' tombstone, showing cross

Further references: *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 98, 128; P. Nautin (1979: 579); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel, 116 no. 13, 202; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169-170); Blanchetière (1981: 496 no. 31 bis; D. Feissel (1981: 371); D.E. Groh (1981: 450); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-129, 135; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); W.H.C. Frend (1984b: 445, 467 n.33); *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1099, 1121; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 412; S. Mitchell (1993: 40-41 and n.243).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plates 32-33; Strobel, plates 22a, b.

Date

Phrygian years are generally given according to the "Sullan era," i.e., year 1 = 85/4 B.C.E. "Ἔτους τκζ'" ("Year 327"), therefore, signifies 242/3 C.E. The tenth month of the Asian calendar is *Loös*; see E.J. Bickerman (1968: 50 [fig. 3]). When Asia adopted the Julian calendar in 9 B.C.E., New Year's Day was made to coincide with Augustus' birthday (23 September); see A.E. Samuel (1972: 175-176, 181-182). If Phrygia also started its New Year on 23 September, the tenth month would have commenced on the 23rd of June, making "the fourth day of the last third" of that month the equivalent of 16 July 243. There is some epigraphic evidence, however, that the Phrygian year commenced on 1 August rather than 23 September; see *ad* 36. If so, the exact date, inscribed here, would equal 24 May 243.

An early Christian cross

Aurelios Satorneinos δῖς (cf. 25, 31 and the use of *τρίς* in 34) bears the Greek version of the Latin name Saturninus (cf. 14). Despite the non-Christian theophoric (cf. 48), there is no doubt that Satorneinos himself was a Christian. Not only does Satorneinos' epitaph contain one of the earliest dated instances of the designation *Χρῆστιανός*, but the top of the tombstone is decorated with a shallow Latin cross. If, as argued above, the "cross" within the wreath-shaped symbol on a group of tombstones from Temenothyrai (3, 5-8) actually represents the quadrants of eucharistic bread, Satorneinos' tombstone may contain one of the earliest extant examples of an unambiguously Christian cross. Gibson (*IPhygChr*, p. 119), who does not provide a photograph of what she designates as "Piece 5" which contains the cross but no inscription, claims it to be unique among pre-Constantinian South-Phrygian stones.

The cross on Satorneinos' tombstone is carved on the top rather than on one of the faces (see fig. 19b), raising the theoretical possibility that it was added later. If so, it would be more consistent with the securely dated crosses decorating Christian tombstones, most of which are post-Constantinian. Pre-Constantinian Christian use of the cross is attested, however, on the early-IV tombstone from Pınarbaşı in N. Phrygia referred to on p. 146 above and an epitaph from Bithynia (*New Docs* 3 [1983]: 127); cf. the third-century use of the Christogram (*ad* 32). Even if it means revising our traditional view of the time when crosses first came to be used, there is little doubt that this particular cross decorated Satorneinos' tombstone from the outset. A person prepared to commis-

sion an inscription declaring himself to be a Christian would not have avoided the open use of the cross. The major issue to be settled is what such an early cross would have symbolized. Perhaps it was merely seen as a symbol of protection rather than as a kerygmatic cross, the latter probably being post-Constantinian; see Snyder, 29.

Χρῆστιανός

Satorneinos' name contains the common substitution of -εἰ- for -ι- as does *Χρῆστιανός* (cf. 9). The single word here in the nominative should not (*contra* Waelkens) be viewed as an abridged form of the *Χρ.-Χρ.* formula. It declares the religion of Satorneinos and, only by implication, the religion of the other members of his family. The inscription, however, is closer in style to the *Χρ.-Χρ.* inscriptions than those which only use the single word Christian to designate the religion of the deceased.

An "eternal house"

Gibson, on the basis of other (including non-Christian) inscriptions (*IPhygChr*, p. 118 and nn.1-4), restores the text to read *τὸν αἰώνιον οἶκον* at ll.5-6. Strobel (118) concurs, adding a reference to some Jewish parallels (119). Although R. Lattimore (1962: 165-167, 318) has pointed out some inconsistency between the "eternal house" concept and Christian theology, Strobel (119) is probably correct in viewing it as the deceased's expressed hope that his body be preserved securely in the tomb until the resurrection of the dead. Irrespective of whether the restoration in this instance is accurate, Satorneinos' corpse was still safely in the grave when it was uncovered, awaiting its final transformation; see *ibid.*, 202. On *οἶκος αἰώνιος*, see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 19-31; Th. Drew-Bear (1991: 426, 427); and P.W. van der Horst (1991: 42).

Satorneinos' family

Satorneinos also stipulated that none but his wife and descendants could be buried in the tomb. From the restorations given above, it is clear that at least one of these descendants was also called Satorneinos (ll.16, 19). Judging by Gibson's photograph, it appears that there is a *gamma* following what are probably the last two syllables of the name Philippa. If so, this Philippa may have been described as the wife of the Satorneinos whose name commences on l.19 and who, consequently, would presumably be the same person as named in l.16, perhaps designated as *τρίς*. Alternatively, the Satorneinos of l.19 could be a grandson of Aurelios Satorneinos. The restoration *Εὐγέ[νιος]* (ll.14-15) is merely an example of a name with the correct number of letters if ll.13-14 (PIECE 3) do

indeed belong to the front face, as claimed by Gibson in *IPhyrgChr* and adopted above, rather than to the right face—a possibility raised by Strobel (119).

A fine

The tomb itself was protected by a prescribed fine (II.20-21); cf. 13. This fine could be enforced, upon appeal to do so by aggrieved relatives, by civic authorities whose enthusiasm to collect the fine was guaranteed by the detail that the treasury is named as the potential recipient of the fine. Presumably, a copy of this inscription was kept in the "official archives" (cf. 11) to serve as a public record of the fine to be levied. The public nature of this inscription reinforces the fact that Satormeinos and his family had no hesitation about declaring openly their allegiance to Christianity. The name 'Απφιανή (I.11) is derived from Απφια; cf. 'Απφιανός (13) and see *ad* 58.

Montanist?

Gibson (*IPhyrgChr*, p. 119) hints at the possible Montanist nature of this inscription by emphasizing that its early use of the cross makes it unique and by pointing out that its provenance is one of the possible locations of Pepouza. Strobel (120, 126, 128, 204) is convinced that, although Pepouza should not be equated with Üçkuyu but placed slightly further N. in the Plain of Kırbasan, it, nevertheless, existed in the vicinity of Üçkuyu. In fact he argues that the area where Üçkuyu is located must have been part of Pepouza's "sphere of influence," as it is situated only 2km. from the pass into the Plain of Kırbasan. Consequently, because of its location, style, and contents, he claims Satormeinos' tombstone as a Montanist "funerary document" (120). The early, open use of the cross is, for Strobel, particularly strong evidence. This criterion for determining Montanism was developed by W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 318; cf. "Epigraphy II" [1924b]: 88) who claimed that the practice of engraving crosses on tombstones originated with third-century Montanists in Phrygia. The argument in favor of this criterion, however, is circular. As yet, no data other than the crosses themselves have shown these tombstones to be Montanist.

Strobel provides two further examples from Üçkuyu of crosses (18, 78) which, he argues, confirm his theory that this particular tombstone is Montanist. Although all three inscriptions are undoubtedly Christian, there is no conclusive evidence to substantiate the claim that they are Montanist. Conspicuous use of the cross and location, on their own, are insufficient. Any Christian family in Phrygia in 242/3, whether Montanist

or not, probably felt sufficiently secure to declare publicly the Christianity of the deceased. Perhaps Satormeinos and those honored by the two other inscriptions were indeed Montanists, but, particularly in light of the fact that Pepouza has not yet been identified positively, this is unlikely. Even if Üçkuyu proved to be the site of part of the "sphere of influence" of Montanism's headquarters, a case would still have to be made that the New Prophecy was the exclusive form of Christianity in the region during III for us to be able to classify all physical remains of Christianity there as Montanist. For Christian monuments from the region which do, however, provide some additional hints of their possibly Montanist nature, see 58, 77.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems best to consider the monument erected by Aurelios Satormeinos an early instance of open profession of mainstream Christianity (Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 135), a phenomenon which is evident in South Phrygia from at least III¹ onwards, especially at Eumeneia, its territory, and the territories of Eumeneia's neighboring cities, including Dionysopolis; see also Mitchell, 40.

18. Inscription with Latin cross

Üçkuyu, stone built into wall of house

III²⁻³(?)

Ed. pr. — Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 120 (majuscule text only) with photograph.

Rectangular marble slab. No dimensions provided. Latin cross is engraved at the commencement of the inscription (cf. 86, 87) extending below I.1. Quadratic *epsilon*. Perhaps the right half of the stone was left blank for the later addition of another name. **Figure 20. Plate 32.**

† 'Αλε-
2 ξάν-
δρου.

(The tomb) of Alexandros.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG 31 [1984]: 1122.

Further references: Strobel, 203; BE [1983]: 412; TIB 7 [1990]: 412.

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 3b.

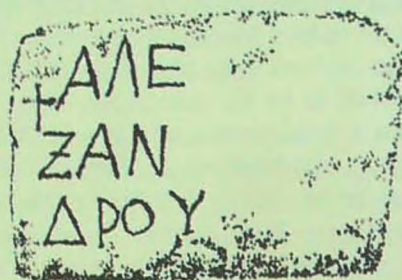


Fig. 20: Alexandros' tombstone

Alexandros

A. Strobel (120) neither dates this stone nor explicitly states that he believes Alexandros to be a Montanist. Nevertheless, because he comments that the form of cross corresponds with those of two other examples (17, 78), it may be assumed that he dates all three stones to approximately the same period: mid III. Moreover, because Strobel (ibid.) cites the open use of the cross on Alexandros' tombstone, along with the open use of the cross on what appears to be the top of a Eucharistic altar (78), as further evidence for claiming that the cross on Satomeinos' tombstone (17) designates him to be a Montanist, Strobel presumably also considers Alexandros a Montanist.

The crosses on the three stones, however, are not identical. The extant cross of 78 is probably one of a pair, similar to those decorating 77 which is a fifth-century inscription. The cross on Alexander's tombstone, on the other hand, is more like that of 17 and certainly seems to have been carved at the same time as the inscription itself, which is of a style consistent with a mid-III date. It is unlikely, however, that Alexandros was a Montanist. The presence of a cross on a mid-III tombstone, even in Üçkuyu, does not guarantee that the tombstone is Montanist; see also *ad* 17.

Apameia

Map 8:G7 (Central Phrygia). Renamed after his mother Apame by Antiochus the Great, "Apameia" superseded the earlier "Kelainai" which, in turn, was the Greek version of the original Phrygian name of this settlement at

the rise of the Maiandros (Büyükmenderes). The city was located W. of Lake Aulokrene (Bunarbaşı Göl; 8:G7) and spread to the foothills of a large mountain range. Apameia was an extremely important city on the main E.-W. trade route, linking Ikonion (Konya; 5:D4) with Ephesos (Selçuk; 5:D1). Apameia was also linked by N.-S. roads to Eumeneia (Işıklı; 8:E5) and from there to Akmonia (8:B5) and to Eukarpia (Emirhisar; 8:D7) and from the latter to Nakoleia (9:C2). Along with Laodikeia ad Lycum (8:H1), Synnada (Şuhut; 9:H1), and Philomelion (Akşehir; 9:I5), Apameia was one of the four cities in Phrygia which served as the capital of a conventus juridicus; see Hellenica 7 [1949]: 206; A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 69-73); G.P. Burton (1975: 92-106); C. Habicht (1975: 67-71, 80-87); BE [1976]: 595. Apameia's huge territory bordered those of Apollonia (Ulurborlu; 5:D3) to the E.; Stektorion (probably near modern Menteş; 8:E7) to the N.; Sibia (8:E6 modern Choma or Düzbell?; 8:G5 modern Evciler?) to the W. or N.W.; Kolossai (8:I2) and Diokaisareia (Yeşilyuva; 8:J5) to the S.W.; see CB 2 [1897]: p. 448; L. Robert (1963: 355-359). The name of the Turkish town near the site is Dinar. Dikici is a nearby village to the S.E. On Apameia and the epigraphic evidence for the Christian community there, see CB 2, pp. 396-483, 533-539; Leclercq "Apamée" [1907b]: cols. 2500-2523; V. Schultze (1922: 450-461); and TIB 7 [1990]: 188-189.

19. Χρειστιανῶν

Dikici, in family burial ground

III³

Ed. pr. — CB 2 [1897]: 393.

Limestone block with a panel, surmounted by a pediment containing a *patera*. Discovered by W.M. Ramsay in 1891, approximately 1.6km. N.N.W. from the village in a field at the side of the road, close to the right bank of the Büyükenderes. Height: 1.05m.; width: 1.20m.; thickness: 0.45m. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Bull's horn"

omegas. Leaf at end of l.1. Ligatures at ll.2-5. Letter height 0.03m.-0.035m. Figure 21. Plate 32.

Αὐρ. Πρόκλος (leaf)
 Ζωτικοῦ ἐποίησα
 τὸ ἡρώον ἐμαυτῶ
 κὲ τῇ γυναικί μου
 5 Μελτίνῃ. Χρειστι-
 ανῶν.

I, Aurelios Proklos son of Zotikos, have constructed the tomb
 5 for myself and for my wife | Mel(e)tine, Christians.



Fig. 21: The tombstone inscription of Proklos and Meletine

Other *edd.*: MAMA 6 [1939]: 236 with photograph; **IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 38 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Leclercq "Apamée" [1907b]: col. 2520 with facsimile of majuscule text; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 348 no. 14; *IGRR* 4 [1927]: 800; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2537 no. 14; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 644-645 no. 11 with trans., facsimile, and photograph.

Variant readings:

- l.1 Leaf not recorded by *CB* (Calder; *IGRR*; Leclercq).
- l.2 ἐποίησα: *CB* (Calder; *IGRR*; Leclercq).
- l.4 καὶ: *CB* (Calder; *IGRR*; Leclercq).

Further references: *CB* 2, p. 491 n.1; Anderson "Christianity/Paganism" [1906]: 197 n.†; V. Schultze (1922: 458); Calder "Philadelphia," 350, 352; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 65 n.1; id., "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 422-423; *BE* [1939]: 402; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 108; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 187 n.2 inadvertently cites *DACL* XL.2 instead of *DACL* XI.2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100; 1980: 175, 176, 177); *IPhyrChr*, pp. 98, 139; H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 114 no. 9 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167, 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 498 no. 63; D. Feissel (1981: 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 38); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-129, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 189; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 106 n.49, 194-195 and n.67).

Photograph: MAMA 6, plate 41 no. 236 [of squeeze] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 5 no. 11).

Facsimile: Leclercq "Apamée," col. 2520 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 644).

Epigraphy and orthography

Although *ed pr.*'s ἐποίησα (l.2) provides the correct spelling of the word, it is more likely that only two letters (*eta* and *sigma*) were carved in ligature. The *iota* had probably dropped out before the *eta*, due to pronunciation; cf. 20, 54.

Proklos and Meletine

Ramsay (*CB* 2, p. 536) considered the word *χρειστιανῶν* (ll.5-6) to be an ungrammatical indication of an uncompromising profession of faith reminiscent of Montanist principles. The genitive plural here refers to Proklos as well as Meletine, both husband and wife "being Christians" or "belonging to the Christian faith." The genitive may also have been used to convey that the ἡρώον was the tomb of Christians (cf. 58). However, as the genitive is often used instead of the dative on other Phrygian inscriptions (see Gibson "Upper Tembris Valley" [1975a]: 154 n.3), the intention here may be to indicate that this is a tomb "for Christians." If so, this inscription is closer in style to the "Christians for Christians" inscriptions of the Upper Tembris Valley (see pp. 147-151 above) than to those which merely used the (variously spelled) nominative Χριστιανός or Χριστιανοί to designate only the religion of the deceased. Given the difficulty of determining the exact original intention of the word, it is best simply to translate it as "Christians" and (*contra* W.M. Calder and H. Leclercq) to refrain from classifying it specifically with the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions or even (*contra* M. Waelkens) as an abridged version of the formula. For the name Mel(e)tine, see L. Robert (1963: 230-231 and

nn.2-4) and cf. 7. The name Zotikos (cf. 24, 27, 34, 50, 60) is probably not based on a sobriquet; see Ferrua (1980: 177; *contra IPhrygChr*, p. 145).

Date and possible Montanist nature

The Anonymous (*ap. Eus. h.e.* 5.16.22) records that in his time (c.190) a group of Montanists was martyred at Apameia, along with at least two other (non-Montanist) martyrs. A little over ten years earlier, Julian, the then bishop of Apameia, had been involved in the attempted exorcism of Maximilla at Pepouza (*ibid.* 5.16.17; see p. 21 above). Undoubtedly Montanism had won converts in or around Apameia. Consequently we would not be surprised to discover remnants of Montanism in this region. Ramsay (*CB* 2, p. 536), on the basis of a comparison with 36, dated the Proklos/Mel(e)tine stone to around 278/9. Because of its open profession of Christianity, he suggested that this inscription, along with some similar ones, divulged the principles of Montanism (536; cf. 491). He acknowledged (*CB* 2, p. 537), however, that the inscription could be dated to IV and that, if so, its open profession of Christianity would not have been unusual. Calder was less confident about a III⁴ date, arguing that the epitaph cannot be claimed with certainty as pre-Constantinian ("Philadelphia," 348; cf. Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 134-136). According to Calder, if the inscription does belong to III it must be Montanist ("Philadelphia," 348; "New Jerusalem," 442).

Despite the hesitations of earlier scholars about dating this inscription unreservedly to III because of its open profession of Christianity, the Phrygian Χριστιανοί inscriptions with indisputably third-century dates carved on them (e.g., 17, 21) which have been discovered since the publication of this one and 36 and the increasing number of open profession inscriptions which, on other grounds, can be dated securely to early III (e.g., 9, 20-29) provide confidence that Proklos commissioned this inscription no later than III³. At the same time, the new discoveries also make it impossible to adopt Calder's view that all third-century open profession inscriptions are invariably Montanist. Given the literary evidence regarding the existence of Montanists as well as "orthodox" at Apameia three-quarters of a century earlier, it is conceivable that Proklos and Meletine were Montanists, but in the absence of any specific evidence to support this, they are best classified as mainstream Christians.

20. The Eumeneian formula

Near Dinar, in field

III³

Ed. pr. — MAMA 6 [1939]: 235 with photograph.

Limestone block, broken at sides and bottom left corner. Height: 0.89m; width: 1.23m.; thickness: 0.36m. *Tabula ansata* with recessed rectangular frame and ornamental handles (cf. 9) carved on left and right outside borders of stone. The inscription was carved on the upper outer border and across the whole upper part of the field. Lower half of the field is blank. At some stage, an attempt appears to have been made to prepare the stone for reuse. A deep rectangular recess was carved within the field in order to form a second rectangular frame and inner panel separated visually from the larger field. In the process, some letters of the inscription were destroyed. Cursive *epsilons*, apart from the first one in *l.4* which is quadratic to facilitate ligature. Cursive *sigmas*. "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Ligatures at *ll.4-5*. Letter height: 0.02m.-0.025m. **Figure 22. Plate 30.**

On upper border:

Χριστιανοί.

Within field:

Καπίτω[ν-----ἐ]πόησα τὸ ἡ-
 ρῶον [ἐμαντ]ῶ καὶ τῇ [γυναικί μου-----]
 [καὶ τῇ ἀ]δελφῇ μου Τροφίμῃ· εἰ δ[έ τις ἔ-]
 5 τερὸς [ἐ]πιτηδεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῶ πρ[ὸς] τὸν
 Θεόν.

Christians.

Kapiton . . . I made this tomb for myself and for my wife . . . and
 for my sister Trophime; if anyone else shall utilize (this tomb) he
 5 (or she) will be answerable to | God.

Other ed.: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 39 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 645-646 no. 12 with photograph; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 70-71 no. 2.18 with trans.



Fig. 22: Christian inscription with Eumeneian formula, as engraved within original *tabula ansata*

Variant readings:

- l.2 ἐ]ποίησα: MAMA (IPhrygChr; Tabbernee); ἐ]ποίησα: Johnson does not mark partially visible letters here or elsewhere.
 ll.2-3 ἡ]ρωον: MAMA (IPhrygChr; Tabbernee).
 l.3 [γυναικί μου -^α -]: Johnson; [εἰ]: MAMA; εἰ: IPhrygChr (Johnson).
 ll.4-5 ἐ]τερος: MAMA (IPhrygChr [Johnson]; Tabbernee) does not indicate ligatures here or elsewhere.
 l.5 [ἐκ]τεθεύσει: MAMA (IPhrygChr [Johnson]; Tabbernee).

Further references: Calder "Eumeneian Formula" [1939b]: 22; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 108, 113, 117 n.27, 127; IPhrygChr, pp. 98, 139; Tabbernee "Montanism," 315-317; H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 114 no. 10 with partial German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 498 no. 67; K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); SEG 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 39); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 136; TIB 7 [1990]: 189; Johnson, 42-43, 115.

Photograph: ed *pr.*, plate 41 no. 235 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 5 no. 12).

A Christian epitaph

There is no reason to suspect that the word Χριστιανοί (l.1), although carved above the main inscription, was a later addition. Consequently, this epitaph provides a clear example of the use by Christians of the so-called Eumeneian formula. On this formula, which was used as a sepulchral threat to protect the tomb, see pp. 144-147 above. For a useful list of dated or datable Christian Eumeneian-formula inscriptions from c.242/3 to 273/4, see S. Mitchell (1993: 49 n.243), but note that the earliest in that list (our 17) does not actually contain the formula.

Montanist?

E. Gibson, at one time ("Montanism," 113, 117 n.27), considered the inscription commissioned by Kapiton Montanist but reversed her opinion later (IPhrygChr, 139). A. Strobel (114), while not actually designating this epitaph Montanist, nevertheless links it with Montanism by pointing out that Montanism was widespread in the region of Eumeneia and Apameia. While there are literary data to support the presence of Montanists in the area (see ad 19), there is nothing to suggest that this particular inscription is Montanist or that the "open profession" of Christianity inherent in the Eumeneian formula (with or without additional Christian symbols or words) was the direct result of Montanist influence. A.R.R. Sheppard (1979: 169-180) argues convincingly that the formula was used by Christians (who took the open profession of faith by Jews in Apameia as their example) rather than by Montanists; see also ad 22.

Akmonia

Map 8:B5 (Central Phrygia). Situated approx. 30km. E. of Temenothyrai (8:B3), Akmonia was built on a hill now overlooking modern Ahat. The city was an ancient fortress strategically located at the junction of the main trade route from Philadelphia (6:D5) to Dorylaeion (7:B7) and major roads leading S. to Sebaste (Sivaslı; 8:D4) and Eumeneia (8:E5) and E. to Diokleia (Ahırhisar; 8:B6) and then S.E. to the Phrygian Pentapolis whose five cities were located in the valley now known as the Sandıklıovaşı (8:D6). Akmonia's huge territory stretched N. to Mt. Dindymos (Murat Dağı; 7:H2). To the

W. it encompassed part of the Banazovasi (12:D4), at least to the site of modern Susuzören (12:B5), and bordered the territory of Dioskome (8:C4). It also bordered the territories of Diokleia and Sebaste to the E. and S. respectively. Kızılcaşğüt (12:C5), approx. 9km. S.W. of Ahat, is near an ancient site within what was once the territory of Akmonia. On Akmonia and its territory, see J. Franz (1840: 6); CB 2 [1897]: pp. 621-636; L. Robert (1975: 153 and n.1, 177 [fig. 5], 179); Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 161-162; and TIB 7 [1990]: 175-176. Akmonia was a member of the conventus of Apameia; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 71) and C. Habicht (1975: 85).

21. In memory of Moundane

Kızılcaşğüt, supporting wooden column in courtyard

253/4

Ed. pr. — *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 32 with trans. and photographs.

White marble funerary altar; beveled projecting moulding at top with akroteria. Base set in concrete. (Visible) height: 0.56m.; width: 0.36m. (top), 0.325m. (shaft); thickness: 0.365m. (top), 0.315m. (shaft). According to *ed. pr.*, open book-scroll (cf. 5) with stylus case decorates left side of altar, right side blank; no photographs provided of these sides. Stylized wreath sculpted above corbel on back. Leaf carved at beginning of l.1. Inscription commences on moulding; perhaps continued on the section of the shaft now below ground. Quadratic *sigmas* and *epsilons*. Cursive *omegas*. Interpuncts may have been added at ll.6, 8, 9. A horizontal cross bar is carved in the tail of the second last *tau* in l.6 and, possibly, in the first *iota* of l.10; cf. 3, 9 for examples of cross bar in tail of *upsilon*. An incorrect cross bar also appears initially to have been carved in the *sigma* of l.10, perhaps due to confusion about the spelling of the word "Christians." An incorrect "correction" seems to have been attempted in l.5 by changing an *eta* into an *epsilon*. In l.6 the engraver may have omitted, at first, the last *tau* which was later inserted over an earlier *omega*, which was partially erased. *Ed. pr.*'s photograph, however, does not provide certainty about these matters. Ligatures at ll.8, 9. Letter height: 0.038m. **Figure 23. Plate 6.**

On fascia of moulding:

(leaf) Ἐτ[ο]υς τλῆ.

On shaft:

Αὐρ. Ἰουλίᾱ τῷ
πατρὶ — — —] Α
ΤΟ [καὶ τῇ μητρὶ] Βε-
5 ρονεικιαν<ῇ> καὶ
τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ
μου τέκνῳ Σεβή-
ρῳ καὶ Μουνδάνῃ
νύμφῃ μνήμης χά-
10 ριν. Χριστιανοί.

In the year 381. I, Aurelia Ioulia, (commissioned this tomb) for my father . . . and for my mother, | Beroneikiane, and for my sweetest child Severos and for my daughter-in-law Moundane, in memory. | Christians.

Other edd.: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 105-117 no. 7 with photograph; *Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 134-136 no. 2 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 684-685 no. 38 with photograph; *BE* [1979]: 534; K.J. Rigsby (1981: 93-94) does not reprint the whole text but does suggest emendation; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1082; Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 137-138 inscr. D with trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1 ἔτ[ους] πατ': Gibson (*IPhrygChr* [*BE*; *SEG*; Snyder], Tabbernee).
l.2 Ἰουλίᾱ: *BE*, Snyder do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.
ll.4-5 Βερωνεικιαν[ῇ] καὶ: Gibson (*IPhrygChr* [*BE*; *SEG*; Snyder], Tabbernee).
ll.9-10 χάριν Χριστιανοί.: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee "Montanism"); χάριν Χριστιανοί: *IPhrygChr*; Χάριν, Χριστιανοί: *BE* χάριν Χριστιανοί: Snyder.

Further references: Gibson "Montanism," 21-22, 23-24, 48 n.49; *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 98, 139; Tabbernee "Montanism," 330, 345, 350-353; P. Nautin (1979: 579); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 112.

113 no. 3 with German trans., 232-233; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 501 no. 94b; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1099; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; R.S. Kraemer (1988: 112 no. 59 trans. only); Pleket (1992: 423); *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1846; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii, xl n.11; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 n.232); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.201).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plates 26-27 (pl. 26 = cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," pl. 7 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 16]).

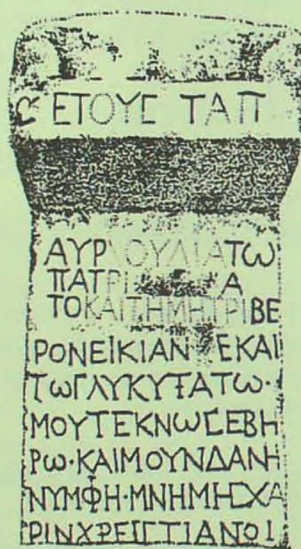


Fig. 23: Tombstone mentioning Moundane

Χριστιανοί

It is possible that the inscription on this tombstone continued on that part of the shaft which is now below ground, allowing for the restoration Χριστιανοί [Χριστιανούς] (II.10-11). Given the fact that, thus far, no (indisputable) Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions have been discovered other than those produced in the Upper Tembris Valley, E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, p. 103) is undoubtedly correct in not classifying this inscription with those employing the Χρ.-Χρ. formula but with those which use the nominative by itself; cf. 36. *Contra* M. Waelkens, this does not appear to be an instance of an abridged version of the formula.

Moundane

While the names Montanus and, presumably, Montane were common in non-Christian circles in Akmonia (e.g., *MAMA* 6 [1939]: 244, 267; *CIG* 3 [1853]: 3858e), it is theoretically possible that the name Μουνδάνη (cf. Μουντάνη: 63; Μουντανῶ: Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 326 no. 79a) in this inscription is an indication that Moundane's parents adhered to the New Prophecy. It is unlikely that Christian parents belonging to mainstream Christianity in Phrygia c.220 (when, if we follow Rigsby's dating, Moundane would have been born) or even c.260 (following Gibson's dating) would have given their daughter the name of Phrygia's most famous schismatic. Gibson, at first ("Montanism," 21-22, 23-24, 106, 108), was adamant that this is a Montanist epitaph. Later, she was no longer as sure about this (*IPhyrChr*, pp. 103-104). A. Strobel (233-234), however, has no doubt that the use of the name here is an intentional testimony to Montanism as the true faith; see also *ad* 63 and cf. 77. If so, it is possible that Moundane married into a Montanist, rather than an "orthodox Christian," family. According to the Anonymous, orthodox Christians kept themselves so separate from Montanists that they were not even prepared to die as fellow martyrs (*ap. Eus., h.e.*, 5.16.22). Consequently, Severos, Moundane's husband, his mother and grandparents may also have been Montanists. However, if the parents of Moundane were not Christians and she, later, married into a Christian family, no such conclusion can be drawn. For a discussion of the view that this epitaph was produced in a workshop catering exclusively to Montanists, see *ad* 22. The name Beroneikiane is related to the name Veronica. For examples of the masculine version of this name, see 25.

Date

Although Gibson's photograph, which is the source of Rigsby's reading, shows that the stone is too worn at the area where the latter part of I.1 was carved to provide an indisputable reading, there can be little doubt that Rigsby's restoration of the date, which I have followed, is accurate. As Rigsby (93-94) himself points out, ΤΑΠ does not follow the normal order for 328. Despite my earlier suspicion that Akmonia may have used the Actian era ("Christian Inscriptions," 135), I am now convinced by Drew-Bear ("Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 292 n.86) and P. Herrmann (*TAM* 5,1 [1981]: p. 13) that the Actian era did not spread as far as Akmonia. It is apparent, therefore, that at least some Christians in Phrygia were not hesitant about proclaiming their faith openly to their neighbors even within a year or two after the Decian persecution. In this instance, it is possible that they were Montanists.

22. Hedia, a Christian

Ahat

III³

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 33 with trans. and photograph.

Upper moulding of white marble funerary altar. Top and left side undamaged, right side shaped to fit into wall. Height: 0.25m.; width: 0.53m.; thickness 0.42m. Quadratic *epsilons*; cursive *sigma*. Letters carved evenly, but in the word Χρεισταινή the first *epsilon* corrected from *eta*. A second *epsilon* was carved in ligature with *tau*. Final *eta* carved in ligature with *nu*, not marked by *ed. pr.* Letter height 0.032m. Figure 24. Plate 7.

Ἡδία Χρεισταινή.

Hedia, a Christian.



Fig. 24: Upper moulding of Hedia's tombstone

Other *ed.*: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 118-119 no. 8 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 643 no. 9 with photograph; *BE* [1979]: 534; K.J. Rigsby (1981: 93 n.2) does not reprint whole text but does suggest emendation; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1083.

Variant reading:

I.1 'Hδία Χρεισταινή: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee).

Further references: *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 98, 103, 139; P. Nautin (1979: 579); A. Ferrua (1980: 177); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das*

heilige Land [1980]: 113 no. 4 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 501 no. 94c; D. Feissel (1981: 371); Rigsby, 92; Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 135; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1099; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii, xl n.11; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 n.232).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 28 (= cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," plate 8 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 4]).

Text

Without a context, it is difficult to know whether the text is in the dative, as originally thought by E. Gibson ("Montanism," 118), in which case the meaning is reminiscent of the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions, or whether it is in the nominative, simply describing Hedia as a Christian. On the name Hedia and its variants, see Gibson "Montanism," 118-119 and *IPhyrgChr*, p. 105 and n.1. See also Ferrua (177), who cites the form 'Hδυῖα.

Another Montanist workshop?

Mitchell (39 and n.232) adopts the position that the workshop which produced 3-8 at Temenothyrai was comprised of Montanist artisans (see *ad* 8) and argues that this workshop moved (again?) to Akmonia sometime after mid-III. Accepting the traditional view that a stonemason named Phellinas of Temenothyrai crafted a tombstone dated 278/9 (36), he takes as secure Gibson's tentative attribution of 36 to Akmonia (*IPhyrgChr*, pp. 108-110). According to Mitchell, this Montanist workshop produced not only 36, but also the other "open profession" inscriptions attributed by Gibson (*ibid.*, p. 103) to Akmonia; i.e., Hedia's epitaph and those of Theodoros (9), Beroneikiane (21) and Paithos (23). However, only the tombstones of Hedia and of Beroneikiane can now be attributed securely to Akmonia. Even 36, crucial for establishing a link between the (alleged Montanist) workshops of Temenothyrai and Akmonia, appears to have been crafted in the Kaystros Valley somewhere near Dokimeion rather than in Akmonia; see *ad* 36.

Hedia's possible Montanist allegiance

It is unlikely that Hedia was a Montanist. The case for a Montanist workshop catering for an exclusively Montanist clientele is certainly not strong enough to classify Hedia as a Montanist. That the workshop which produced Hedia's tombstone, and perhaps that of Beroneikiane, had Montanists among its customers is theoretically possible, but such a workshop would have produced tombstones for a wide range of clients,

including "orthodox Christians" and Jews. On the prominent Jewish community in Akmonia, see *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 409-412. Sheppard (1979: 169-180), in my view correctly, traces the open profession displayed on the Christian tombstones of Eumeneia and the territory of Akmonia to the custom of open profession of religion on the Jewish epitaphs of Akmonia; see also *ad* 20. The overt use of the designation "Christian" on Hedia's tombstone, therefore, should not be taken as an indicator of Montanism.

Sebaste

Map 12:D5 (Central Phrygia). According to W.M. Ramsay (CB 2 [1897]: pp. 606-607 [ad no. 495]), Sebaste was named after Augustus who founded the city by amalgamating several nearby communities; but see D. Magie (1950: vol. 1, 427; 1334 n.14). Sebaste was situated 32km. S.E. of Temenothyrai near the Turkish town of Sivashi, a little N. of the village of Selçikler, see I LydiaB [1898]: p. 170; W. Ruge (1941: col. 852); L. Robert (1962: 361-362); and TIB 7 [1990]: 376-378. Sebaste was an important Phrygian city on the main road from Apameia (8:G7) to Akmonia (8:B5; cf. 12:B6). It belonged to the conventus of Apameia; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 71-72). Its extensive territory encompassed an ancient settlement called Eibeos near Payamalanı (12:C6) 7km. to the N., on the road to Akmonia; see N. Firath (1970: 118-119; 1976: 293-294); Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 1947 and n.133; and TIB 7, 246. Sebaste's N.W. boundary was probably near modern Kirka (12:B5), but its other boundaries have not yet been determined; see Jones, 72 and Waelkens Tüsterne, 180.

23. Epitaph of Paithos

Payamalanı
Now in Uşak Museum

Ed. pr. — *IPhygChr* [1978a]: 34 with trans. and photograph.

White marble funerary altar with circular top (broken) and projecting mouldings (broken) at top and bottom. Height: 0.725m.; width: 0.316m. (top), 0.274m. (shaft); thickness: 0.27m. According to *ed. pr.*, spindle and distaff (cf. 6) above comb (cf. 5) carved on right side of altar; pruning hook (cf. 8) and effaced object on left. No photographs provided of these sides. Inscription, first copied before 1961 by M.H. Ballance, on front of shaft. Mason's guide lines visible. Cursive sigmas and epsilons. "Bull's horn" omegas. Cross bar not carved in alpha of 1.2 and first alpha of 1.8. Ligatures at 11.2-3, 5, 7. Letter height: 0.23m. **Figure 25. Plate 10.**

Μηνόφιλος καὶ
ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
Ἀμμία Παιθῶ ἀ-
δελφῶ Χρεισι-
5 ανῶ· καὶ Ἀλεξαν-
δρία Παιθῶ ἀν-
δρί· καὶ τὰ παιδιά
αὐτῶν μνείας
χάριν ἐπύησαν.

5 Menophilos and his wife Ammia for Paithos his brother, a Christian; | and Alexandria for Paithos her husband; and their children (for their father) made (this monument) in his memory.

Other ed.: Ballance "Archaeology" [1961]: 27 no. 31.

Text reprinted and discussed: SEG 28 [1982]: 1084; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 44-45 no. 2.1 with trans.

Variant reading:

1.2 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ: Johnson does not indicate ligatures or incompletely carved letters here or elsewhere.

Further references: *IPhygChr*, pp. 98, 103, 139, 145; P. Nautin (1979: 579); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 113 no. 5 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 501 no. 94d; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); A. Davids

(1984: 228-229); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii and xl n.11; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.232); Johnson, 10, 39, 113, 115.

photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 29.

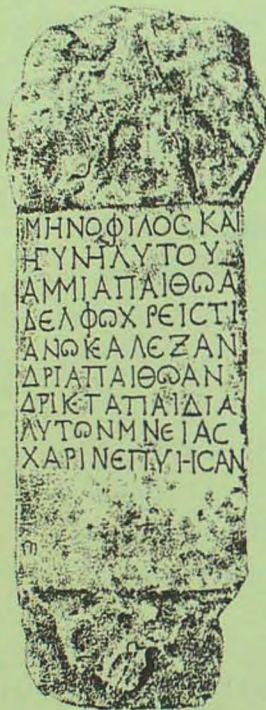


Fig. 25: Paithos' epitaph

Paithos and his family

For the native name Paithos, cf. *CIG* 3 [1853]: 4087 and see L. Zgusta (1964: §1191 and p. 540, intergloss 9); *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 106, 145; and J.H.M. Strubbe (1978/9: 134, 143). On Ammia, see *ad* 34. Although, as was customary for early Christian inscriptions from Central or South Phrygia only the religion of the deceased is overtly specified, there is little doubt that Paithos' wife and children, as well as his brother Menophilos (despite the non-Christian name) and his family, were Christians. *Contra* Waelkens (198 and n.523), however, it should not be assumed that the use of the single word "Christian" here is an abridged form of the $\chi\rho$ - $\chi\rho$ formula. The latter seems to be a unique feature of monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley in North Phrygia.

Provenance and possible Montanist nature

E. Gibson (*IPhyrgChr*, pp. 103, 106-107, 139) assigned this tombstone, because of its circular top, to Akmonia and, on the basis of letter style, suggested that it may have been carved by the same mason as the one who carved Hedia's tombstone (22). The eds. of *MAMA* 10 (pp. xxxvii and xl n.11), view both these tombstones, as well as 9 and 21, as evidence for a link between Montanist communities in Temenothyrai and Akmonia. Mitchell (39 and n.232) believes that all these and 36 were produced in an exclusively Montanist workshop; see also *ad* 36. The original discovery of Paithos' tombstone at Payamalanı (see Ballance, 27; cf. Sheppard, 315), the site of ancient Eibeos, not only minimizes the validity of these theories, as the monument is more likely to have been produced there or in Sebaste, but necessitates looking for different grounds by which to support a potential connection with Montanism for Paithos' family. The location in which Paithos' epitaph was first copied provides some theoretical support for considering this epitaph Montanist in that the tombstone of a Montanist *koinonos* (80) was also discovered there. That tombstone, however, belongs to V¹-VI¹. Undoubtedly the Montanist community had been founded at Eibeos much earlier than V, but even if it had existed there since (at least) mid III, the open profession of Christianity on Paithos' tombstone, by itself, would not guarantee that he (and his family) belonged to that community. The most that can be claimed is that they were possibly Montanists.

Appia, Soa, and the Upper Tembris Valley

Map 11:I2 (N. Phrygia). Appia, for a long time, was the only city, albeit a small one, on the plain now known as the *Altıntaşovası*. It was situated on the Roman road from Akmonia (7:J3) to Kotiaëion (7:E4), which lay approx. 44km. to the N. Appia was a member of the conventus of Synnada; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 66). Echoes of its ancient name resounded in its earlier names: Abia and Abiye. The modern town, however, was called *Pınarcık* (or *Pınarcık köyü*) before it was renamed *Pınarbaşı* (*MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xv). The Upper Tembris Valley is surrounded by foothills and mountain ranges, separating the territory of Appia from the territories of Kotiaëion to the N.; and of Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar; 7:G2) and Kadoi (7:H1) to the W. and S.W. respectively. The valley ends at

Beşkarışhüyük (11:I5) in the E., although Appia's territory extended further S.E., bordering the territories of Dokimeion (İscehisar; 9:F2) and Prymnessos (Sülün; 9:G1). On Appia, see Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet Exploration I [1862]: 133; Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 514-515 ad XCVIII; id., Geography [1890]: 146 ad 46; Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 188-190; W. Ruge (1941: cols. 815-816); L. Robert (1975: 155 n.3); IPhrygChr [1978a]: p. 5; H. von Aulock (1980: 48-50); L. Zgusta (1984: 84-85); Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 88-89; Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 1967; TIB 7 [1990]: 189-190; and MAMA 10, pp. xv-xvii.

Map 11:H5 (N. Phrygia). Soa, situated approx. 18km. N.E. of Appia and 43km. S.E. of Kotiaieion, was the only other sizable ancient settlement in the Upper Tembris Valley; see J.G.S. Anderson (1897: 420-422). Until sometime after III³ (but no later than mid IV), when it became a city, it was dependent upon Appia (Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet, 124-125; J.H.M. Strubbe [1975: 235-236]; TIB 7 [1990]: 385-386). Soa occupied the site of modern Altıntaş köy, to be distinguished from the town of Altıntaş (formerly Kürdköy; 11:H4), approx. 6km. W. of the village with the similar name (TIB 7, 319). Imperial estates, by III primarily agricultural in nature but containing marble quarries probably responsible for original imperial interest, occupied much of the Upper Tembris Valley; see O. Hirschfeld (1902: 301-303); Anderson "Paganism/Christianity," 188-190; Strubbe, 230-236; J.C. Fant (1989: 9-10); and MAMA 10, pp. xxxiii-xxxv. Soa was located between the two major quarries of the Plain of Altıntaş. The closest lay approx. 1.5km. to the N.E. near Kassa, modern Çakırsaz (11:H6; TIB 7, 385); see Th. Drew-Bear/W. Eck (1976: 312-318). The other was located a few km. S.E. of the modern site of Altıntaş town (Waelkens, 89; TIB 7, 319).

Map 11:E1-J5 (Upper Tembris Valley). The ruins of other ancient settlements are visible at or near a number of Turkish villages in the valley. These, like the third-century village which occupied the site of modern Altıntaş

town (see TIB 7, 385) appear to have been relatively small communities. The ancient name of many of them, including those of Altıntaş town, Aslanapa (11:F1), Karaağaç (11:I3; TIB 7, 190), and Kuyucak (11:G4; TIB 7, 201), has not yet been identified positively. Akçaköy (11:H3), approx. 6km. N. of Pınarbaşı, may have been Kreura (TIB 7, 174; MAMA 10, p. xliii).

24. "Christians for Christians" added by another hand?

Pınarbaşı, in ancient cemetery

III²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 214-215 no. 12 with facsimile of majuscule text.

Rectangular funerary altar of white marble. Discovered by W.M. Ramsay in 1884. Upper moulding, which forms visual base for trapezoidal top, partly broken. Akroterion at each angle of the moulding. The stone is covered with lichens. Height: 1.35m.; width: 0.615m. (base), 0.50m. (shaft), 0.555m. (top); thickness not provided. Inscription on shaft; significant space between l.5 and l.6 shown on J.G.C. Anderson's facsimile, but not recorded in *IPhrygChr*. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. The style of the *sigmas*, however, differs in ll.1-5 (Σ) from that of those in l.6 (Ϛ). Ligatures at l.4. Letter height: 0.035m. (ll.1-5), 0.019m. (l.6). **Figure 26. Plate 17.**

Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μαρκι-
ανὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γο-
νεῦσιν ἔτι ζῶν Μαρκί<ω>νι
κὲ Αππη κὲ ἀδελφῶ Ἀρτε-
μῆ μνήμης χάριν.

5

(vac.)

Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς.

Aurelios Zotikos Markianos, while still living, (prepared this tomb) for his parents Markion and Appe and for his brother Artemas, | in memory.

5

Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: **IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 2 with trans. and photograph.



Fig. 26: Funerary altar commemorating Markion, Appe and Artemas

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 337 no. 3; *IGRR* 4 [1927]: 602; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2531 no. 3; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 800 no. 43; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 653-654 no. 18 with trans. and facsimile; G.J. Johnson (1994: 364 n.13 [I.6 only]); id., *Anatolia* [1995]: 46-47 no. 2.3 with trans.

Variant readings:

- II.1-2 Μαρκίλωνος: Ramsay [unpublished majuscule copy], Anderson.
 II.2-3 γολνεύου: Anderson (*IGRR*).
 I.4 κῆ: Johnson *Anatolia* does not indicate quasi-ligatures.

Further references: Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 252 no. 3 with trans.; Calder "Philadelphia," 352; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Leclercq "Phrygie," col. 787; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 5; Tabbernee "Montanism," 352; H. von Aulock (1980: 48 ad no. 7); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 109 no. 1; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168, 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 502 no. 100; D. Feissel (1981: 370); D.E. Groh (1981: 450); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 2); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 129, 132; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 190; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 189 (ad Pınarçık [Abye] no. 2) with photograph; Johnson (1994: 354, 362, 363 n.1); id., *Anatolia*, 10, 39, 113, 115; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 100 and n.46, 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: *IPhyrChr*, plate 4; *MAMA* 10, plate 50 (Abya P2).

Facsimile: ed. pr., 214 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 653); Ramsay [unpublished].

Workshop

In late II⁴, the imperial quarries near Soa and Kassa (see p. 180 above) were leased to independent contractors, stimulating the establishment of privately-operated workshops manufacturing funerary monuments for a local and regional market (*MAMA* 10, p. xxix). The most significant of these was a central workshop at or near Soa, which not only produced its own finished articles but prefabricated stones for completion in other workshops—explaining both the similarities and differences evident on monuments found throughout the Upper Tembris Valley and beyond. The general type of monument produced by this central workshop (even if finished elsewhere) is classified by M. Waelkens as Type C Altıntaş 1; see *Türsteine* [1986]: 89-91. The earliest identifiable sculptor is Teimeas of Mourmate, who may have established the shop in early III and trained his son Zelas and others, such as Alexander and Epitynchanos, as apprentices. The signatures of all four appear on Type C Altıntaş 1 door-stones as well as on other monuments; see *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 68; Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 7-8; Waelkens (1985a: 23); id., *Türsteine*, 89-92; *MAMA* 10, pp. xxiv-xxx.

This workshop, in III⁴, introduced a series of panel-steles, many of which contained the Xp.-Xp. formula; see ad 37. As the production of Xp.-Xp. inscription appears to have been a phenomenon of the Plain of Altıntaş (Gibson "Koç Collection," 9; although also see ad 31), it is pos-

sible that the funerary altar under discussion here was made in the same workshop, although, if so, it was crafted by a much earlier group of sculptors than that which manufactured the panel-steles. The common link may have been a catalogue or "phrase book" passed on to successive artisans, containing model phrases to be employed in epitaphs. A second, but related, workshop in the area seems also to have produced Xp.-Xp. monuments (see *ad* 26), but those are, on the whole, somewhat later than this one and carved in a different style; see *MAMA* 10, p. 53 (*ad* no. 168). On the Xp.-Xp. formula, see pp. 147-151 above.

Markianos?

Although the photograph in *IPhyrgChr* is not sufficiently clear to confirm E. Gibson's reading of Μαρκίανός (II.1-2), her emendation of previously published texts of this inscription is extremely plausible. Markianos is common on Phrygian inscriptions of the period; e.g., LBW 3, 5 [1870]: 721 with majuscule copy in LBW 3, 1 [1870]: p. 220 no. 721 (Uşak: III); *ILydiaKP* 1 [1908]: 251 (Uşak: III1); Gibson "Koç Collection," 20-23 no. 5 (Altıntaş: III²). On Latin-Greek names ending in -ανός, see L. Zgusta (1964: §66-33, §1517-38). See *ibid.*, n.16 at §840-4 for Markianos.

Appe and Artemas

The Phrygian name Appe (cf. 60, 62) is derived from a familiar term for "mother"; see Zgusta (§66-13 and n.176 at §66-5); *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145; Waelkens *Türsteine*, 70. For the form Appes, see 38. Appe's son's name, which ends in -ας instead of the more usual -ις, is formed like Trophimas (cf. 37) and Sosthas (cf. 62); see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145.

"A Christian for Christians"

There is no doubt about the accuracy of the reading Χρῆστιάνοι Χρῆστιάνοις in I.6. Yet, while the plural form of the formula is used, only one Christian (Aurelios Zotikos Markianos) commemorated the life of a number of Christians (Markion, Appe, and Artemas), indicating that the plural form had become stereotyped and was used even at the expense of proper grammatical construction; see Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 132.

It is impossible to be precise regarding the date when the Xp.-Xp. formula first became stereotyped, as this presumably happened over a period of time. It is reasonable to argue, however, that (allowing for some overlapping) inscriptions which employ the stereotyped plural form ungrammatically are likely to be later than those which use a variant of the

formula to accord with the grammar demanded by the content of the inscription.

A different hand?

The large gap between the end of the main text and the Xp.-Xp. formula itself lends some support to Gibson's judgment (*IPhyrgChr*, pp. 11, 100) that the words "Christians for Christians" were carved by a different hand. However, even when it is clear that the formula was carved by the same mason who carved the main inscription, the formula often stands apart; cf. 29, 40, 47, 50, and see *ad* 50 and Tabbernee "Inscriptions," 128. Moreover, masons, especially inexperienced ones, were often inconsistent in their letter style. Nevertheless, given the strong possibility that this epitaph was carved in a large workshop, there is every likelihood that more than one mason worked on the monument. There is no reason to assume that the "different" hand was a "later" hand.

Date

Use of the Xp.-Xp. formula is attested on a dated monument (27; 248/9 C.E.) which also uses the formula stereotypically. That monument was probably produced in a different workshop but establishes an approximate date for this one. It is probably earlier than 27, although the possibility that it is slightly later cannot be ruled out altogether.

As pointed out by W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia," 337), inferences about an early date based on the fact that the father in this inscription bears the same name as the second-century heretic Marcion (see Ramsay, 25) are unwarranted. Nor is there any value in noting, as does Anderson (215) after mentioning Marcion, that the Upper Tembris Valley was closely linked with Kotiaion, a significant heretical center. Are we meant to infer that the father commemorated by the inscription was named in honor of the heretic Marcion? If so, Anderson is making exactly the opposite point to that made by Ramsay who, although wanting to date the inscription prior to 240, argues that it must be *as late* as 240 because earlier (i.e., late II when Markianos' father must have been born) the name Marcion would have been avoided in orthodox Christian (and Montanist[?]) circles.

Montanist?

Presumably one of Anderson's reasons for referring to Marcion and Kotiaion is to provide some support from the general heretical/schismatic milieu of Christianity in N.W. Phrygia for his classification of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions as Montanist. If so, the reference to Marcion is

misleading and the reference to Kotiaëion anachronistic in that the allusion is to the evidence for Novatianism in Kotiaëion in the fourth century; see p. 348 below. Nothing in this epitaph, other than perhaps the Χρ.-Χρ. formula itself, suggests Montanism. For the unlikelihood of the formula being Montanist, see *ad* 27.

25. For her sweetest husband

Between Pınarbaşı and Akçaköy,
in dry fountain

III²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 216 no. 14 with facsimile of majuscule copy by W.M. Ramsay.

White marble rectangular funerary altar. Upper moulding with akroteria forms visual base for trapezoidal top (partly broken). Front akroterion and angle of left moulding also damaged. A small hole is visible at right side of moulding. Stone covered with some lichens. Height: 1.11m. (*MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. 53), 1.23m. (*IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 9); width: 0.53m. (top; *MAMA*), 0.55m. (top; *IPhrygChr*), 0.39m. (shaft); thickness: 0.48m. (top; *MAMA*), 0.55m. (top; *IPhrygChr*), 0.39m. (shaft; *MAMA*), 0.40m. (shaft; *IPhrygChr*). Inscription, first copied by Ramsay in 1884, on shaft. Mason's guide lines still visible. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Slightly smaller letters for addition or correction between *ll*.1-2. At *l*.4, cross bar of *alpha* not cut. Ligatures at *ll*.2, 6. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.02m. (*MAMA*), 0.019m. (*IPhrygChr*). A defaced relief below the inscription, noted by J.G.C. Anderson, now damaged. Figure 27. Plate 17.

Αὐρηλία Ρουφείνα Τροφίμου
γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ

- 2 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δόμνῃ
τῷ ἐαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς τέ-
κνοις Κυρίλλῃ καὶ Βερονει-
5 κτανῷ καὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ καὶ Γλυ-
[κ]ωγίδι καὶ ἐτέρῳ Βερονικια-
νῷ μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησεν
σὺν τῷ ἐαυτῆς υἱῷ Αὐρηλίῳ

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δις ἔτι ζῶντες
10 Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς.

Aurelia Roupheina, daughter of Trophimos, constructed (this tomb) for her sweetest husband Aurelios Alexandros Domnas, her own husband, and for the children Kyrilla and Beroneikianos | and Aurelia and Glykonis and another Beronikianos, in memory, together with her son Aurelios Alexandros, son of Aurelios Alexandros, while (they were both) still living.

10 | Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: **IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 1 with trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 338 no. 5; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 5; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 801 no. 45; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 654 no. 19 with trans. and facsimile.

Variant reading:

ll.1a-2 <Δόμνῃ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ>: Calder.

Further references: Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 252-253 no. 4 with trans.; Calder "Philadelphia," 352; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Leclercq "Phrygie," col. 787; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1980: 611 and n.100); *IPhrygChr*, p. 5; H. von Aulock (1980: 49 *ad* no. 9); E. Des Places (1980: 172); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168, 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 502 no. 102; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 1); D. Feissel (1981: 270); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 190; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 168 with photograph; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and nn.199, 202); G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362, 363 n.1); W.H.C. Frend (1990: 100 and n.46, 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: *IPhrygChr*, plate 3; *MAMA* 10, plate 19.

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 216 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 654).

Whose husband?

The words γλυκατάτῳ ἀνδρὶ (*l*.1b) are an obvious addition, but when were they added? W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia," 338), linking the words with Δόμνῃ (which he took not to be a dative), postulated that there was originally an uncut space at the end of *l*.2 which was later utilized by a woman called Domna to commemorate her own sweet husband who is



Fig. 27: Tombstone of a beloved husband

not named but could have been the son Aurelios Alexander. Although the most common nominative feminine form of the name is Δόμνα (e.g., cf. 53), E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 10) accepts Calder's theory, pointing to another inscription (probably from Çakırsaz) published by Calder ("Epitaphs" [1955]: 31-33 no. 1) in which Δόμνη (l.12) appears to be the nominative. That the form Domne existed in Phrygia is not to be doubted; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 178. The issue is whether it

was used in the inscription under discussion here. Leaving aside, for the moment, the additional words (γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρί), ll.1-2a make perfect sense as they stand if ΔΟΜΝΗ is taken as the dative of the masculine Δόμνας; see Ramsay, 253. For masculine names ending in -ας, see *ad* 24.

The facsimile of Ramsay's copy of the majuscule text, as well as Gibson's photograph in *IPhrygChr*, show that the engraver appears to have been careful to use the whole width of the shaft for the inscription, which makes it somewhat unlikely that he left an uncut space at the end of l.2 able to be utilized later. The inserted words must only have been those carved in the interlinear space between l.1 and l.2. They appear to be the work of the same mason. Perhaps it was Roupheina herself who, dissatisfied with the cold phrase "her own husband," instructed the engraver to add the phrase expressing her affection for the deceased; see Ramsay, 253. The epithet γλυκύτατος was popular in Phrygia; e.g., cf. 38 and Harrison "Amorium 1988" [1989]: 169 no. ii with trans. and photographs (Amorium: II).

On the use of δῖς (l.9) to indicate a son with the same name, cf. 17. See 34 for the use of τρίς to designate a person with the same name as his father and grandfather. Des Places' comment (172) that the phrase "Son of Aurelios Alexandros" is Gibson's own addition is unwarranted.

Beroneikianos/Beronikianos and siblings

Another son was named Beronikianos (cf. Beroneikiane, *ad* 21) after the death of an earlier one by the same name, but note fluidity of spelling, confirming the ease with which -ει- was substituted for -ι- (see *ad* 9). On the name Glykon(is), see *ad* 52. The name Kyrilla was popular in the Christian circles of the Upper Tembris Valley (cf. 31, 39, 60, 62) and elsewhere; see Waelkens, 117. This inscription also shows that, in Phrygia, Aurelia was used, at least within the family, as a single, personal name as well as a *praenomen/gentilicium*; cf. the similar use of Ioulia [Julia] (21) and Dometios [Domitius] (34).

Date and possible Montanist nature

Given the similarity in style, this monument is likely to have been produced in the same workshop and at about the same time as 24. Despite earlier claims that all Xp.-Xp. inscriptions are Montanist, this appears not to have been the case; see pp. 147-151 above and *ad* 27. There is nothing in this particular inscription, other than the alleged criterion of "open profession," which points to the family having been connected with the Montanist movement.

26. "Christians for Christians" abbreviated?

Pınarbaşı

Now in Rahmi Koç Collection, Istanbul

III¹

Ed. pr. — Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 215 no. 13 with facsimile of majuscule copy.

Large fragment of white marble stele, with low reliefs. Top left corner, lower left side and bottom, as well as most of lower right side and bottom, broken away. Height: 0.60m.; width: 0.74m., thickness: 0.08m.-0.105m. Top part of stone consists of rectangular pediment, framed by narrow border. Face of shaft of stele recessed, making pediment stand out. Pediment contains central semicircular niche, framed by arched border similar to that framing whole pediment. Niche contains carving of two lions, facing each other. Each has front paws on top of fallen bull. Dolphins and fish decorate pediment either side of niche. Extant portion of stele-shaft is undecorated, perhaps further decorations were carved on bottom of stele, below inscription. Inscription commences on horizontal border separating shaft from pediment and continues on main portion of stele. Mason's guide lines visible, but some letters are smaller than others, presumably the result of adding letters originally omitted. Dittography in ll.2, 6. Ligatures at ll.2-4 of extant text and, if restored accurately, at ll.1-2, 4-7 of restored text. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. *Upsilon* in l.3 has cross bar in tail (cf. 3, 9). "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Letter height (apart from some letters): 0.018m. **Figure 28. Plate 5.**

Αὐκρ. Τρόφειμος Ποτεῖ[του τῇ ἐαυτοῦ]
 σ[σ]υνβίῳ Τατιῷ ἔτι ζῶ[σῃ καὶ ἐαυτῷ].
 καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Αὐ[ρήλι]-(vac.)-]
 οἱ Ποτίτος καὶ Τρόφειμος [γονεῦσιν μνήμης]
 5 χάριν καὶ Δόμν[α καὶ ----- νύμφαι].
 Χ[χ]ρηστειανο[ῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐγγ-]
 όνοις (vac.) Τροφίμ[ω καὶ -----]

Aurelios Tropheimos son of Poteitos, (prepared this tomb) for his wife Tation, while she was still living, and for himself; and their children Aurelios Potitos and Aurelios Trophimos

- 5 (provided this tomb) for their parents, in | memory; and Domna and, daughters-in-law; for Christians; and for their grandchildren Trophimos and

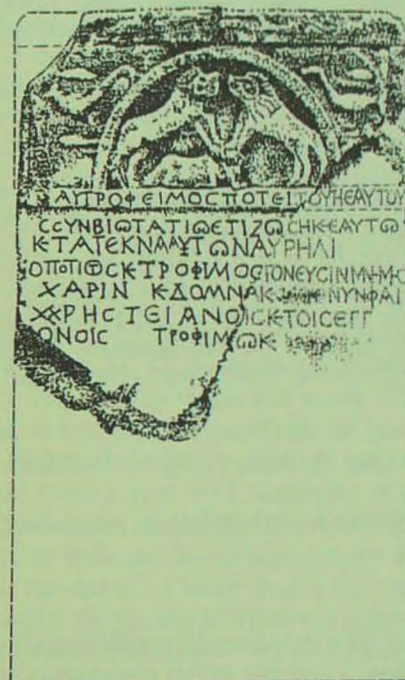


Fig. 28: Tation's tombstone

Other edd.: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 17 with partial trans., facsimile, and photograph; *Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 28-30 no. 11 with partial trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 337-338 no. 4; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphe)" [1934b]: cols. 2531-2532 no. 4; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 800 no. 44; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 678-680 no. 34 with trans. and facsimile.

Variant readings:

l.1 Αὐκρ.: Calder (Leclercq "Montaniste [épigraphe]"); Ποτεῖ[του τῇ]: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee); Ποτεῖ[του τῇ ἐαυτοῦ]: Gibson in *IPhyrgChr* and "Koç Collection" does not suggest ligature, but if her restoration is accurate, TH must have been carved in ligature to accommodate all the letters on the line.

- l.2 συνβίω Τῳτίφ: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee); ζῶ[ν ἐποίησε,]: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee); ζῶ[ν κὲ ἐαυτῶ]: *IPhrygChr* does not mark ligature.
 l.3 Earlier *edd.* do not suggest *vac.* in restoration.
 l.4 Τρόφιμος [μνήμης]: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee).
 l.5 Δόμ[α νύμφη?]: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee).
 ll.6-7 Χρηστειανο[ι Χρηστει] (α)νοῖς: Anderson (Calder; Tabbernee); Χρηστειανο[ι Χρηστει] (α)νοῖς: Leclercq; Χρηστειανοῖ Χρηστειανοῖς κὲ τοῖς ἐγγ[υ]λόνοις: *IPhrygChr*; ἐγγ[υ]λόνοις: earlier *edd.* do not show *vac.* here.
 l.7 Τροφίμ[ι] . . . : Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee); [κὲ τοῖς ἐγγ[υ]λόνοις: Anderson (alternative reading); Τροφίμ[ι] κὲ - - - - -]: *IPhrygChr*; Τροφίμ[ι] κὲ - - - - -]: Gibson "Koç Collection."

Further references: Anderson, 198-199; Calder "Philadelphia," 350; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhrygChr*, p. 5; Gibson "Koç Collection," 3, 4, 8-9, 11; *BE* [1978]: 472; H. von Aulock (1980: 49 *ad no.* 9); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 502 no. 101; D. Feissel (1981: 370); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad no.* 17); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 190; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photograph: *IPhrygChr*, plate 18 (= "Koç Collection," plate 6[b]).

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 215 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 679); *IPhrygChr*, p. 47.

Workshop

A second workshop appears to have been established at or near Soa in c.230 by Andromachos, a sculptor whose signature is attested in the region (see *IPhrygChr*, p. 69 *ad no.* 16) and who was probably trained in the earlier workshop founded by Teimeas; see *ad* 24 and Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 91-92. This new workshop produced a wide range of monuments in the style designated Type C Altıntaş 2, including a number of steles containing inscriptions with the Xp.-Xp. formula (*MAMA* 10 [1993]: 53 *ad no.* 168). Because these workshops were closely related and perhaps shared personnel as well as "phrase books," it is not always possible to attribute particular monuments to the specific workshop. For the view that there was, in fact, only one workshop employing a large staff of artisans who utilized various styles, see T. Lochman (1990: 468). E. Gibson ("Koç Collection," 8) is certain that the monument under discussion here was not produced by the Teimeas workshop. She does not include it in her list of known inscriptions from that workshop, excluding it on the basis of style. (She, however, inadvertently omits the word

"not" in the sentence explaining why she has not included this inscription in her list.)

Restoration of text

As a large segment of the right-hand side of the stele is broken away, considerable restoration of the text is required. Gibson, correctly, suggests a longer text than did Anderson allowing for more of the stone to have been utilized. As she points out (*IPhrygChr*, pp. 47-48), however, even her restoration proposes a text which contains two lines (ll.3, 6) which are considerably shorter than the rest. The extant text presents its most challenging puzzle at ll.6-7. What are we to make of the two *chis* carved at the beginning of the partially complete word Χρηστειανο-? W.M. Calder's theory ("Philadelphia," 338) that the first *chi* is a disguised cross is not supported by the carving of the letters on the stone; see Gibson "Koç Collection," 28. In any case, the open use of the word "Christian(s)" renders a "disguised cross" superfluous. Nor does the extant lettering support J.G.C. Anderson's restoration of Χρηστειανο[ι Χρηστει] (α)νοῖς. The partially visible first extant letter in l.7 is an *omikron*, not an *alpha*, as is also shown clearly on the facsimile of Anderson's majuscule copy. Unless the engraver made an error in spelling here, the letters -ονοῖς must belong to a word containing an *omikron* rather than an *alpha* here. Anderson's alternative restoration of l.7 (215) accounts for this, although, as indicated by Gibson, this (or a similar) restoration must be placed at the end of l.6 rather than at the beginning of l.7, as the stone does not permit the placing of additional letters there.

In *IPhrygChr*, Gibson restores ll.6-7 so as to contain the Xp.-Xp. formula, assuming the first *chi* to be an abbreviation of Χ(ρηστειανοῖ). This, while theoretically possible, is not at all certain. In 33 there are puzzling abbreviations including two adjacent *chis* (l.1) which have sometimes been taken as abbreviations of the Xp.-Xp. formula. Alternative meanings of those letters, however, are also plausible, and it is prudent not to assume that the double *chi* in 33 represents the Xp.-Xp. formula. Similarly, in this case, it is extremely unlikely that the first *chi* stands for the first word in the Xp.-Xp. formula. If it had been an intentional abbreviation, we could have expected both *chis* to have been the same size. Perhaps the first *chi* could have been changed into an abbreviation (if the engraver had inadvertently omitted the word Χρηστειανοῖ) by adding a smaller second *chi* to serve as the substituted first letter of Χρηστειανοῖς, as in Anderson, 215; compare Gibson "Koç Collection," 28 and *IPhrygChr*, p. 48. The omission of Χρηστειανοῖ, however, could only have occurred if the engraver had added a *sigma* before he should have

done so, turning the first word of the text he was copying into the second word. If so, it is doubtful that he would not have noticed his mistake in time to correct it in another manner as there appears to have been plenty of room on the stone to have done so. In light of the fact that *l.2* of this inscription contains an incorrect double *sigma* (carved in two sizes) in the word $\sigma\{\sigma\}\nu\beta\acute{\iota}\phi$, it appears that the double *chi* at the beginning of *l.6* is simply an engraver's error based on the hard pronunciation of consonants. (For a similar utilization of the incorrect double consonant, note the spelling of the word $\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\varsigma$ in *l.11* of 53.) Consequently, it seems best not to amend the extant letters in *l.6* of this inscription but to transcribe them as $X\{\chi\}\rho\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\omicron$. The ending of this word may be restored, following Gibson, as a dative giving the meaning "For Christians." If so, it is a good example of the way in which the open profession of the Christian faith developed from the use of the nominative ($\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$; cf. 21, 36) or genitive ($\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$; cf. 58) toward the $X\rho$ – $X\rho$. formula. Note that Gibson in "Koc Collection," although recording only $X\{\chi\}\rho\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron[\iota\varsigma]$ in her text, still translates this as "Christians to Christians" (29). Alternatively, the ending here could be read as a nominative. This would enable a different and longer restoration of the remainder of *l.6*, and thus overcome the problem of the brevity of the line texts suggested hitherto.

Similarly, the end of *l.3* may be restored differently to produce a longer text. There is no compelling reason to link the partially restored Αὐ[ρήλι-] necessarily with the *omikron* at the beginning of *l.4*. In fact, as Aurelios is abbreviated in *l.1* with only the two letters Αυ- , it is unlikely that Αὐρήλιοι would be spelled out in full in *l.3-4*. If the letters Αυ- do indeed refer to the word Αὐρήλιοι , the word may have been abbreviated and the name(s) of one or more other siblings listed on the missing portion of *l.3*. Perhaps the *omikron* at the beginning of *l.4* was part of the name of such a sibling, in which case the restored *iota* should probably be replaced with a *sigma*. It is not certain, however, that the Αυ- in *l.3* does, in fact, refer to *praenomina*. It is also possible that the *alpha* and *upsilon* are the first two letters of a name such as Αὐξάνων or Αὐξάνουσα . If so, the names in *l.4* do not have the *quasi-gentilicium/praenomen*. Potitos is an originally Latin name formed from a sobriquet (Anderson, 215; *IPhygChr*, p. 145).

Tation

The Phrygian name Tation, like Tatia, a familiar term for "mother" (cf. 6), may be used as a masculine name, but, given its derivation, is more frequently feminine; see L. Zgusta (1964: §1517-8) and cf. *CB* 2

[1897]: 632 (= *SEG* 6 [1932]: 235); Waelkens, 86-87 nos. 209, 211, 213 and Varinlioğlu "Uşak I" [1989]: 22 no. 7. The Tation in 44 is most likely also a woman. For the parallel use of Ammion as a derivative of Ammia, see *ad* 4.

Orthography

Note the phonological reduction of $-\epsilon\iota-$ to $-\iota-$ in the spelling of the sons' names (contrast *l.4* with *l.1*). The substitution of $-\epsilon\iota-$ for $-\iota-$ also occurs in the word $X\{\chi\}\rho\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\omicron[\iota\varsigma]$ (*l.6*) which uses an $-\eta-$ rather than $-\epsilon\iota-$ or $-\iota-$ in the first syllable; see *ad* 9.

A pair of lions

Carvings of lions, facing each other, with front paws on (skull of) slain bull or other animal(s) are extremely common on tombstones from the Upper Tembris Valley and the surrounding area; cf. 54. For further examples, see LBW 3, 5 [1870]: 817 (= Waelkens, 105-106 no. 248 [pl. 40]); *MAMA* 6 [1939]: 285 (pl. 51) = Waelkens, 119 no. 285 (pl. 40); Waelkens, 95-96 no. 225 (pl. 32 [= Gibson "Kütahya Museum" [1980]: 78 fig. 11], pl. 103); Waelkens, 101 no. 239 (pl. 38 = Gibson "Kütahya Museum," 78 fig. 9); Waelkens, 107 no. 251 (pl. 41 [= Gibson "Kütahya Museum," 78 fig. 10], pl. 103); Waelkens 119 no. 283 (pl. 38); Lochman "Reliefs Anatoliens" [1991]: 11-14 inscr. A (fig. 3). This symbol was characteristic of the cult of Cybele and, hence, it is somewhat surprising to find it used also by Christians; see Calder "Philadelphia," 350. Presumably, Phrygian Christians considered it a sufficiently neutral symbol in that it had developed from the earlier device of carving lions to represent guardians of the tomb; see Anderson, 194; cf. Lochman "Reliefs Anatoliens," 14-15.

Dolphins

Pairs of dolphins, often with fish in their mouths and/or swimming with fish, were also popular Phrygian tombstone decorations, especially in the Aizanitis, bordering the territory of Appia. For interesting examples, see Gibson "Kütahya Museum," 64 no. 6 (fig. 6); Waelkens, 77 no. 158 (pl. 29); and id., 87 no. 214 (pl. 11). In non-Christian contexts, dolphins symbolized the passage of the soul to the Elysian fields; see Gibson "Koc Collection," 3-4. Tombstones with dolphins, especially those accompanied by other fish, would have been natural choices for Christians, although Gibson (*ibid.*, 4) does not think the fish here signify Christianity. On the importance of the fish as a Christian symbol, see F.J. Dölger

(1910-1943); J. Engemann (1969: cols. 959-1097); and Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 24-26.

Date

Anderson (215) dates this epitaph slightly earlier than 25. He, however, following W.M. Ramsay ("Monuments I" [1888]: 253) had placed 25 late in III³ based on the (undoubtedly invalid) criterion of the "more fully-developed Christian nomenclature" in that inscription. The epitaph commissioned by Aurelios Tropheimos is more likely to be somewhat later than 25, but probably still around the time assumed by Anderson; i.e., around the middle of III³.

Montanist?

Because of its alleged Xp.-Xp. formula, this inscription has been claimed as belonging to the corpus of Montanist inscriptions by scholars such as Calder (cf. "Philadelphia," 337-338 with 321) and H. Leclercq ("Montaniste [épigraphie]", cols. 2529-2544 esp. 2531-2532). Claiming an inscription as Montanist on the sole basis of its use of the Xp.-Xp. formula is invalid; see pp. 147-151 above and *ad* 27. In this instance, even the claim that the inscription contained the Xp.-Xp. formula appears to be inaccurate.

27. A dated "Christians for Christians" inscription

Altıntaş [town], in the mosque

248/9

Ed. pr. — Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet *Exploration* I [1862]: 127 no. 90 (II.4-13 only) with facsimile of majuscule copy.

Rectangular funerary altar with protruding top and base, discovered in 1861. Right side of shaft damaged; parts of right edge broken away. Height: 0.77m.; width: 0.38m. (top), 0.36m. (shaft); thickness: 0.26-0.30m. No decoration. Sides bare. Inscription commences on rough face of protruding top (I.1). Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. Cursive *omegas*, although there are the remains of what may have been a "horse-shoe" *omega* between II.6 and 7. Perhaps there was a fault in the stone at the end of I.6 necessitating the carving of the final *omega* below the line. If so, the last word should be transcribed as *γαμβρῶ* rather than *γαμβρ[ῶ]*. Alternatively, this could be a case of dittography, an additional *omega*

added by the master engraver during proofreading. This assumes that the original *omega*, for some reason, was not clearly visible but does explain the different shape of the (second?) *omega*. The broken edge of the stone at the end of I.6, however, makes it impossible to be certain about either of these possibilities. It is clear, nevertheless, that either the master engraver or the original engraver inserted a small *sigma* in I.10 above the line in order to correct the omission of this letter from the word *Τελεσφόρω*. Ligatures at II.7, 10-11. Lettering slightly worn at left; partly missing on right. Letter height: 0.02m.-0.035m. Figure 29. Plate 18.

On face of protruding top:

[τ]λγ'.

On shaft:

Χρειστιανοὶ
Χρειστιανο[ις].
Αὐρ. Αμμεια
5 σὺν τῷ γαμβρ[ῶ]
αὐτῶν Ζωτι-
κῷ κὲ σὺν τοῖ[ς]
ἐγόνοις αὐτῶ[ν]
'Αλλεξανδρεῖα
10 κὲ Τελεσφόρω
κὲ 'Αλλεξάνδρω
συνβίῳ ἐποίη-
σαν.

[In the year] 333.

Christians for Christians.

5 Aurelia Ammeia, | with their son-in-law Zotikos and with
10 their grandchildren Allexandreia | and Telesphoros and Allex-
andros, constructed (this tomb) for her husband.

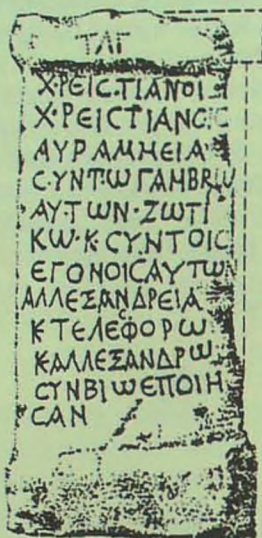


Fig. 29: Dated Xp.-Xp. inscription

Other edd.: Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 214 no. 11 with majuscule copy; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V" [1928]: 21-22 no. 231 with photograph; **IPhygChr* [1978a]: 22 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 337 no. 2; *IGRR* 4 [1927]: 609; *SEG* 6 [1932]: 141 (partial text only); Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2531 no. 2; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 801 no. 46; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 651-653 no. 17 with trans., facsimile, and photograph; id., "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 130-133 with trans.; Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 136-137 inser. B with trans.; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 50-51 no. 2.6 with trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1 Date not noted by Perrot in Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet; [ἔτους υ]λγ': Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [possible alternative restoration]. Partially illegible letters not indicated by Johnson here or elsewhere.
 l.2 Not recorded by Perrot.
 l.3 "Illisible": Perrot; Χρειστιαν[ῶ]: Anderson (Calder "Philadelphia"; *IGRR*; Leclercq); Χρειστιανο[ῖς]: Snyder does not indicate that *omikron* is only partly visible.
 l.4 --- καὶ Ἀμμε[ῖ] Perrot.
 l.5 σὺν τῷ γαμβρῷ: Perrot.
 l.7 κέ: Johnson does not mark *quasi*-ligature here or elsewhere; τοῖς: Perrot; Anderson (Calder "Philadelphia"; *IGRR*; Leclercq).

- l.8 ἐγ[γ]γόνους: Perrot; ἐ(γ)γόνους: Anderson (Calder "Philadelphia"; *IGRR*; Leclercq); αὐτῶν: Perrot.
 l.9 Ἀλεξανδρεῖα: Perrot, Anderson (Calder "Philadelphia"; *IGRR*; Leclercq); Ἀλλεξανδρεῖα: *SEG*.
 l.11 Ἀλεξάνδρω: Perrot; Ἀλλεξάνδρω: Anderson (Calder "Philadelphia"; *IGRR*); Ἀλ(λ)εξάνδρω: Leclercq.

Further references: Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 251-252 no. 2 with trans.; Anderson, 197-198; Calder "Philadelphia," 352; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 63 and n.1; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 705; Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: cols. 655-656; *IGRR* 4, p. 222 (*ad* no. 602); Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 14, 48 n.49; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 610 and n.96, 611 and n.100); *IPhygChr*, p. 4; Gibson "Kof Collection" [1978b]: 9; Tabbernee "Montanism," 350-353; P. Nautin (1979: 579); E. Des Places (1980: 172); Ferrua (1980: 175-176); S. Mitchell (1980: 202); F.W. Norris (1980: 448); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110 no. 11; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167, 169-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatic* [1981]: 503 no. 111; D. Feissel (1981: 370-371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 93); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 22); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 128-129; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 319; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 3, 16; Mitchell (1993: 105 and n.432); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.204); G.J. Johnson (1994: 353, 354, 362, 364 n.14); id., *Anatolia*, 39, 41, 42, 113, 115; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 100 and n.46, 194-195 and n.67); C. Trevett (1996: 207-208).

Photograph: Buckler/Calder/Cox, 21 fig. 1 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 6 no. 17).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 127; Anderson, 214 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 651).

Date and workshop

The reading τλγ', first suggested by W.M. Ramsay ("Monuments I," 251-252), is taken as secure by J.G.C. Anderson and adopted by all editors. Although considered questionable by some commentators (Ferrua, 175-176; Norris, 248), including myself ("Montanism," 350-353; "Christian Inscriptions," 130-133), I am now convinced that the restoration of the *tau* is correct. What I took earlier to be the remnants of the left hasta of an *upsilon* is simply an indentation in the stone. The style of the monument and the use of the *quasi*-*praenomen*, while not infallible criteria, are more likely to support τλγ' (i.e., 333 [Sullan era] = 248/9 C.E.) than υλγ' (i.e., 433 [Sullan era] = 348/9 C.E.).

Given the date and provenance, this stone was undoubtedly produced in one of the two workshops located at or near Soa; see *ad* 26. Of the two, it is more likely to have come from the one which produced Type C Altıntaş 2 monuments, but absolute certainty on this matter is not assured.

Ammeia and her family

On the name Ammia, here spelled with -ει-, see *ad* 34. The name of the deceased husband is not given in the text as it stands. Perhaps the names of Ammeia's husband and the third grandchild were identical. The original wording, to be copied by the engraver (*Il.11 ff.*) could have read $\kappa\epsilon$ 'Αλλεξανδρῳ συνβίῳ 'Αλλεξανδρῳ. The second 'Αλλεξανδρῳ may have been omitted inadvertently. Such haplographic errors were not uncommon; cf. 45 and see G. Susini (1973: 14-20). More likely, the engraver mistakenly carved an additional κ - before the Alexandros already in *l.11*, in which case *l.11* refers to the husband and there were only two grandchildren: Alexandrea and Telesphoros; see *IPhygChr*, p. 57.

"Christians for Christians"

Ramsay and Anderson, followed by W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia") and H. Leclercq ("Montaniste [épigraphie]") reconstructed the final letter in *l.3* as an *omega*. The resulting formula: Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανῷ ("Christians for a Christian") is grammatically correct. A number of Christians (Ammeia, Zotikos, Alexandrea, Telesphoros [and Alexandros?]) buried *one* Christian (Ammeia's husband). A squeeze taken of the stone by Calder, however, has shown that the last extant letter in *l.3* was probably not an *omega* but an *omikron*, necessitating the reconstruction Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανῶ[ις] ("Christians for Christians"). This, although contextually incorrect, is undoubtedly the proper reading (cf. 24-25). It is clear from 24 that the plural form of the formula became stereotyped as a result of familiarity. On the substitution of -ει- for -ι-, see *ad* 9 and L. Zgusta (1964: §57-17, 97-19).

Montanist?

This is the only dated inscription with a clear Xp.-Xp. formula discovered thus far. Given the stereotyped form on this formula, the formula, in its not yet stereotyped form, must have been in existence at least some time before c.248/9—even allowing for some inevitable overlap. This places the first use of the formula around 240, if not earlier; see *ad* 24. As already noted, because this was considered by Ramsay and especially by Calder as too early for open profession of mainstream Christianity, they classified the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions as Montanist; see pp. 147-150 above. However, the discovery of other mid-III (and earlier) Phrygian inscriptions containing the word "Christian(s)" since Ramsay and Calder proposed the Xp.-Xp. formula as a sure indicator of allegiance to the New Prophecy, shows that pre-Constantinian open profession of Christianity in Phrygia (South as well as North) was far more widespread

than the earlier scholars assumed. It was certainly not restricted to the Upper Tembris Valley and to that valley's characteristic use of the Xp.-Xp. formula. Unless all instances of pre-Constantinian open profession of Christianity in Phrygia (including the use of the single word Χριστιανός/-ή and the use of symbols such as the cross) are simply deemed Montanist, a case needs to be made in each instance to show that a particular inscription is Montanist. Taken by itself, the presence of the Xp.-Xp. formula is insufficient to claim that an inscription, such as the one under discussion here, is Montanist. There is no reason why mainstream Christians residing in the remote Upper Tembris Valley during the decade which preceded the Decian persecution should not have felt secure enough to declare unambiguously on their tombstones that the surviving relatives of deceased Christians were also Christians. Christianity was extremely strong in the Upper Tembris Valley. According to Mitchell (1993: 40 and n.241, 59 and n.46), who utilized an as yet unpublished analysis of 600 extant inscriptions from the region by M. Waelkens, Christians outnumbered the non-Christian population there well before the end of III. Even by c.240, Christians easily could have been a significant proportion of the population, without any concerns that open profession would, at some future stage, cause them difficulties. A decade later, following the Decian persecution, these Christians may have been (and probably were), at least for a time, more reluctant to employ the Xp.-Xp. formula, although its use in the Upper Tembris Valley is attested again not much later.

Apart from the circular argument based on the a priori view that the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions are Montanist, there is no epigraphic or literary support for the presence of Montanists in the Upper Tembris Valley during III. If Montanists resided there, we cannot identify them (unless, of course, the Xp.-Xp. formula can at some future time be shown by independent evidence to be peculiarly Montanist after all).

During IV, some Novatianists appear to have resided in the ancient settlement now occupied by Altıntaş town (see pp. 347-348 below), but the tombstone under discussion here precludes attributing the Xp.-Xp. formula to Novatianism as the inscription pre-dates the Novatian schism; see also Mitchell (1993: 105). This is not to say that Novatianists (and even Montanists!) could not, later, have utilized the Xp.-Xp. formula, but originally it was certainly not an exclusively Novatian formula.

In light of the absence of conclusive evidence supporting a Montanist interpretation, it is prudent to view this epitaph as having been commissioned by mainstream Christians. The same applies to all the other Xp.-Xp. epitaphs from the Upper Tembris Valley, unless, in particular in-

stances, it can be shown that the Christians who erected the tombstones were schismatics of some kind.

28. From their own resources

Kuyucak

III²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 227 no. 23 with facsimile of majuscule copy.

Rectangular fragment of grayish marble stele, with simple moulded borders. Broken on all sides. Moulding extant at upper left only. Overall measurements not provided by J.G.C. Anderson nor by C.W.M. Cox, who photographed the stone and copied the text [published in *MAMA* 10 (1993)] in 1926. Measurements of inscribed area provided by eds. of *MAMA* 10. Height: 0.285m.; width: 0.29m. Original artwork, if any apart from leaf at end of l.6, worn away. Extant inscription in upper left quadrant. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Letter height: 0.025-0.032m. **Figure 30. Plate 15.**

[---] ΟΙΩ τῷ

ἐαντῶν συν-

γενὶ ἐκ τῶν

ἰδίων ἐποίη-

5 σαν. Χριστια-

νοὶ Χριστια- (*leaf*)

νῶ.

... for their own relative, from their own (resources), constructed (this tomb). | Christians for a Christian.

Other *edd.*: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 23 with trans.; **MAMA* 10 [1993]: 8 with photographs.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 342 no. 11; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2532-2533 no. 11; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 656 no. 21 with trans. and facsimile; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiate* [1981]: 500 no. 92 with French trans.; G.J. Johnson (1994: 355).



Fig. 30: Xp.-Xp. tombstone from Kuyucak

Variant readings:

l.1 [. . .] | οἱ φ: *MAMA*; . . . φ [τ]ῷ Anderson (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee; Blanchetière); ----- ω τῷ: *IPhyrgChr*.

l.2 ἐ[α]ντῶν: all *edd.* prior to *MAMA*.

l.3 ἐκ τῶν: Leclercq.

Further references: Anderson, 199; Calder "Philadelphia," 352, 353; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 787; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-169); D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 23); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 201; Johnson, 354, 362; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: *MAMA* 10, plate 1 no. 8a [of squeeze], 8b [of stone].

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 227 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 656).

Christian relatives

Although the name of the deceased and the names of the dedicators are missing, the word $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ (= $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$) shows that they were related. Perhaps the deceased was a cousin; cf. 6, 51. Anderson suggested an *iota subscript* for the first extant letter (*l.1*), presumably on the assumption that the *omega* was the last letter of the name of the deceased and that, therefore, it should be dative. While this is not impossible, it is by no means certain and, hence, it is best to follow E. Gibson (*IPhyrgChr*, p. 58) in leaving the *omega* without *iota subscript* and not translating it. Both the (still living) relatives and the deceased were Christians as shown by the Xp.-Xp. formula.

The cost of burial

Unlike in 3, the cost of purchasing the burial plot and of commissioning the tombstone was not borne by the church but by the deceased's relatives, as indicated by the common phrase $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$; cf. inscription from near Ahat published by Th. Drew-Bear (1976b: 248-249 no. 2 [pl. 7]).

Date and workshop

Presumably there was only one deceased person named in the, now missing, earlier part of the inscription along with a number of that person's still living relatives. While it is impossible to confirm that the Xp.-Xp. formula, as given here (*ll.5-7*), conforms contextually to the rest of the text, this is most likely. There is no evidence of the pre-stereotyped version of the formula having been used incorrectly by employing the singular ending to denote more than one actually deceased person. The not yet stereotyped use of the formula suggests that this is one of the earlier Xp.-Xp. inscriptions. It was probably produced in the workshop at Soa, which also manufactured Type C Altıntaş 2 doorstones; see *ad* 26.

Montanist?

Unless all Xp.-Xp. inscriptions are taken to be Montanist, there is no reason to consider this inscription as having been set up by Christians other than those belonging to the official church; see *ad* 27.

29. A dove perched on a basket

Karaağaç, in fountain below village

III^{2,3}

Ed. pr.—Calder "Notebook" [1929] 268 no. 2 (designated Cox, no. 2).

Upper part of a white marble doorstone: Type E Altıntaş 2 (see below) with arched pediment and floating akroteria (left one missing). Broken above, on left, and below. Height: 0.23m. (fragment), 0.135m. (pediment); width: 0.33m.; thickness: 0.09m. Semicircular arch contains low relief of dove perched on basket. The stele appears to have been re-used, as what the eds. of *MAMA* 10 [1993] take to be Arabic writing is carved to the right of basket. The only visible Greek text, first copied by C.W.M. Cox and A. Cameron in 1926, is on the fascia below arch. Presumably there was a more extensive text on the shaft. Cursive *sigmas*. Final *sigma* carved above line. Letter height: 0.0125m.-0.02m. **Figure 31. Plate 3.**

[Χριστι]ανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς.

Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: **MAMA* 10 [1993]: 146 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 165; *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 18; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 658 no. 23 with trans.

Variant reading:

l.1 Χριστιανοῖς: *MAMA*, the *alpha*, however, is quite clear on the photograph.

Further references: *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 237-238; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 117; D. Feissel (1981: 370); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92 n.1); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 18); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362); W.H.C. Frend (1996: 195 and n.74).

Photograph: *MAMA* 10, plate 15 no. 146.

Workshop

This doorstone appears to have been produced in the second main workshop at or near Soa; on which, see *ad* 26. It is of the type designated

by M. Waelkens as Type E (*Türsteine* [1986]: plate 107); see *MAMA* 10, p. 45.

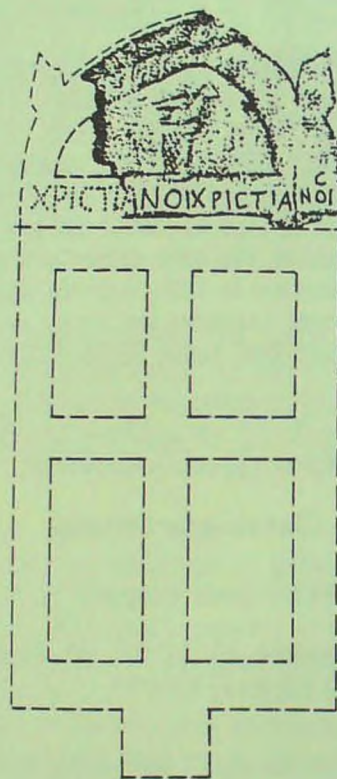


Fig. 31: Pediment with
dove perched on basket

Bird on a basket

Birds on baskets decorate a number of other *stelai* from the Upper Tembris Valley: e.g., Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 205 no. 1 = Gibson "Kütahya Museum" [1980]: 72 no. 14 (fig. 27); *MAMA* 6 [1939]: 285 (pl. 51) = Waelkens, 119 no. 285 (pl. 40); Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 15-18 no. 3 (pl. 3 [a]); 20-23 no. 5 (pl. 4 [a]) = Waelkens, 99 no. 233 (pl. 35); Gibson "Koç Collection," 23-24 no. 6 (pl. 4 [b]) = Waelkens, 94-95 no. 223 (pl. 32); Waelkens, 101 no. 237

(pl. 36 [= Gibson "Kütahya Museum," 80 figs. 16 (1, 2)], pl. 103); and Waelkens, 118 no. 280 (pl. 36 [= Gibson "Kütahya Museum," 79 fig. 12]). A knitting basket is a common motif on Phrygian tombstones, symbolizing the industriousness of the woman (or women) named in the inscription; see *ad* 5. According to E. Gibson ("Koç Collection," 3), the bird perched on top of the basket perhaps signified that "a woman sings while she works." Although W.M. Calder referred to the bird in this particular pediment as a dove (cf. 72, 75, 88, 94), it may well have been another type of bird. For the depiction of half a bird on half a basket, see 42. For two birds facing a basket, see 57. Doves, of course, were especially appropriate for Christian tombstones; see *ad* 75.

Xp.-Xp. formula and possible Montanist nature

The first part of the text has had to be restored, but there is little doubt in this case (contrast 46) that the restoration is accurate; cf. 42. On the placement of the formula at the beginning of the text, see *ad* 50. Calder (266-268) considered this inscription to belong to the corpus of Montanist inscriptions. However, the presence of the Xp.-Xp. formula, by itself, does not prove the Montanist allegiance of the deceased or the dedicators mentioned on the tombstone; see *ad* 27.

30. Another "Christians for Christians" inscription?

Upper Tembris Valley, precise provenance
not provided by *ed. pr.*

260/1(?)

Ed. pr. — Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 253-254 no. 5 (trans. only).

Small fragment of gravestone or funerary altar, with low relief. No measurements provided. Only part of end of text extant when W.M. Ramsay copied it. Pair of yoked oxen in broad gap between l.2 and l.3. Text, with great deal of restoration, provided in translation only by *ed. pr.* No details of letter shape or size. No line drawing/facsimile or photograph published.

2 [Ιουλ]ιος Ὀνησί[μου] --^{c?}--
[Χρηστ]ιανὸς [Χρηστ]ιανῶ.

Below yoked oxen:

Ἔτους τι[ε]’.

Ioulios son of Onesimos, (provided this tomb for . . .).
A Christian for a Christian.

In the year 345.

Other *ed.*: Tabbernee “Montanism” [1978]: 680 no. 35 with suggested Greek text and trans.

Variant reading:

l.1 [Ιουλ]ιος υιοῦ Ὀνησί[μου]: Tabbernee.

l.3 τι[α?]: Tabbernee.

Further references: Calder “Anatolian Heresies” [1923b]: 62 n.2; A. Ferrua (1978: 610); Tabbernee, 350.

Restoration of text

Ramsay (254) supplied Ioulios merely as *exempli gratia*. This restoration is plausible as Latin *gentilicia* were used as individual names in Asia Minor; see *ad* 34. The restoration of the name Onesimos seems secure; cf. 50 and see *ad* 16. Ramsay’s restoration of the Χρ.–Χρ. formula, although theoretically possible, is far too speculative. There is no reason why the extant letters could not have been part of a name such as Ἀπφιανός, Μαρκιανός, or Τατιανός. No one after Ramsay has cited this fragmentary epitaph as a Χρ.–Χρ. inscription. See *ad* 38 for a discussion of oxen decorating Phrygian tombstones.

Date and alleged Montanist nature

The third alphabetic numeral must have ranged from α’ to θ’. This gives a date between τι[α], i.e., 341 “Sullan era” = 256/7 C.E. and τι[θ], i.e., 349 “Sullan era” = 264/5 C.E. Ramsay (254) himself preferred a date between 260 and 265 C.E. to allow time for the impact of the Decian persecution (c.249-251) to have settled down, thus, at least theoretically, providing a climate enabling Christians to exhibit a greater boldness in the expression of their religion on their epitaphs than they would have felt free to do a few years earlier. Ramsay’s whole theory, of course, presupposed the correctness of his restoration in l.2. Because of the extremely doubtful restoration, it is best not to consider this even a potentially Montanist epitaph.

31. “Christians for Christians” on a sarcophagus

Aslanapa, in field near village

III¹-IV¹

Ed. pr. — *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 275 with photograph.

Sarcophagus of grayish marble, with stepped socle moulding and semicylindrical lid with akroteria. Sarcophagus broken halfway up. Height: 0.70(?)m.; length: 2.45m.; width: 1.34m. Decorated with a wreath encircling a Latin cross (cf. 38). Discovered by C.M.W. Cox and A. Cameron in 1926. Ligatures at l.6. Letter height not provided. Cox’s photograph, published in *MAMA* 10, is not sufficiently clear to produce line drawing/facsimile. **Plate 27.**

[Αἰ]ψα πανύστατε παρθένε κείσαι
[δεσποίν]ης δεινῆς οἴστρον ἔχουσα μόρῳ
[- -]αι ἐνὺνφεύθης οὐδ’ ἰς λέχος ἤρμοσε πατήρ
[ἀλ]λ’ ὀλοαὶ κώκυσαν Ἐρηνύες ἰς Ἀχέροντα
5 [ο]ὔνομα δις Κύριλλα γονεῦσι Κατυλλα Μένανδρος
κὲ Ὀνήσιμος κὲ Ἀλεξανδρία νύμφη
ἀνφότεροι Πλούτωνος ἀνηλέος ἦσαν ὑπουργοὶ
ἦν γὰρ ἔδι κάμοισι βρέμειν ταύτην τάφοις
ἔστεφάνωσεν.

Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς.

Suddenly, a last(-born) maiden is lying (here)
—subjected to Destiny, dread Mistress’ sting—
though she was betrothed, her father had not (yet) united
her in marriage
—the destructive Furies meanwhile howling to Acheron—

- 5 (she was) | a second (daughter with the) name Kyrilla (born)
to her parents Katulla (and) Menandros, and Onesimos and
his wife Alexandria (were her brother and sister-in-law)
—both [the Furies and Acheron] were servants of Pluto in
the underworld—
for she, who should have been reveling in merry-making [at
her own wedding feast], is this one whom he has garlanded
in burial.
Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 269 no. 4 (l.9 only; designated Cox, no. 4).

Text reprinted and discussed: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 24 (l.9 only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 658 no. 24 (l.9 only) with trans.

Variant readings:

l.2 [δεσποίν]ης: MAMA.

l.3 [οὐκέτι] ἐνυμφεύθη: Cox (unpublished transcription).

Further references: *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 237-238; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 119; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92 n.1); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 24); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); MAMA, xxxix-xl; S. Mitchell (1993: 40 n.241); *BE* [1994]: 751; G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362); W.H.C. Frend (1996: 195 and n.74).

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 32 no. 275.

Provenance, workshop, and date

According to the eds. of MAMA 10 (p. 89), this kind of sarcophagus was manufactured at the quarries near modern Göynükören (7:G4) and is typical of Aizanoi, which lay 16km. to the S.W. of Göynükören. As Aslanapa, where this sarcophagus was found, is only 8km. S.E. of Göynükören, it is most likely that the inscription as well as the sarcophagus itself was carved in the branch workshop located near the quarry. This subsidiary of the main Aizanoi workshop, as well as prefabricating doorstones, other types of steles, and sarcophagi, completed items for a local and nearby regional market; see R. Naumann (1979: 79-80); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 48, 87. If the sarcophagus was indeed produced completely in this branch workshop, or, as is also likely, it was finished in the main workshop at Aizanoi (24km. W. of Aslanapa), we have here the only clear example of the Xp.-Xp. formula on a monument not made in the Plain of Altıntaş—although, if completed at the ancient settlement near Göynükören, it may still be counted as having been crafted in the Upper Tembris Valley, even though this settlement was within the territory of Aizanoi; cf. 53 and see pp. 315-316 below. The use of the Xp.-Xp. formula at or near Aizanoi may be explained, in general, either by a specific request from a client who had seen the formula on other tombstones in the Upper Tembris Valley or by the presence of a journeyman-sculptor who had formerly worked in one of the workshops in the Plain of Altıntaş which specialized in Xp.-Xp. monuments; on which see ad 26. Not to be ruled out altogether, of course, is the (less likely?)

possibility that the sarcophagus was exported to one of those workshops and that the inscription was added there. In that case, it would be merely coincidental that the sarcophagus ended up so close to where it was manufactured.

Whatever the precise details of its origins, the sarcophagus and its inscription was presumably produced during III³⁻⁴ or early IV; see MAMA 10, p. 89.

Kyrilla's epitaph

The metrical epitaph on the sarcophagus under discussion here consists of eight lines, to which is added the Xp.-Xp. formula as a ninth line. Ll.1-8 comprise an elegiac couplet, three hexameters, a line with a hexameter ending, a hexameter, and an expanded hexameter; see MAMA 10, p. 89. Apart from l.6 which breaks the pattern by augmenting the information about Kyrilla's family commenced in l.5, every second line calls up images from classical mythology to underscore the tragic death of Kyrilla whose own brief story is told in ll.1, 3, 5-6, and 8. In l.8, the intended subject who has "garlanded" Kyrilla is (perhaps purposely) left ambiguous.

On the popularity of the names Kyrilla and Onesimos in Christian circles, see ad 25 and 16 respectively. For the name Menandros, cf. 11 and 47. On the metrical epitaphs of the Upper Tembris Valley, see ad 59.

Xp.-Xp. formula

The text of the formula here is certain; contrast 46. It is a stereotyped version in that it does not accord grammatically with the data presented by the epitaph itself. Only one person, Kyrilla, is buried in the sarcophagus. Consequently, the formula should have read Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῇ (cf. 42, 52). For other metrical epitaphs employing the Xp.-Xp. formula, see 60-62. This is the only known example of the Xp.-Xp. formula on a sarcophagus. See 10-11, 13, 69, and perhaps 1-2 (see ad 2) for Christian inscriptions on other sarcophagi.

Orthography

For the spelling of "Christians" with *eta*, see ad 9. This epitaph also contains a number of common vowel substitutions; e.g., -αι- for -η- (l.4), -η- for -ι- (l.4), -ου- for -ο- (l.5), -ι- for -ει- (l.8) as well as the common substitution of the consonant -v- for -μ- (ll.3, 6, 7).

Montanist?

Despite W.M. Calder's view (266-269) that this inscription is Montanist, the mere presence of the $\chi\rho$.- $\chi\rho$. formula is insufficient evidence; see *ad* 27.

Part IV**Montanist
and Allegedly Montanist
Inscriptions*****c.*275-313 C.E.**

Introduction

Literary sources reveal little substantive about the history of Montanism from c.275 to the time of Constantine. They are almost totally silent about the movement's continued existence in Phrygia during this period and provide not much more data about Montanist communities elsewhere in Asia Minor or in other parts of the Empire. That such communities existed is apparent from some incidental references which, unfortunately, merely provide a few tantalizing, but ambiguous, details.

Phrygia

Montanism continued to thrive in the land of its origin at least until the persecution under John of Ephesus in c.550.¹ The surviving literature, not surprisingly, confines itself to descriptions of Montanism's beginnings in Phrygia and of its later development there. Any details about Phrygian Montanism during the years 275-313 derived from the literary sources must be read back from later, mainly anti-Montanist, writings whose authors only provide imprecise information—especially about the time when certain events occurred. For example, Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (c.367-403), states that at the time he wrote against the Montanists (c.375/6) Pepouza was a deserted place, having been razed to the ground (*haer.* 48.14.1). Despite the obvious polemical exaggeration in that, as Epiphanius himself explains, contemporary Montanists still venerated Pepouza as a place of pilgrimage (*ibid.*, 48.14.2)—which would suggest that at least some buildings such as a church and hostels for pilgrims must have existed there;² could there be some truth in Epiphanius' statement? If so, when did such a destruction of Pepouza occur, even if the town was later rebuilt, perhaps in stages? W.M. Calder

¹ See 1 and 2.

² It is also possible that Aetius, the leader of Anomoean Arianism, was exiled to Pepouza c.356 (*Philost., h.e.* 4.8); see Calder "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 363 who points out the grim humor portrayed by the choice of the place of exile.

speculated that the destruction happened during the Great Persecution, identifying Pepouza with the Christian town in Phrygia which was totally burned by soldiers at this time (Eus., *h.e.* 8.9.1; cf. Lact., *inst.* 5.11).³ This identification, however, is by no means certain, and whatever happened to Pepouza, if anything, could as easily have occurred after the Great Persecution as during it.

Similarly, although Epiphanius (*haer.* 49.2.1) informs us that in his day there were Montanist subjects, such as the Quintillians,⁴ he does not indicate when these came into being.

Galatia

If the *Life of Saint Theodotos of Ankyra* is to be trusted, its hero was martyred at Ankyra during the persecution of Maximin Daia (in c.312) and his body buried at nearby Malos (*M. Thdot.* 20-36). Much of the story cannot be other than pious fiction.⁵ Nevertheless, some of Theodotos' traits and other details may indicate that Theodotos was a Montanist and that the account of his life and death provide information about the Montanist community at Ankyra during his time.⁶ The evidence, however, is ambiguous. Most of what is said about Theodotos could also apply to a leader of the official church.⁷ That Montanists existed in Ankyra during III and in IV¹ need not be doubted, as other evidence indicates that they were (still) there later.⁸ Nor is the development of the cult of Saint Theodotos to be questioned since, in addition to the *Life* itself, it is attested by late epigraphic data (88-89). It is illegitimate, however, to argue from the later existence of the cult for the authenticity of the details provided by the *Life* about Montanism at Ankyra in IV¹. Some of the material may well be accurate, but this is not proved.

Other provinces in Asia Minor

As already noted, Epiphanius reports both that the Montanist community in Thyateira in Lydia had merged with the catholic church in that city shortly before the start of the period under consideration here and that a Montanist community remained in existence in Cappadocia until

³ Calder "New Monument" [1923c]: 85; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 301-302; id., "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 362-364.

⁴ See pp. 346-347 below.

⁵ See H. Delehaye (1903: 320-328) and C. Foss (1977: 35 n.28).

⁶ H. Grégoire and P. Orgels (1951: 165-184) and Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 93-113.

⁷ See ad 88

⁸ See pp. 350-351 below.

his own time.⁹ Literary sources provide no further details about the Montanist presence in these or any other provinces in Asia Minor.

Rome

Although there is no doubt that Montanism continued to thrive in Rome,¹⁰ literary data are non-existent for the period from c.275 until 313.

Palestine

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (c.313-339), wrote the first draft of his *Ecclesiastical History* while still a layman. This draft, consisting of Books 1-7, was composed perhaps as early as c.295,¹¹ and certainly no later than the outbreak of the Great Persecution in 303. All of Eusebius' references to Montanism are contained in Books 1-7 (2.25.5; 4.27; 5.3.4; 5.16-19; 6.20.3). None betrays any hint that there were Montanists at Caesarea or elsewhere in Palestine. The long recension of Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*, however, reveals in passing that a woman named Thekla and some of her companions martyred at Gaza, late in 304 as a result of Diocletian's fourth edict, were Phrygians (*m.P.* 3.2). This detail, not included in the short recension, almost certainly means, in this instance,¹² that they all belonged to "the Phrygian heresy," i.e., to Montanism.¹³ How and when Montanism had spread to Palestine is not mentioned. If this had occurred half a century or more previously, Origen (and Eusebius) may have had some first-hand knowledge of the movement after all—but, in the absence of any evidence, this is unlikely.

Inscriptions

Theoretically, at least, the comparative silence of the literary sources about Montanism between c.275 and 313 may be shattered by voices of stone. Not surprisingly, even more inscriptions than for earlier periods have been claimed as Montanist by previous editors. These claims have been made primarily on the basis of pre-Constantinian open profession

⁹ See respectively pp. 136-138 and 135-136 above.

¹⁰ See pp. 343-345 and 471-473 below.

¹¹ R. Laqueur (1929: esp. 210-212); T.D. Barnes (1980: 191-201); R.M. Grant (1980: 10-21, esp. 14-15).

¹² Unlike Quintus (*M. Polyc.* 4), whose designation Φρύξ, I believe, cannot be taken as a clear indication of his Montanism, but see G. Buschmann (1995b: 105-145, esp. 111-112); see also pp. 138-139 above.

¹³ So Barnes (1981: 151, 356 n.29).

of Christianity. Once again, such profession is exhibited on the monuments discussed here by means of Christian symbols (32-33, 38, 40, 42-44, 46-49), the single word Christian(s) (34, 36-38, 57), and the Xp.-Xp. formula (38-52). The remaining inscriptions in this part of the corpus have been linked to Montanism by means of a connection with other supposedly Montanist inscriptions (35, 53) or because of their allegedly Montanist symbols (54-55) or terminology (56). All the inscriptions come from Phrygia, apart from one (probably) from Kadoi (57) on the border of Phrygia and Mysia. Even the epigraphic data, therefore, does not tell us much about Montanism outside of Phrygia during c.275-313. What it conveys about Montanism in Phrygia depends upon the strength of the case that can be made in respect of each inscription's connection with Montanism.

Inscriptions

Phrygia

Eumeneia

Map 8:E5 (Central Phrygia). Founded by Attalos II Philadelphos (c.159-138 B.C.E.), in honor of his brother Eumenes II, at the foot of a large hill in the Upper Meander Valley, Eumeneia (modern Işıklı) was a thriving city during the time of the Roman Empire. It was linked by major roads to Akmonia (8:B5) via Sebaste (8:D4), Eukarpia (8:D7), and Apameia (8:G7). The latter lay 42km. to the S.W. and Eumeneia belonged to the conventus iudicis which met there. Eumeneia's territories bordered those of Sebaste to the N.; Eukarpia to the N.E.; Stektorion (8:E7) to the E.; Apameia to the S.E.; and Dionysopolis (8:F3), a city also founded by Attalos, to the S.W. See CB 2 [1897]: pp. 353-373; V. Schultze (1922: 461-470); W. Ruge (1941: col. 828); C. Habicht (1975: 85); IPhrygDB [1978]: 55, 62, 112-114; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 218-220; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 180, 186; TIB 7 [1990]: 251-252.

32. A Eumeneian bishop

İşikli

III⁴


Ed. pr. — Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. III" [1926]: 73-74 no. 200 with photograph.

Funerary altar with upper moulding, including akroteria (right one broken away). Lower shaft broken and missing. (Extant) height: 0.46m.; width: 0.34m. (top), 0.30m. (shaft); thickness: 0.34m. (top), 0.30m. (shaft). Inscription commences on moulding and continues on shaft. Christogram (0.038m.) carved as part of *l.2*. No other decorations on extant section. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Bull's horn" *omega*. Ligatures at *ll.1-3*. Letter height: 0.024m. (*l.1*), 0.038m. (*ll.2-4*). Figure 32. Plate 10.

On moulding:

Αὐρ. Γλυκων[ίδης]

On shaft:

Εὐμενεὺς  ἐπίσ-
κοπος κατεσκεύ[α-]
[σ]εν τὸ σὺνκρο[υσ-]
5 [τον ---^{c.10} ---]

Aurelios Glykonides, citizen of Eumeneia, a [i.e., Christian]
bishop, prepared the burial-chamber . . .

Other ed.: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 41 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: J. Finegan (1969: 233 [*ll.2-3a* only]); Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 111-112; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 638-639 no. 5 with photograph; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 495 no. 23 with French trans.

Variant readings:

l.1 Αὐρ.: Calder in Buckler/Calder/Cox does not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere, apart from the *epsilon*, *sigma*, and final *omikron* in *l.4*.

l.2 Εὐμενεὺς Χρ(ιστιανός): Calder (Finegan; Gibson "Montanism"; *IPhyrgChr*; Tabbernee; Blanchetière); Χρ(ιστοῦ): *IPhyrgChr* [alternate, preferred reading].

l.5 [τον . . .]: Calder (Tabbernee; Blanchetière); [τον ---]: *IPhyrgChr*.

Further references: K. Kourouniotes (1925: 419); *IPhyrgChr*, p. 139; H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 115 no. 12 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92, 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 41); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 252; S. Mitchell (1993: 41 and n.244).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 11 no. 200 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 2 no. 5).



Fig. 32: Monument erected by
Bishop Aurelios Glykonides

Christogram

The clear Christogram (*l.2*) is best transcribed as it stands rather than taken as a specific abbreviation for Χρ(ιστιανός) or Χρ(ιστοῦ). It simply designates Glykonides to have been a bishop of those who are the followers of Χρ(ιστός). Although popularized by Constantine, its use in Christian circles predates Constantine's conversion to Christianity, as indicated by Constantine's own knowledge that the *chi-rho* was a Christian symbol *before* the battle at the Milvian Bridge in Rome (Eus., *v.C.* 1.26-29; cf. Lact., *mort.* 44.3-6). Another inscription from Eumeneia (*CB* 2

[1897]: 371), able to be dated accurately to c.270 on the basis of *CB* 2.372, contains the Eumeneian formula (cf. 20) concluding with the variant TON ✕ (I.11) instead of the usual TON ΘΕΟΝ; cf. *MAMA* 7 [1956]: 96. The symbol, originally non-Christian, was adopted by Christians (including those in Phrygia) no later than III³ and appears, in the form ✕, on inscriptions during III⁴; see *CB* 2, pp. 502, 527-529, 739; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 52 (Appia). On the development of the Christogram in the Constantinian period and its separateness from the staurogram, which employed a *tau-rho* combination (Ⳬ) to signify Christianity by means of a reference to the cross of Christ, see *ibid.*, 739; E. Dinkler (1962: 93-112); M. Black (1970: 319-327); Wischmeyer (1979: 539-550); and H.R. Seeliger (1989: 149-169). For further examples of Christograms, see 33, 71, 84, and cf. 76 and 92. *Contra* M. Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 198 and n.523), the *chi-rho* in this inscription is not an abridged Xp.-Xp. formula; see also *ad* 33.

Date

By the end of III, Christians at Eumeneia made up a significant proportion (perhaps the majority?) of the population; see *CB* 2, pp. 502-507; Mitchell, 40-41 and *ad* 12. Since at least III¹, the Christians of Eumeneia had professed their faith by means of the formula now named after them, one of the most interesting of which (*CB* 2.363 = Buckler/Calder/Cox, 58 no. 177), not only concludes with the variant ἔστε | αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεό[v] (II.11-12) but attests the existence of a Eumeneian Christian *episkopos* named Metrodoros (II.3-5). W.M. Ramsay (*CB* 2, pp. 521-522) dated Metrodoros' tombstone to c.200-215. Calder (Buckler/Calder/Cox, p. 74), however, on the premise that use of the variant is unlikely to be earlier than mid III, dated the two inscriptions mentioning Metrodoros and Aurelios Glykonides to c.250-300. Waelkens' redating of the earliest known Eumeneian-formula inscription to III¹ (see p. 145 above) and the use of the title ἐπίσκοπος in 3 and 5, able to be dated accurately to 200-210 and III² respectively, suggest that Metrodoros' tombstone may belong to III¹ after all (cf. *EG* 4 [1978]: 386) and that the monument erected by Glykonides could even be slightly earlier than 250—although, on account of the *quasi-praenomen* must be post-212. If so, however, the first use of the Christogram with the form ✕ must also be redated. In the absence of extant Phrygian monuments with both a clear pre-250 date and a *chi-rho* carved on them, it is best to retain, at least provisionally, Calder's dating but to narrow it to III⁴—*contra* my own earlier view ("Montanism," 639) and that of others (e.g., Wischmeyer [1980b: 170]) that the Christogram here signifies a Constantinian or post-Constantinian date.

A Christian burial chamber

The monument containing this inscription would have been erected on the flat top of the burial chamber. These chambers, common in Eumeneia, were often quite large, accommodating multiple burials. Access to the chamber was via a door, at which one was presumably to knock (κρούειν) as a sign of respect for the deceased who "inhabited" this οἶκος αἰώνιος (cf. 17)—explaining the derivation of σύνκρουστον (II.4-5); see *CB* 2, pp. 367 and n.2, 381. Although it is possible that Aurelios Glykonides commissioned the construction of the burial chamber for his own family, it is more likely, given his title ἐπίσκοπος and the Christogram, that he was acting on behalf of the Christian community. Perhaps the chamber was to accommodate those to be buried ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ; cf. 3.

Montanist?

A. Strobel (115) considers this a possibly Montanist inscription, with the title ἐπίσκοπος designating not a diocesan bishop but a (Montanist) local bishop. Given that the use of Christian symbols was much earlier and more widespread than once thought, there is little doubt, however, that Glykonides was an "orthodox" bishop and that the inscription reflects open profession of mainstream Christianity at Eumeneia; cf. *IPhrygChr*, 139; Mitchell, 40-41.

Apameia

Map 8:G7 (Phrygia). See pp. 162-163 above.

33. A Christogram and an abbreviated "Christians for Christians" formula?

Dinar, in vineyard

III⁴-IV¹

Ed. pr. — *MAMA* 6 [1939]: 234 with photograph.

Rough block, broken at top left corner and crumbling at edges. Small hole in center. Height: 0.85.; width 1.28m.; thickness not provided. Central section of stone contains recessed panel with beveled edges. Main inscription commences on rough surface above panel (I.1, which includes Christogram [?]) and continues across top beveled edge (I.2) onto the panel (II.3-10). Sepulchral threat (II.11-17) is carved on

rough surface at left of panel. Quadratic *epsilons*, but both quadratic and cursive *sigmas* in main inscription. Cursive *omegas* in ll.1-10. Quadratic *omegas* and *sigmas* in ll.11-17. Final *alpha* of l.8 carved slightly lower than rest of line. Lunate *mu* in l.9. Haplography in l.7. Quasi-dittography in l.8. Ligatures at l.5, 14, 16. Interpuncts after *omega* and after *pi* in l.1. Letter height of main inscription: 0.045m.-0.07m. (l.1); 0.03m.-0.05m. (ll.2-10); of second part: 0.025m.-0.04m. **Figure 33. Plate 30.**

Above panel:

ΖΩ·ΕΠΙ·Δ·XXPEI

On beveled horizontal frame:

Αὐρή(λιος) Οὐάλης β' ταυρεινᾶς

Within panel:

κατεσκευάσα{ς} τὸ ἡρώον
 5 ἔμαντῶ καὶ τῇ συνζύγῳ Λου-
 λιανῇ καὶ τοῖς (vac.) κειμένοις
 μετὰ ὑμῶν· (vac.) εἰ δὲ θέλῃ τεις
 οἰστέα βαρῆσ·ε· ἔσται (vac.) αὐτῶ
 πρὸς τὸν ἐξ{σ}ουσειάζον·τα πά-
 10 σης ψυχῆς· μὴ τεις ἀνύ-
 ξεις, ὁ ὅρος μέγα·ς· εἰστί.

At left of panel:

Ὅς ἄν
 ὁστέον ἔ-
 νθε βά-
 λῃ ποτὲ
 15 ἔξω ἔσται
 αὐτῶ πρὸς
 τὸν Θεόν.

.....✠.....

I, Aurelios Valens, son of Valens, cobbler, have prepared the
 5 tomb for myself and for my wife Louliana | and for those who
 lie (here) with (us); but if anyone should wish to weigh down
 my bones [by placing other bones on top of mine] that person
 10 will be answerable to the One who has authority over every
 soul; let no one open | (the tomb), the boundary (of which) is
 15 extensive. Whoever, at any time, should throw a bone out of
 here | shall be answerable to God.



Fig. 33: Inscription on a cobbler's tomb

Other ed.: *IPhrygChr [1978a]: 40.

Text reprinted and discussed: BE [1939]: 402 (l.1 only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 646-647 nos. 13a, b with photograph; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 72-73 no. 2.19 with trans.

Variant readings:

- l.3 κατασκευάσα{ς}: IPhrygChr (Johnson).
 l.4 ἔμαντῶ: MAMA (Tabbernee); ἔμαντῶ: IPhrygChr (Johnson).
 ll.4-5 Λουλιανῇ: other edd. do not indicate partially illegible letters here or elsewhere, apart from MAMA (IPhrygChr) regarding *sigma* in l.5 and *tau* in l.9 (the latter, however, is clearly visible on the photograph).
 l.5 καὶ: Johnson does not indicate ligature here or elsewhere.
 l.8 ἐξουσειάζοντα: MAMA (Tabbernee); ἐξουσειάζοντα: IPhrygChr (Johnson).

II.12-13 ἔ|νθω: Johnson.

I.14 ποτέ: earlier *edd.* do not indicate ligature here nor in I.16.

Further references: Calder "Eumeneian Formula" [1939b]: 22; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 108, 113, 117 n.27; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100); *IPhyrgChr*, p. 139; H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 114-115 no. 11 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168, 170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 497 no. 53; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigby (1981: 92, 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 40); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-129, 139; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 189; S. Mitchell (1993: 41 n.244); Johnson, 41, 113, 115.

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 41 no. 234 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 5 no. 13a).

"Answerable to God"

The tomb of Aurelios Valens, son of Valens (or "Valens the younger"; cf. 17 where δῖς is used instead of β') is protected by a double use of the Eumeneian formula (on which, see *ad* 20). Apart from Valens himself, his wife Louliane and other authorized people (family members?), no one else is allowed to be buried in the tomb. Persons violating this prohibition will be accountable to God. The normally neutral reference to God (cf. II.15-17) is made more explicit by substituting τὸν ἐξουσιάζοντα πάσης ψυχῆς for τὸν θεόν in II.8-9—the first time the formula appears in this inscription. Taken by itself the reference to "the one who has authority over every soul" is not necessarily to the God of the Christians. However, linked with the Christogram (see below) and other possibly Christian abbreviations in I.1, there is no doubt that the Christian God is intended; see also *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 405 n. 5. The use of πός for πρὸς (I.8) is common on Phrygian tombstones with the Eumeneian formula, as is ἔστε instead of ἔσται (I.15), hence these words have not been corrected. Note, however, that πρὸς is spelled correctly in I.14. It is likely that, as the lettering is different, II.11-17 were added by a different hand (cf. 24, 57), but this need not mean that it was added later. A different sculptor in the same workshop probably added the sepulchral curse. For a similar sepulchral threat, see 35. In I.4 the *upsilon* is omitted from ἐμάντῳ. In I.5, οἰστέα is incorrectly substituted for ὀστέα, the engraver probably being influenced by the word βαρῆσε. In I.6 ὑμῶν is a mistake for ἡμῶν and in I.8 the engraver not only omitted the *nu* from ἐξουσιάζοντα but added a superfluous *sigma*. W.H. Buckler and W.M. Calder (*MAMA* 6, p. 87) suggested that μηθείς may have been intended in I.9.

Potential grave violators could more easily obscure their crime by digging alongside the tomb and inserting a cadaver from the side instead

of from the top. This practice is guarded against by this inscription's reference to the wide limits of the tomb's boundaries. A. Strobel suggests that the affirmation "the boundary is great" delineates the grave's territory as a "holy place" (115). Presumably, the double use of the Eumeneian formula was intended to protect against two types of grave violation. Punishment is threatened both to those who insert unauthorized bones and those who threw out the authorized ones. For the view that I.10 refers to the boundary between life and death, see Johnson, 73.

Puzzling abbreviations

The letters on either side of the Christogram are clearly visible, but their meaning is obscure. The interpuncts after the *omega* and the *pi* in I.1 presumably indicate abbreviations. The surface of the stone is too rough for certitude, but it is likely that originally there were more interpuncts in I.1, signifying additional abbreviations. Buckler and Calder propose the following reading: ζῶ(σιν) ἐπ(οίησεν) δ(ούλος) Χρ(ιστοῦ) Χ(ρειστιανός) Χρει(στιανοίς). If correct, this would be the only known "Christians for Christians" inscription also to contain the Eumeneian formula. Neither E. Gibson (in *IPhyrgChr*, p. 114), who suggests ζῶν instead of ζῶσιν, nor Buckler and Calder themselves (87), however, are convinced about the accuracy of this conjecture, as other reconstructions, e.g., ζῶ(ντες) ἐπ(ιθωνεῖτε) δ(όξα) Χρ(ιστῷ), χ(αρά) Χρει(στιανοίς), also make grammatical sense, although, as Strobel (115) points out, this particular "grammatalogue" has no support from earlier tradition. Strobel follows Gibson in preferring ζῶν to ζῶσιν and suggests that the Christogram should be retained as a symbol rather than treated as an abbreviation, producing the reading: ζῶν ἐποίησεν δούλος Χριστοῦ Χρειστιανός. Gibson, correctly, discusses this inscription with a group of Χρειστιανοί inscriptions, not with the Χρ.-Χρ. ones. A "cryptic Χρ.-Χρ." inscription would be self-contradictory. Whatever the precise meaning of the abbreviations, the Christian nature of the inscription seems beyond doubt. On the spelling of Christian(s) with -ει-, see *ad* 9.

Montanist?

Gibson in her dissertation ("Montanism," 113 and n.27), but not in *IPhyrgChr*, declared this to be a Montanist inscription. Strobel (115) believes that, because of its open profession of Christianity and its double Eumeneian formula, it is highly probable that the inscription is Montanist. He argues (117) that not all pre-Constantinian Χρειστιανοί inscriptions from Phrygia are to be deemed Montanist, as some may merely testify to a tolerant environment or to the work of Christian

stonemasons. Additional data, such as the use of the Eumeneian formula, as in this instance, he regards as likely evidence of Montanism. His case is not convincing; Christians other than Montanists, as well as non-Christians, used the Eumeneian formula to protect their tombs (see p. 145 above). As we have literary data establishing that there had been Montanists in or around Apameia towards the end of II (Anon., *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.16.22; see pp. 21, 166 above), it is possible that there were still Montanists in the locality a century or more later, but if Aurelios Valens and his family were Montanists we cannot prove it by means of their tombstone. On the name Valens, see L. Zgusta (1964: §141-2) and on Louliane, which should perhaps be written without accent, see *ibid.*, §827-2.

Date

Buckler and Calder (87) postulated that the date of this inscription was c.275. Their conjecture, however, depended upon reconstructing l.1 to contain the Xp.-Xp. formula and viewing the symbol in the middle of that line as an abbreviation rather than a "Constantinian" Christogram. As the Xp.-Xp. formula appears to have been utilized exclusively in the Upper Tembris Valley (see *ad* 24) and as there seems no doubt that the symbol in l.1 is at least a Christogram, if not a "Constantinian" Christogram (see *ad* 32), the criteria by which Buckler and Calder dated this inscription do not apply. Nevertheless, their conjecture concerning the date may still be (approximately) accurate. The pre-Constantinian form of the Christogram began to be employed in Christian circles during III⁴ (see *ad* 32), a date which accords well with the presence of the *praenomen* Αὐρ. and the particular form of the Eumeneian formula (cf. 35) used on this tombstone. None of these, however, rules out (an early) Constantinian date, as the symbol may well be a "Constantinian" rather than a "pre-Constantinian" Christogram; see Tabbernee "Montanism," 646; Wischmeyer, 168, 170; Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 139.

Apollonia

Map 5:D3 ("Phrygia pros Pisidian"). Apollonia was founded by Nicator on the site of an earlier settlement known as Mordiaion. It was situated, near the Pisidian border, 28km. E. of Apameia (8:G7) on the road to Antiocheia (modern Yalvaç; 9:I4). On "Pisidian Phrygia," see CB I [1895]: 316-317 and Waelkens Tüersteine [1986]: 269. Apollonia's territory encompassed the large

plain now known as the Gençalıovası (9:J2), stretching N.E. to a large inland lake called the Hoyran Gölü (9:J3). The Turkish village of Senirkent (9:J1) is situated on this plain approx. 10km. from Uluborlu, the modern town on the site of ancient Apollonia. See L. Robert (1963: 356-359); A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 127-128, 139-141); Waelkens, 259-270; and TIB 7 [1990]: 387-388.

34. Domna's Christian grandfather

Senirkent, in a fountain

c.280

Ed. pr. — Sterrett Wolfe *Exped* [1888]: 380-381 no. 555 with facsimile of majuscule text.

Limestone stele, with pediment containing a boss. Discovered by J.R.S. Sterrett on 22 September 1885. Height: 0.72m.; width: 0.43m.; thickness: 0.31m. Inscription, in even letters, covers most of front face of stele below pediment. Only the left half of the *eta* at the end of l.4 is carved there. The right half is carved at the beginning of l.5. *Lunate mus.* Cursive *sigmas*. There must have been a rough part at lower middle left of stone, unsuitable for engraving as there are gaps in the text. There may have been a similar roughness at the end of l.1, although the *vac.* there may simply be due to the engraver's decision to break the line at that point. There is a flaw in the stone where the latter part of l.15 is carved. Letter height: 0.02m. **Figure 34. Plate 11.**

Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Αὐξά- (*vac.*)
νοντος τρις Δομετίου τῷ
πατρὶ Αὐρ. Αὐξάνοντι τρις Δο-
μετίου βουλευτῇ καὶ τῇ μ-
5 ητρὶ Αὐρ. Δόμνη Εὐρήμονο[ς]
Λικινίου. Οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐ[ρ.]
Ζωτικὸς καὶ Αὐξάνων
[κ]αὶ Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων ἔγονος [ἐ-]
10 ποίησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
ὕστέρᾳ Αὐρ. Αμμία Νανιτ[η-]
νὴ Βράδωνος Αὐρ. Αὐξάνον-

τι Ζουλα(νac.)κίω βουλευτῇ δις
 Δομετίου καὶ τῇ γυνεκί αὐτο-
 ὦ τῇ π(νac.)ρῶτῃ Αὐρ. Δόμνη Δο-
 15 ὦλου (νac.) Διογένου Χρηστια- (νac.)
 νοῦ (νac.) τ(νac.)οῖς γλυκυτάτοις
 γονῖσιν μνήμης χάριν.

Aurelios Artemon son of Auxanon, grandson of Auxanon,
 great-grandson of Auxanon, great-great-grandson of
 Dometios, for his father Aurelios Auxanon son of Auxanon,
 grandson of Auxanon, great-grandson of Dometios, a city
 5 councilor; and for his | mother Aurelia Domna, daughter of
 Heuremon son of Likinios. His sons Aurelios Zotikos and
 Aurelios Auxanon and Aurelios Artemon, a grandson, and his
 10 | last [i.e., second?] wife Aurelia Ammia Nanitene, daughter of
 Bradon, [originally] made (this tomb) for Aurelios Auxanon
 Zoulakios, son of Auxanon Zoulakios, grandson of Dometios,
 a city councilor, and for his first wife Aurelia Domna,
 15 | daughter of Doulos son of Diogenes, a Christian, for their
 sweetest parents, in memory.

Other *edd.*: *MAMA* 4 [1933]: 221 with photograph; **IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 44 with
 trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 348-349 no. 15;
 C.W.M. Cox (1933: 229); Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2537-2539
 no. 15; L. Robert (1963: 160-161 and n.9); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 643-644
 no. 10.

Variant readings:

- l.1 earlier *edd.* do not record *vac.* here or elsewhere.
 ll. 4-5 μητρί: Sterrett, who notes that the *eta* at the end of l.4 is divided in half, the
 other half commences l.5 (see fig. 34); μητρί Δόμνη Εὐρήμονος: Robert.
 l.6 [Α]ικινίου: Sterrett (Calder "Philadelphia" [Leclercq; Tabbernee]); Αικινίου:
MAMA (*IPhrygChr*); Αικινίου: Robert, no punctuation suggested by *edd.*; Αὐ[pp]:
IPhrygChr.
 l.6-7 [κ]αί: Sterrett.
 l.8 ἐ(γ)γονος: Calder "Philadelphia" (Tabbernee).
 ll. 8-9 ἐποίησαν: Robert, no punctuation suggested by *edd.*
 l.11 Β' Ρ(ό)δωνος: Sterrett (Calder "Philadelphia"; Leclercq; Tabbernee).
 l.12 Ζουλακίω: although Sterrett does not record *vac.* in text, he does show space in
 majuscule copy and comments that "there was probably no letter in the gap" (381).

l.13 αὐτο[ὺ]: Sterrett.

ll.15-16 Χρηστια[νοῦ]: Sterrett.

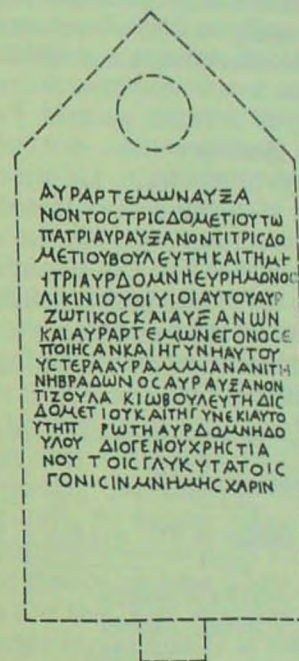


Fig. 34: Funerary inscription honoring
 Aurelios Auxanon and his family

Further references: *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 537; Anderson "Paganism/ Christianity" [1906]:
 197 n.†; Calder "Philadelphia," 350, 352; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 65 n.1; id.,
 "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 422; Robert (1963: 130 n.1, 360 and n.1); E.A. Judge and S.R.
 Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); H.W. Pleket (1980:
 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 116 no. 15 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer
 (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 499 no. 74; D. Feissel (1981:
 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92, 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 44); Tabbernee
 "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-129, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens
Türsteine [1986]: 198 and n.523; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxviii-xxxix; *TIB* 7 [1990]:
 388; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 411 and n.206); W.H.C. Frend (1996: 194-195 and n.67).

Photograph: *MAMA* 4, plate 48 no. 221 [of squeeze].

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 380.

Artemon's family

Aurelios Artemon, the main dedicator named on this inscription, honors his deceased father, Aurelios Auxanon, and his mother, Aurelia Domna (II.1-6a). The tombstone presumably replaced an earlier one set up at the time when the tomb was originally constructed to bury Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios, who was Artemon's grandfather (see fig. 35). The principal dedicators of the former inscription were Aurelius Zotikos and Artemon's father, Aurelios Auxanon, sons of the deceased Auxanon Zoulakios (II.6-7) with Zoulakios' widow, Aurelia Ammia Nanitene (II.10-11a), who, although described as his *last* wife (II.9b-10a), was probably his *second* wife in that none but a *first* wife is recorded (II.13-16). In the new inscription, Artemon, who was also one of the dedicators named in the original inscription (see I.8), is careful to retain the information contained in the earlier inscription, including the name of his grandfather's first wife, which was the same as that of his own mother: Aurelia Domna. The two women are clearly distinguished by means of their fathers and grandfathers.

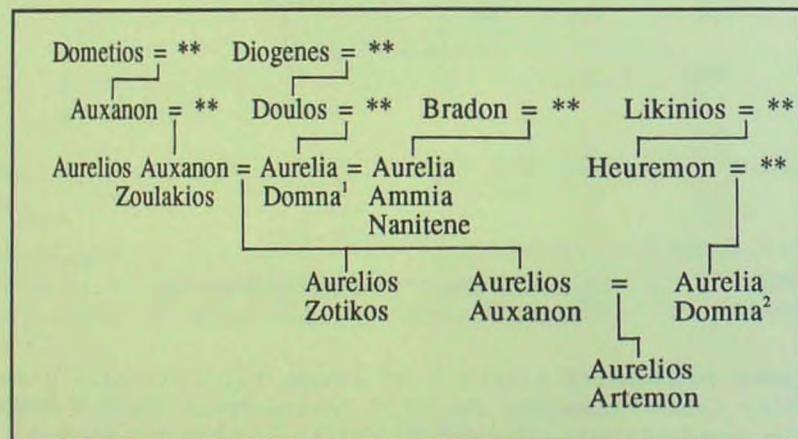


Fig. 35: Artemon's family tree

It is impossible to determine the original social status of Artemon's family. Members of the Domitii gens are attested in Asia Minor (see, e.g., *IGRR* 4 [1927]: p. 590), but the Latin *gentilicium* Domitius is also used in Asia Minor in its Greek form Dometios as a personal name. For an example from Central Phrygia, see Waelkens, 158 no. 397 (pl. 59). On the name Auxanon, see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145. Zoulakios is probably a na-

tive Phrygian name; see Robert, 360; L. Zgusta (1964: §396); and *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145. For Artemon, see Zgusta, n. at §108-11.

The name Domna has a semitic origin (*BE* [1946/7]: 200). Common in Jewish circles, it, and Domnos (on which, see Zgusta, §1581), was also popular among Christians because of its linguistic connection with *dominus*; see Waelkens, 117 and compare the similarly grounded popularity of Kyriake (60) and Kyriakos (47).

The name Ammia is based on a familiar Phrygian term for "mother"; see Zgusta §57-16), and see also *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145. The term Nanitene (II.10-11) is perhaps an ethnic; see Robert, 160 n.9 and Zgusta, §1013-36. According to Robert (160-161), Ammia's father's name is derived from Bradus.

Three or four generations of Christians?

Of special interest is the reference that Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios' first wife, Aurelia Domna, was the descendant of a man named Diogenes who is described as "a Christian." Despite Sterrett's original reading of Χρηστωανοῦ, which he took to be either a version of a proper name (Χρηστωνιανός) or an error for χριστιανοῦ (381), and W.M. Calder's initial skepticism regarding the Christian nature of the inscription ("Philadelphia," 348-349), the squeeze taken by Calder in 1930 confirmed the reading Χρηστιανοῦ—the sixth letter being an *iota* carved over an *omega*-shaped flaw in the stone ("New Jerusalem," 422). *Contra* Waelkens, there is no hint here of an abbreviated Χρ.-Χρ. formula.

Although it is possible to read II.14-16 as referring to Aurelia Domna² as the daughter of a slave named Diogenes, I have followed all earlier *edd* in taking ΔΟΥΛΟΥ as the genitive of a proper name. The name Δούλος is attested elsewhere in Phrygia (e.g., *MAMA* 7 [1956]: 288 [Amorion]) and the form of the description of Aurelia Domna²'s lineage appears to be identical to that of Aurelia Domna¹: father's name followed by father's patronymic (cf. II.5-6). Diogenes, therefore, was almost certainly Domna's grandfather rather than her father, and Domna belonged to a family which had been Christian for three generations; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 122 and cf. Strobel, 116. As the author of the epitaph, Aurelios Artemon belonged to the next generation. There may be an implicit reference here to four generations of Christians, although it must be remembered that the family, which was possibly designated as Christian since Diogenes' time, is the family comprising Aurelia Domna's paternal lineage, not necessarily (or not at all!) the family into which she married. On the name Diogenes, see *ad* 58.

Date

It is noteworthy that none of the people in the first two lines of Artemon's family tree (fig. 35) bears the *quasi-gentilicium* Aurelius/-a but that all but one (Heuremon) in the second line and, presumably, all in the third and fourth lines do. ("Aurelios" may be added before Auxanon in the name of Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios' son because, irrespective of whether a second *rho* should be added to Αὐ[ρ.] in l.6 of the inscription [as does *IPhrygChr*], there is no doubt that the abbreviation is meant to apply to both Zotikos and his brother Auxanon. The abbreviation is repeated for Artemon in l.8 because he is not one of the *sons* bearing the *quasi-gentilicium*, but a *grandson*.) Presumably all those with the *quasi-gentilicium* on the third line of fig. 35 received this mark of Roman citizenship c.212 (see *ad* 5) as adults, their own parents having died before that date. Consequently, they were probably born no later than the last decade of II. Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios would have died in mid III when the first epitaph in his honor was set up. The original epitaph may already have contained the reference to Diogenes being a Christian. Aurelios Auxanon presumably died thirty years or so after his father, giving an approximate date of c.280 for the erection of the new tombstone by Artemon.

Montanist?

In light of the above comments, the tombstone under discussion cannot be classified as "Montanist." There is no absolute evidence that anyone other than Diogenes was a Christian, but even if, as seems likely, his children and grandchildren were also Christians, and, to extend the argument further, even if these children (e.g., Domna) married into other Christian families, there is nothing about this particular inscription which suggests that they were Christians of a Montanist persuasion; see Strobel, 116. Calder (followed by Leclercq, col. 2537), who cautiously numbered this epitaph among the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions ("Philadelphia," 348-349 no. 15; cf. his comment on p. 337 where, presumably, l.6 should read "Nos. 14 and 15" instead of "Nos. 13 and 14"), decided not to draw any conclusions regarding Montanism from this inscription, although he could not resist observing that "the fact that Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios was twice married would forbid us to class him as a Montanist, even if the inscription were Christian" (349 n.1). This observation, based on Tertullian's stance against re-marriage (e.g., *mon.* 1.2, 3.1, 4.3, 5.1; *cast.* 9.1; *pud.* 1.20; *Marc.* I.29.4) is not as persuasive as it may at first appear. Tertullian's views are not necessarily applicable to other Montanists. In any case, it may only have been Domna's family that was

Christian and, hence, any inferences made from Montanist views on re-marriage cannot be applied to Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios.

Irrespective of whether any inferences are drawn from this epitaph regarding Montanism, listing it among the Xp.-Xp. ones is incorrect and has not been followed by later commentators (e.g., Gibson, Tabbemee, Strobel). The type of profession of Christianity displayed on those inscriptions is markedly different from that evident here.

Synnada

Map 9:H1 (Central Phrygia). The ruins of the ancient city of Synnada are located at Şuhut; see Ramsay Geography [1890]: 139 ad no. 46; W. Ruge (1932: col. 1411); L. Robert (1962: 251 n.1); Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 187; TIB 7 [1990]: 393-395. Situated on a high plain surrounded by mountains, Synnada was an important resting-place on an early trade route known as the "Royal road." A branch of the, later, "Eastern highway" also passed through Synnada, providing easy access to the marble quarries of Dokimeion (9:F2)—the administrative center of which was at Synnada; see D. Magie (1950: vol. 1, 50, 132, 791). Synnada was probably also the administrative center for the imperial estates of the Arçaçay valley; see Waelkens Türsteine, 187. The extent of Synnada's territory has not yet been established. For suggestions regarding possible boundaries, see *ibid.* Synnada, like Apameia, was the capital of a conventus iudicis. This conventus encompassed at least 22 other cities, including Appia (11:I2) and Dorylaeion (9:A1), but not, as A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 66) supposed, the cities of the Phrygian Pentapolis, each of which belonged to the conventus of Apameia; see C. Habicht (1975: 81, 86).

35. The martyr Trophimos

Şuhut

Now in Bursa Museum, inv. no. 548

III⁴

Ed. pr. — Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 94-100 no. 102 with extract from letter describing discovery, photographs, and comments by L. Duchesne and H. Grégoire (= Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 342-348 no. 102).

Small square white marble ossuary with lid. Discovered in 1907. The lid has peaked corners (akroteria), with additional peaks at each side. Side-peaks contain mortised holes through which lid was fastened to the ossuary by means of iron studs. One of these studs, measuring 0.07m., had been preserved and replaced in the mortise when *ed. pr.* saw the marble box. The ossuary has upper and lower mouldings. Total height: 0.25m.; ossuary height: 0.155m.; width: 0.175m. (upper moulding), 0.20m. (lower moulding), 0.155m. (ossuary). Interior length of ossuary: 0.135m.; interior width and depth of ossuary: 0.11m. The letters of the inscription are engraved, fairly regularly, between incised lines. The distance between the lines measures 0.014m. on the ossuary and 0.012m. on the lid. The main inscription is on the front face of the ossuary (a), the last letter of ὀστέα is carved centrally on the lower moulding. The sepulchral threat is inscribed on the lid itself (b), the last letter of which was carved on the edge of the lid. The inscription on the lid appears to be by a different hand than the inscription on the front face. It has quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas* whereas the main inscription has cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Perhaps the lid was pre-carved. Lunate *mus* in main inscription. Syllables are divided by means of interpuncts. Ligature at l.8. Letter height: 0.012m.-0.014m. **Figure 36. Plate 27.**

On front face:

(a)

2 Ὡδε ἓνα Τρο-
φίμου τοῦ μ-
άρτυρος ὀστέ-
α.

On lid:

(b)

5 Τις ἂν δὲ ταῦ-
τα τὰ ὀστέα
ἐκβάλῃ ποτέ,
ἔσται αὐτῷ
πρὸς τ[ὸ(ν)] Θεό-
10 γ.

(a)

Here within are contained (the) bones of the martyr Trophimos.

(b)

5 | If anyone, at any time, should throw out these bones, that person shall be answerable to God.



Fig. 36: Ossuary for bones of Trophimos

Other ed.: *EG 4 [1978]: 300-392 no. 4 with Italian trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: BE [1910]: 322; Ramsay "Martyr" [1910b]: 481-485 with trans.; H. Delehay (1911: 336-337); Leclercq "Cuve-reliquaire" [1914c]: cols. 3205-3208 with facsimile (inadvertently cites Mendel no. 143 instead of no. 102 at col. 3206 n.3); Calder "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 357-358 with photograph; H. Grégoire (1927/8b: 802-803); P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1928: 114); Delehay (1933: 159); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 705-708 no. 56 with trans., facsimile, and photograph; IGLEccI [1982]: ad 37; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 120-121 no. 4.2 with trans.

Variant readings:

l.5 Tī; Mendel (Ramsay; Grégoire; Franchi de' Cavalieri; Delehay [1933]; EG; Johnson).

ll.9-10 Previous edd. do not mark partially illegible letters.

Further references: Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: col. 1449; Calder "New Monument" [1923c]: 85; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 299 with trans.; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 705; Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: col. 655; SEG 6 [1932]: 245 and ad 343; MAMA 6 [1939]: p. 87; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 798 no. 37; Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 166-167 (Calder), 178-180 (Grégoire); F. Halkin (1953: 329); BE [1954]: 233; Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 37; MAMA 7 [1956]: p. xxxviii; L. Robert (1961: 153 n.73); BE [1963]: 260; W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 445 with trans.); EG 4, 555; Tabbernee "Montanism," 278-279 with trans.; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 90; C. Gallavotti (1980: 271-273); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 476, 500 no. 86; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); P. Keresztes (1989: 91-92); TIB 7 [1990]: 394; Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 271; Johnson, 43, 115; Frend (1996: 136).

Photographs: ed. pr., 94 figs. 46-47 [= "Catalogue," 342 figs. 46-47 (Calder "Great Persecution," facing 357 fig. 1 [= ed. pr., fig. 46]; EG 4, 391 fig. 112 [= ed. pr., fig. 46]; Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 26 no. 56 [= ed. pr., figs. 46-47]).

Facsimile: Leclercq "Cuve-reliquaire," cols. 3207-3208 fig. 3467 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 706), based on ed. pr.'s photographs.

Text

The unusual form εῖνα in l.1 is probably a Phrygian-Greek variant of εἶν or ἐνεστί; see Ramsay, 481 and EG 4, 555. On the Eumeneian formula (ll.5-10), see ad 20.

Trophimos

The *Acta Sancti Trophimi* relate that, sometime during the reign of Probus (c.276-282), a certain Trophimos from Synnada and two companions, Sabbatius and Dorymedon, passed through Antiocheia at a time when a festival in honor of Apollo was in progress. Trophimos, attempt-

ing to convert the local population, prayed aloud to Christ that the people might be delivered from their errors. The indignant Apollo worshippers brought the three Christians before the magistrates, initiating a lengthy procedure which ultimately led to the execution of Sabbatius at Antiocheia and of Trophimos and Dorymedon at Synnada (*M. Troph.* 1.1-3).

W.M. Calder, on the basis of an undoubtedly Montanist inscription from Payamalanı (80), argued that the ossuary published by Mendel is that of the principal martyr of the *M. Troph.* whose name was also included on this later Montanist tombstone because the Montanists claimed the third-century martyr as "a fellow sectary" (in Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus," 165-168, cf. Calder "Epitaphs," 37). Frend (1965b: 445) adopted and developed Calder's theory by arguing from the contents of the *M. Troph.* and because Probus' reign has traditionally been viewed as free from persecution of Christians, that Trophimos was probably a Montanist voluntary martyr.

The Calder/Frend hypothesis is fraught with difficulties. Any alleged connection between the Trophimos mentioned on 80 and the Trophimos whose bones were preserved in the ossuary is highly speculative. "Trophimos" was a very common name in Phrygia; see Appendix 5. On the name Trophimos, see *New Docs* 3 [1983]: 91-93. The Trophimos of 80 is more likely to have been a fifth- or sixth-century martyr from around Sebaste than a third-century martyr from Synnada, who was venerated by later Montanists; see ad 80. But, even allowing the possibility that fifth- or sixth-century Montanists from around Sebaste claimed Trophimos of Synnada as "a fellow sectary," there is nothing to substantiate the validity of such a claim. Trophimos' action in speaking out against the worship of Apollo, as recorded in the *M. Troph.*, has parallels dating back to New Testament times (e.g., Acts 19:23-41).

The greatest difficulty in saying anything meaningful about Trophimos is that the *M. Troph.* has long been regarded, correctly, as spurious; for example see A. von Harnack (1958: 829) and H. Grégoire (1927/8b: 802-803). The discovery of the Şuhut ossuary does nothing to authenticate the contents of the *M. Troph.* If, as seems probable, it is to be identified as the reliquary of the martyr who is also the hero of the *M. Troph.*, the reliquary, along with literary and epigraphic testimony to a martyrdom of Trophimos (AASS Nov. IV, 629; Gönçer *Afyon* [1971]: 211-212), confirms the existence of a cult of St. Trophimos at Synnada. It is illegitimate, however, to deduce the authenticity of the *M. Troph.* from the existence of the cult. The *M. Troph.* may have been compiled by a later hagiographer who saw, or knew, of the reliquary and who wrote up an account of Trophimos' martyrdom on the basis of local legend and a vivid imagination. The fourth-century *Vita Abercii*, for example, also ap-

pears to have been based, at least in part, on information provided by the second-century epitaph of an Aberkios; see p. 53 n.13 above. Similarly, the *Life of St. Ariadne* was certainly based on epigraphy; see L. Robert (1980: 244-256). See also the discussion regarding the *Life of St. Theodotos*, ad 88. The contents of the spurious *M. Troph.*, therefore, cannot be used as evidence to prove that Trophimos was a Montanist. In any event, the a priori assumption which tends to classify voluntary martyrs as Montanists is invalid; see W. Tabbernee (1985: 33-44). Consequently, it seems best to conclude that the Trophimos named on the reliquary was a Christian belonging to mainstream Christianity. The term $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, the use of the Eumeneian formula, the style of lettering, the absence of overtly Christian symbols, and, especially, the provenance indicate that a Christian named Trophimos was martyred at the approximate date and location reported by the *M. Troph.*, but that is all that can be said with any degree of certainty.

Dokimeion and the Kaystros Valley

Map 9:F1-G3 (Central Phrygia). Marble quarries, approx. 4km. to the S.E., made Dokimeion a thriving ancient city, connected by road to Synnada (9:H1) and Prymnessos (9:G1). Prymnessos was situated at the junction of the main road to Synnada and Apameia (8:G7) and a major road leading N.W. via Akroinos (modern Afyonkarahisar [or simply Afyon]; 9:G1; see TIB 7 [1990]: 177-178) to the Upper Tembris Valley (7:G5) and from there to Aizanoi (7:G2) or to Kotiaëion (7:E4). The same road led S.E. to Philomelion (9:I5). Dokimeion's site is now occupied by İscehisar, approx. 21km. N.E. of Afyon; see TIB 7, 237-238. A large area encompassing the Kaystros Valley (the *Akarçayovası*; 9:F1) lies between Afyon and İscehisar. As yet unidentified ancient settlements have been located near at least four modern sites in the valley. See W. Ruge (1905a: cols. 1273-1274); L. Robert (1963: 70 n.11); and Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 187. The *Akarçayovası* contained a number of imperial estates, including the quarry near Dokimeion; see W.M. Calder (1912b: 244-266); J.H.M. Strubbe (1975: 245-248); M. Christol and Th. Drew-Bear (1986: 51-55); J.C. Fant (1989: 3-4); and p. 235 above.

36. A Christian family originally from Temenothyrai?

Uncertain provenance

10 Nov 278 or 2 Jan 279

Now in Basmahane Museum, İzmir

Ed. pr. — CIG 3 [1853]: 38651 with facsimile of majuscule copy by P. Le Bas.

Two large broken pieces (able to be fitted together) of a doorstele: Type J Dokimeion with single door; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 188-189. Height: 71.5m; width: 56.5m; thickness: 11.5m. Left piece broken at bottom right. Right piece broken at bottom left. Consequently, triangular section of bottom of stone missing. Outside edges of both extant pieces slightly damaged. "Door" consists of four recessed panels with cornices. Stylized doorpost, with capital, divides left and right panels. Panels decorated with hand-mirror (upper left); round keyplate (upper right); spindle and (part) distaff (lower left); comb (lower right, now missing). Three-sided undecorated door frame distinguishes door from rest of stone, left and right registers of which are decorated with rope-like garland, each with three ball-shaped tassels (bottom right missing). Register above door decorated at top with leafy tendrils below which is an egg and dart moulding and a bead and reel moulding. *Tabula ansata* (cf. 9) carved centrally above door in this register. Inscription, first copied by Le Bas in 1844, begins on the upper frame of *tabula ansata* (l.1), continued in recessed *tabula* (ll.2-4), with the final letters of ll.2, 4 carved on right-hand frame of *tabula*, and concludes (ll.5-8) on the lintel and right-hand door frame. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Interpuncts in l.1. Ligatures at ll.3, 5. Letter height not provided. Figure 37. Plate 4.

On upper horizontal frame:

Ἔτους τ. ξ. γ. μη(νός) Περειτίου ι'.

In field:

Εὐτύχης Εὐτύχου Τατι-
α γυναικὶ καὶ πατρὶ μνή-
μης χάριν· Χρεισσιανοί·

On lintel and door frame:

5 καὶ ἐαυτῷ. Φελλίνας. Τημενοθυρ
 ε
 ι
 ζ

In the year 363, the tenth of the month Pereitios.
 Eutyches son of Eutyches, (prepared this tomb)
 for Tatia his wife and for his father, in memory;
 5 Christians; and for himself. Phellinas. From
 Temenothyrai.

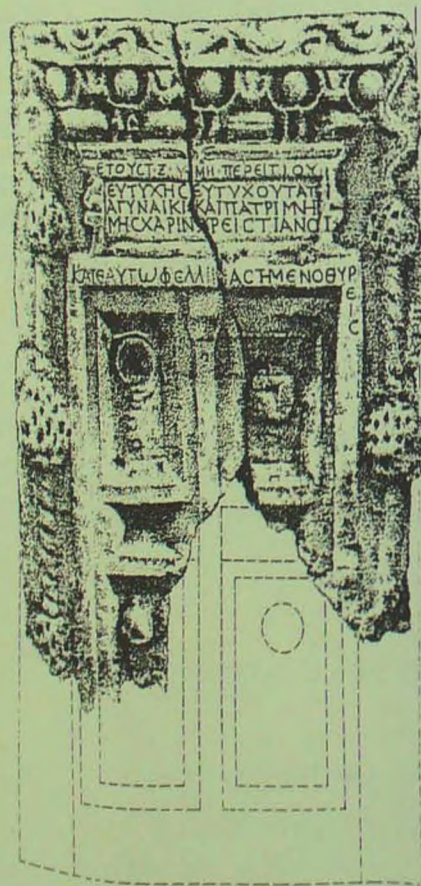


Fig. 37: Tombstone inscription of
 family from Temenothyrai

Other edd.: LBW 3,5 [1870]: 727 with majuscule copy in LBW 3,1 [1870]: p. 221; *ILydiaB* [1898]: p.162 (II.2-8 only); *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 36 with trans. and photograph; Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 292-293 no. 1; *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 197-198 no. 488 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *CB* 2 [1897]: 444; Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: col. 1473 with facsimile; Kaufmann *Epigraphik* [1917]: 60 and n.3 with facsimile of majuscule text and partial German trans.; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 337 no. 1; *IGRR* 4 [1927]: 630; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2531 no. 1; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 797 no. 32; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 641-642 no. 7 with trans. and facsimile; Waelkens "Ateliers lapidaires" [1979]: 120 and esp. n.77; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiate* [1981]: 500 no. 91 with French trans.; Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 137 inscr. C with trans.; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 44-45 no. 2.2 with trans.

Variant readings:

I.1 τξι': J. Keil and A. von Premerstein [unpublished facsimile copied in 1908, see Drew-Bear, 292 n.86]; τξγ'... Περειτίου ι: Kaufmann; Περειτίου ι: Snyder.

II.2 Τατ ι: *IPhyrgChr*; Τατ...ι: Snyder; τατ ι: Waelkens *Türsteine*; τατ ι: Johnson.

II.3-4 μ.χ. Χριστιανοί[ς]: *CB* (Leclercq "Phrygie"; Blanchetière); μνήμης: Johnson does not indicate ligature here or elsewhere.

I.4 χάριν Χριστιανοί[ς]: *CIG* (Kaufmann; Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee; Blanchetière), *LBW* (*IGRR*); χάριν Χριστιανοί: *ILydiaB*; χάριν Χρεισπιανο ι: *IPhyrgChr* (Johnson); χάριν Χρεισπιανοί: Drew-Bear; χάριν Χρεισπιανο-ι: Waelkens *Türsteine*; Χρεισπιανο...ι: Snyder.

I.5 ἐαυτῷ: *CIG* (Calder; Leclercq "Montaniste [épigraphie]; Tabbernee), Drew-Bear.

II.5-8 ἐαυτῷ, Φελλίνας Τημενοθυρεῖς: *ILydiaB*; Φελλίνας — —: *CIG* (Tabbernee); Φελλίνας, Τημενοθυρεῖς: Drew-Bear; Φελλίνας [Τ]ημενοθυ[ρ]ε[ύ]ς: *LBW* (Leclercq "Chretien"; Kaufmann; *IGRR*); Φελλίνας [Τ]ημενοθυρεύς [λατύπος?]: *CB* (Calder; Leclercq "Phrygie"); Φελλίνας (Τ)ημενοθυρεύς (λατύπος): Blanchetière; Φελλίνας Τημενοθυρ[ε]λ(ύ)ς: *IPhyrgChr* (Snyder); Φελλίνας Τημενοθυρ[ε]λ[ι]ς: Johnson.

Further references: Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet *Exploration I* [1862]: 126; Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 250-251 no. 1 with trans.; S. Reinach (1890: 58); Cumont "Inscriptions" [1895]: 277 no. 172; *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 536 (inadvertently refers to this inscription as no. 468 instead of no. 444); J.W. Crowfoot (1897/8: 83); Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 197-198, 227; E. Michon (1906: 187); Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 679 and n.4; K. Kourouniotes (1921/2: 3-5); Calder "Philadelphia," 352, 353; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 63; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 705; Leclercq "Phrygie," cols. 784, 786 and n.6; *Hellenica* 11-12 [1965]: 283 and n.2; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 49 n.56, 101, 106, 108, 109-110; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 187 n.2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 4, 98, 139, 141; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 318-331, 350-351; P. Nautin (1979: 579); *BE* [1980]: 407; Ferrua (1980: 175, 177); H.W.

Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 113 no. 7; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167, 169); D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92, 93 n.2; 94); *AE* 1979 [1982]: 614; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 36); *SEG* 29 [1982]: 1379, 1416; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1099; H. von Aulock (1987: 22); *SEG* 36 [1989]: 1191; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxvii, xl n.11; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.232); G.J. Johnson (1994: 358-359 with photograph, 365 n.27); *id.*, *Anatolia* [1995]: 10, 39, 113, 115; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 200 and nn.45-46, 106 n.49, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 74.1819 (Waelkens *Türsteine*, plate 75 no. 488); *IPhyrgChr*, plate 31 (Johnson [1994: 359 plate 6]).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, p. 1097 = Le Bas' copy, reprinted in LBW, 3, 1, p. 221 no. 727 (Leclercq "Chrétien," col. 1473; Kaufmann *Epigraphik*, 60; Tabbernee, 641); J. Keil and A. von Premerstein [unpublished].

Phellinas

W.M. Ramsay ("Monuments I," 250; cf. *CB* 2, p. 558) postulated that Phellinas (l.5) was the stonemason, assuming that Phellinas provided his own ethnic, i.e., "native of Temenothyrai." It is possible that Phellinas was the λατόπος, as stone masons in the region often signed their work (see Waelkens *Türsteine*, 197 and cf. *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 67-70). In this instance, however, some doubt remains in that the word λατόπος itself, although restored by Ramsay, was not carved on the stone—perhaps simply because there was no room to do so. M. Waelkens, who accepts the identification of Phellinas as the stonemason (*Türsteine*, 197), argues that the ethnic is to be linked with Χρειστιάνοί, indicating that the family of Eutyches, not that of Phellinas, originated from Temenothyrai (*ibid.*). Perhaps, as Χρειστιάνοί (l.4) does not directly qualify καὶ ἐαυτῷ (l.5), the epitaph was inscribed in two stages—the first concluding at l.4. Ll.5-8 could have been carved at the death of Eutyches by Phellinas and the ethnic of Eutyches' family added. On Temenothyrai, see p. 61 above.

Provenance

Because of the type of doorstone used, Phellinas, if he indeed was the stonemason, must have belonged to a workshop located in Dokimeion, or at least in the general area. As the inscription does not fit into the *tabula ansata*, the stone must have been prefabricated, presumably at Dokimeion, but similar stones have also been found in the northern part of the Akarçayovası and near Sülün (Prymnessos); see Waelkens *Türsteine*, 188. Consequently, this stone could have been produced and inscribed anywhere in this general area. Waelkens ("Ateliers lapidaires," 120) has argued on archaeological grounds for Afyonkarahisar as the provenance of this stone, although in his *Türsteine* deals with it along

with other doorstones of uncertain provenance from this region (190-198 nos. 466-490).

A complicating factor in determining provenance is that the inscription was copied in the Armenian church in Uşak (Temenothyrai) in 1844 and again, by K. Buresch, in that church's ruins in 1895. According to the inventory of the Basmahane Museum, however, the stone was brought to İzmir (Smyrna) in 1922 from the region of Afyon by K. Kourouniotes, the director of antiquities at İzmir; see Kourouniotes, 3-5 and Waelkens *Türsteine*, 193 and n.49, 197. Could the stone have been taken back to Afyon early in the twentieth century from the ruins of the Uşak Armenian church before being taken from Afyon by Kourouniotes? Whatever the precise circumstances of the route via which it ended up in İzmir, it is clear that the stone was commissioned somewhere in the vicinity of Dokimeion. The eds. of *MAMA* 10 (p. xl n.11) speculate that the tombstone may have been commissioned at Dokimeion for use in Temenothyrai. The presence of the stone in Afyon in the 1920s suggests, however, that the family which commissioned it resided in the Kaystros Valley. Perhaps because of the stone's reference to Temenothyrai it was given to, or bought by, the Armenian congregation in Uşak and returned to Afyon after the Armenian church fell into ruins. A local tradition that the stone had come from Akmonia (Buresch in *ILydiaB*, p. 162) appears based on the fact that ancient stones were frequently brought to Uşak from Ahat; see also Drew-Bear, 292 n.87. Although there are similarities between this stone and some from Akmonia, E. Gibson's tentative attribution of this stone to Akmonia ("Montanism," 110; *IPhyrgChr*, p. 109), accepted by A. Strobel (113), F. Blanchetière (500), W. Tabbernee ("Christian Inscriptions" 131, 135), G. Snyder (137), and S. Mitchell (39), is now shown to be incorrect. It also removes a crucial element from Mitchell's evidence for a workshop in Akmonia staffed exclusively by Montanists originally from Temenothyrai, including Phellinas; see *ad* 22. W.M. Calder's earlier suggestion (*contra* Ramsay "Monuments I," 250-251) that the stone came from the Upper Tembris Valley was based on his premise that the inscription belonged to the Xp.-Xp. class ("Anatolian Heresies," 63).

Χρειστιάνοί

Ed. pr. restored Χρειστιάνοῖ[ς] in l.4. In 1978 I argued, independently, that this restoration is incorrect, as the facsimile of Le Bas' majuscule copy clearly shows that the engraver had sufficient room to carve Χρειστιάνοῖς ("Montanism," 642). Gibson's photograph confirms this. It is certain that the correct reading is ΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙ *lapis*; see also Rigsby (93 n.2) and cf. *SEG* 31.1099. Consequently, the word cannot be taken

automatically as a dative and viewed as an abbreviated form of the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ formula; as do Ramsay ("Monuments I," 250 no. 1), Calder ("Philadelphia," 337 no. 1), Leclercq ("Montaniste [épi-graphie]," col. 2531 no. 1)—each of whom lists this inscription as the first example of the $\chi\rho$.- $\chi\rho$. type—and Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 198); cf. also Johnson, 44. Rather, this is most likely another instance of an inscription using the nominative of the single word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$ (spelled variously) to indicate the religion of the deceased; cf. 12, 21, 57.

Eutychos

That the dedicator was himself indeed Christian is extremely likely on account of his name and that of his father. Eutychos was a name popular among Christians because of its New Testament precedent (Acts 20:9); cf. 41, 47. On Phrygian tombstones it frequently has the ending -ης, rather than -ος, in the nominative (e.g., cf. 45). Eutythis is also attested (e.g., 59). For feminine forms, see 40, 47. On the name Tatia, see *ad* 6.

Date

Despite Keil and von Premerstein's reading of $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota'$ for the year (see above), the reading $\tau\epsilon\tau\gamma'$ is secure. Converting 10 Pereitios, 363 (I.1) into a C.E. date, nevertheless, presents some difficulties. Pereitios, normally spelled Peritios, was the fourth month of the Asian calendar; see E.J. Bickerman (1968: 50 [fig. 3]). Originally a Macedonian month, it became part of the Asian calendar following Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia Minor (ibid., 20 [fig. 2]). Asia, in adopting the Julian calendar, equated New Year with Augustus' birthday (23 September); see *ad* 17. 1 Pereitios, therefore, should be 24 December and $\mu\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ι' (I.1) 2 January. Ferrua (177), for example, is certain that the correct year is 279. However, Ramsay (*CB* 1 [1895]: pp. 204-205) has pointed to some evidence suggesting that the Phrygian calendar, while using the same months as the province of Asia, commenced the New Year on August 1. This would make 10 Pereitios equal 10 November.

I previously argued ("Montanism," 330; "Christian Inscriptions," 135) that this inscription may have used the "Actian era," rather than the "Sullan era" (on both of which, see pp. 151-152 above). If so, the year 363 would be 332/3 C.E. instead of 278/9 C.E. and the full date of the inscription either 10 November 332 or 2 January 333. This argument, however, was based on the tentative conclusion that the provenance of this inscription was Akmonia and the hypothesis that Akmonia, like its neighboring ancient city (now identified as Temenothyrai), may have used the Actian era. Now that the provenance of the inscription appears to have been somewhere in the vicinity of Dokimeion, probably in the

general area around modern Afyon, there is little doubt that the Sullan era was intended. It is unlikely that, even though the family was originally from Temenothyrai, the inscription would have used anything but an era which was employed in the area where the inscription was first set up. On the question of whether the Actian era was, indeed, used at Temenothyrai, see Drew-Bear, 292 n.86.

Symbols

For a discussion of many of the objects portrayed on this tombstone, see *ad* 5. A keyplate is obviously an appropriate symbol with which to decorate a "doorstone" and does not appear to have had any intended connection with the profession of the deceased. Perhaps it merely portrayed the possibility of the door being opened, suggesting that the deceased could pass through grave's door to "the other side."

Montanist?

There is nothing on the tombstone itself to indicate that Eutyches' relatives (and he?) belonged to a religious group other than mainstream Christianity. Open profession of Christianity, by itself, does not guarantee adherence to Montanism; see *ad* 9. Nevertheless, it is interesting to speculate about the date when this family moved from Temenothyrai and whether, before they moved, they had been members of the Montanist church which undoubtedly existed at Temenothyrai during III¹⁻² and, presumably, later; see 3-8. If so, there may still be a connection between 3-8 and this epitaph but via the family which commissioned the tombstone rather than via the stonemason Phellinas—unless, of course, the ethnic does indeed belong to Phellinas. If the latter, Mitchell's theory may, theoretically, be applied to a workshop in or around Dokimeion. All these options, however, are far too hypothetical to establish any solid evidence for a Montanist classification of this epitaph. Irrespective of whether the family itself and/or Phellinas actually came from Temenothyrai, they could have been (and probably were) "orthodox" Christians who saw no need to hide their identity. Although in c.275 the emperor Aurelian had either actually issued or been on the point of issuing edicts against the Christians, he was murdered before his anti-Christian attitude had resulted in (wide-spread?) persecution (Eus., *h.e.* 7.30.20-21; Lact., *mort.* 6). The Christians of Phrygia may never even have known of Aurelian's intentions and have continued to presume that the tolerant attitude toward Christians established c.260 by Gallienus (Eus., *h.e.* 7.13.1-2) had remained unchanged. If they did know about Aurelian's change in policy, the open profession exhibited by this epi-

taph is consistent with a renewed sense of optimism once the threat of persecution had abated (see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 141).

Appia, Soa, and the Upper Tembris Valley

Map 11:E1-J5 (N. Phrygia). On Appia (Pınarbaşı, formerly Pınarcık), its territory, and on Soa (Altıntaş köy), see pp. 179-181 above. In addition to the other communities located in the Upper Tembris Valley mentioned on those pages, ruins of pre-Byzantine settlements are also visible at Aykırıkcı (11:G5; see TIB 7 [1990]: 201), Nühoren (11:F2; see TIB 7, 349), Üçyük [Üchüyük] (11:G3; see TIB 7, 412 and MAMA 10 [1993]: pp. xlv-xlv). The Phrygian village or town at each is yet to be identified. Doğalar (11:E4) appears to be the site of Zingota; see *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 6; MAMA 10, p. xliii. Yalnızsaray (11:G3) may have been ancient Abeikta; see TIB 7, 414 and Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: p. 114. The ancient name of Çayırbaşı (11:G4), until recently called Zemme, was presumably Zemmea; see TIB 7, 420 and MAMA 10, p. xliii. Relevant inscriptions have also been discovered at Keçiller (11:J2; see TIB 7, 197); Alibey köy (11:H4; see TIB 7, 385); Eymir (11:G3); and Gecek (11:H3; see TIB 7, 256-257)—all villages occupying sites once belonging to the territory of Appia.

37. An early panel-stele commemorating a Christian

Doğalar, S. side of conduit leading to village c.285-290

Ed. pr. — MAMA 10 [1993]: 217 with photograph.

Gray marble panel-stele: Type C Altıntaş 1 (see below). Broken at top, upper and lower right, and tenon; panel cracked, surface badly worn. (Extant) height: 1.09m.; width: 0.71m.; thickness: 0.16m. Low relief of double wreath encircling Latin cross. Corners of pediment decorated with incised palmettes. Rectangular panel recessed into shaft, surrounded by inner frame, also recessed, decorated with leaf pattern. Outer frame, reminiscent of doorposts and lintel, decorated with vines and grape pat-

tern (apart from socle). Panel divided into two registers containing very worn reliefs. Upper register: stele(?) with cross(?) between two circles, with incised crosses(?). Lower register: pair of yoked oxen with plough(?). Inscription in upper register. Ligatures at ll.2-4. Letter height: 0.0125m.-0.0175m. Photograph taken by C.W.M. Cox in 1926 and published in MAMA 10 is insufficiently clear to produce line drawing/facsimile. **Plate 21.**

Αὐρ. Ἀλεξανδρία
ἀνδρὶ Τροφίμῳ καὶ ἐ[α]ν-
τῇ ζώσῃ· [καὶ τὰ] τέκνα
αὐτῶν Τρο[φίμ]ῳ[ς] καὶ
5 ΦΛ[- - - - -]ΕΙΣΟΙΣΤ
[- - -]ΩΙΑΙΙ[-]
[- -]Λ[- -]Ω[- -]
[- -]Ν[- - -]
[- -]Μ[- - -]
10 [Χρη]στιαν[ός].

Aurelia Alexandria (prepared this tomb) for her husband **Trophimas** and for her herself while still living; and their children **Trophimas**

5 and . . .
10 | a Christian.

Variant readings:

l.3 [καὶ τὰ τέκνα]: MAMA.

l.7 [- -]λ[- -]Ω[- -]: MAMA.

l.10 [- -]στιαν[- -]: MAMA [but suggests Χρηστιαν(ός) in commentary].

Further references: [Probably (see below)] J.W. Crowfoot (1897/8: 83); MAMA 10, p. xxxix; S. Mitchell (1993: 40 n.241; *BE* [1994]: 751).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 23 no. 217.

Workshop

The workshop in or around Soa which, earlier, had manufactured Type C Altıntaş 1 doorstones (see *ad* 24), introduced, during III^d, a new kind of stele—the “panel-stele.” This type of monument, which developed from the “doorstele,” differs from the former in that its shaft is not

divided into four small rectangular panels, like the panels of a door, but is carved in the shape of one large rectangular recessed panel. The panel is framed with a slightly-recessed inner border, decorated with a wreath pattern, and an outer border, decorated with a distinctive grape and vine pattern. The pediment is (almost?) invariably triangular and features a large centrally-located wreath, often encircling a Latin cross; see *ad* 38. See *ad* 38 also for a discussion of some of the other symbols decorating these panel-steles, and cf. 17 for the use of a cross on a third-century tombstone. That this workshop numbered Christians among its clients is attested by the frequency with which the Xp.-Xp. formula appears. For the view that this workshop was a "Christian business," see *IPhrygChr*, p. 42 and esp. G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-366), who argues (360-361) that the Xp.-Xp. formula reflects more the Christian self-identity of the artisans of that workshop than that of its customers. At this time, however, the workshop had a vast output of monuments for a non-Christian as well as Christian market; see *ad* 53. The workshop is unlikely to have been exclusively Christian during III⁴, although it is probable that it employed Christians as well as non-Christians.

Date

Ed. pr. (p. 67) considers this stele in all likelihood to be the earliest extant example of the panel-steles, as there is not yet a vine tendril on the socle of this stone as there are on the later ones, and dates it c.285-290. This accords well with the date (= 304/5 C.E.) inscribed on 53—a "Bogenfeldstele" produced in the same workshop in a similar style. The whole series, which included similarly styled funerary altars (e.g., 47-49) appears to have run from c.285/290 to c.305/310.

A rediscovered stone?

The eds. of *MAMA* 10 take this stone to be "almost certainly a new addition to the 'Christians for Christians' series" (67). It is possible, however, that this is the same panel-stele seen by J.W. Crowfoot at Doğalar at the end of the 19th century but considered by E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 29) to be either lost or one of the Upper Tembris Valley stones of unknown precise provenance. Crowfoot's description of the stone he saw at Doğalar (which he took to be a replica of [presumably our] 38) and the drawing he provided of the vine and grapes border (83 and fig. 3), matches 42-44 but could also apply to the panel-stele under discussion here. Crowfoot's use of the word "replica" need not carry the sense of "identical." It may be significant that whereas 38 has the Xp.-Xp. formula, Crowfoot simply reports that the Doğalar stone he saw "is also Christian" (83). The replica of the Aykırıkcı stone, therefore,

may not have contained the Xp.-Xp. formula but merely the word Christian or Christians, lending further support to the view that the stone which Crowfoot saw is indeed the same as this one.

The Xp.-Xp. formula?

As there does not appear to be an additional line following l.10 enabling the restoration [Χρη]στιαν[οἱ | Χρη]στιανῶ] (or close variant), it seems best to classify this with the Χρη]στιανοὶ rather than with the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions; cf. 21, 36. It is possible that the final word in l.10 should indeed be restored as [Χρη]στιαν[ῶ], rather than [Χρη]στιαν[ός], conveying the sense that the inscription was "for a Christian" (cf. 46) named Trophimas. On the name of the deceased, which ends in -ας instead of the more common -ος, see *IPhrygChr*, pp. 36, 145, and *ad* 35.

Montanist?

The *ed. pr.*, in my view correctly, does not assume any connection with Montanism for this epitaph, but it is included here because of the open uses of a cross (crosses?) and the claim that it belongs to the Xp.-Xp. series, both of which, according to some, identify inscriptions as Montanist; see *ad* 27.

38. Χρη]στιανοὶ Χρη]στιανῶ

Aykırıkcı

Now in Bursa Museum, inv. no. 24

c.290-300

Ed. pr. — "Funde," in *MDAI(A)* 25 [1900]: 469 no. 1, based on copy by G. Weber.

Bluish-white marble panel-stele Type C or E Altıntaş 1 (see below). Bottom of stone, broken, now set in new cement base. (Original) height: 1.50m. (including tenon?), 1.36m. (including socle); (visible) height: 1.28m.; width: 0.68m. (at spring of current arch): 0.83m. (at bottom of stele); thickness: 0.19m.-0.22m. Top of pediment, decorated with stylized tendrils (representing akroteria?), contains fissure. Low relief of wreath encircling Latin cross located centrally in pediment. Horizontal line, sloping slightly downward from left to right incised at either side of wreath. *Ed. pr.* reports "oben Kranz mit Kreuz, dann Relief von Mann und Frau" (469), but this is incorrect. There are no traces of portraiture. *Ed. pr.*'s report appears to have been influenced by Weber's description of two other monuments which Weber saw alongside of this one, each of

which are also said to have reliefs of a man and a woman ("Funde," 469 nos. 1-2). Rectangular panel is recessed beneath pediment surrounded by double border reminiscent of door posts and lintel, decorated with vines and grapes (outer) and stylized leaves (inner). Each border has raised, rounded edges. Recessed main panel is divided into three registers containing low reliefs and inscription. Middle register: *falx vinitoria* (cf. 8); wax tablets with stylus; spindle and distaff (cf. 6). Lower register: three pairs of oxen. Upper register: ll.1-7 of inscription. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. *Upsilon*s have short (or, sometimes, no) tail (cf. 40, 42, 44, 86). "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Tilted *chi* resembling Greek cross in l.4. Ligatures at ll.1-5. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.018m. **Figure 38. Plate 21.**

Within wreath:

†

In framed panel:

Αὐρ. Αππης ἀνδρὶ Τροφί-
μῳ τῷ κὲ Κράσῳ γλυκυντά-
τῳ κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Τρόφι-
μος κὲ Νικόμαχος κὲ Δό-
5 μνα κὲ Αππης πατρὶ κὲ μη-
τρὶ ζώσῃ. Χρηστianoὶ Χρη-
στιανῶ.

5 Aurelia Appes (prepared this tomb) for her sweetest husband Trophimos also called Krasos; and their children Trophimos and Nikomachos and Domna | and Appes (provided this tomb) for (their) father and mother, while she is (still) living. Christians for a Christian.

Other edd.: Armanet "Antique épitaphe" [1904]: 206-207 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy; Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 80-81 no. 81 with photograph (= Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 328-329 no. 81); **IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 12 with trans. and photographs. Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs II* [1979]: 285 no. 1159 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Pargoire "Bennisoa I" [1905]: 333-334 (l.7 only); Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: col. 1473 with French trans. and facsimile; id., "Croix" [1914b]: cols. 3059-3060 with French trans., facsimile of majuscule text, and line drawing/facsimile of stone; Kaufmann *Epigraphik* [1917]: 229 with facsimile; Calder

"Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 342 no. 10 with photograph; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 676-677 no. 32 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, facsimile, and photograph.



Fig. 38: Tombstone inscription for Trophimos (and Appes)

Variant readings:

- l.2 Κράσ[σ]ω: Armanet (Kaufmann).
l.3 αὐτῶν: Weber; αὐτῶ: Armanet (Leclercq; Kaufmann).

l.4 Νικόμαχος: *IPhyrChr*.

l.6 ζῶσιν (!): Weber; ζ[ώ]σιν: Armanet (Leclercq; Kaufmann), but according to *IPhyrChr*, the *omega* is clear on the stone.

l.7 -σιανῶ: Pargoire, confirming the correctness of this reading despite Armanet's majuscule copy: CTNAIΩ.

Further references: [Probably (see below)] J.W. Crowfoot (1897/8: 83); *BE* [1910]: p. 322; Calder "Philadelphia," 318, 350; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 63 n.4; Mansel "Istanbul" [1933]: col. 136; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 10; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 787; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 217; W.H.C. Frend (1968b: 456 and n. 116); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 295 n.32 [*ad* no. 4], 309 n.108 [*ad* no. 37]); *IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 7, 10, 41-44; Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 3, 32; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100; 1980: 177); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 109 no. 6, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiaticum* [1981]: 505 no. 128; D. Feissel (1981: 370); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 12); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 132, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); R.S. Kraemer (1988: 114 no. 63 [12] trans. only); Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125 with photograph; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 201; G.H.R. Horsley (1992: 1012); *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1846; *SEG* 40 [1993]: 1186; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.119); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-344, 350, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 364 n.8, 365 n.25); Frend (1996: 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: Mendel *Catalogue*, 80 fig. 40 [= "Catalogue" 328 fig. 40; this photograph shows two letters (alphabetic numerals?) within the wreath (cf. 60, 62), but these were not original to the monument. They do not appear on other photographs, hence they may have been some sort of identification symbol on the stone or on the photograph itself rather than a date. Interestingly, not even Calder's photograph, which is a republication of Mendel's photograph, contains these letters. Perhaps they were (correctly) removed to avoid confusion with the engraved letters. Leclercq's line drawing (see below), however, reproduces the letters] (Calder "Philadelphia" [opposite p. 342] fig. 3 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 13]); *IPhyrChr*, plate 13 ("face" and "side"); Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 174 no. 1159; Koch, 127 fig. 22.

Line drawing/facsimile: [Probably (see below)] Crowfoot, 83 fig. 3 (part of vine and grapes border only); Leclercq "Croix," col. 3059 fig. 3371 [based on Mendel's photograph] (Tabbernee "Montanism," 677).

Facsimile: Armanet, 206 (Leclercq "Chrétien," col. 1473 corrected on the basis of Pargoire [Kaufmann, 229; Tabbernee "Montanism," 677]).

Type C or E?

The extant semicircular shape of the top of this panel-stele, if original, would mean that the stone should be classified Type E Altıntaş 1; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: plate 107. E. Gibson (in *IPhyrChr*, p. 28), however, describes the pediment of this stone as triangular, as she does in

the case of *IPhyrChr* 15 which, while it appears semicircular, is clearly broken. Similarly, the eds. of *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 217 (our 37) consider that broken stone to have had a triangular pediment. Notwithstanding this, they do, however, raise the possibility that *MAMA* 10.104 (our 39), which is also broken, may either be Type C (which has a triangular pediment) or Type E. None of the extant and definitely unbroken panel-steles of this series, however, has a Type E pediment, with the possible exception of a stone seen by J.W. Crowfoot—which may, in fact, have been the very same stone as the one under discussion here; see below. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be best to assume that the normal shape of the pediment of this series conformed to Type C. The semicircular pediment on this particular monument may have been the result of rounding the stone after the original peak of the pediment had broken off. Whether this occurred at the time of its original manufacture or later is impossible to determine.

Date

Pfuhl/Möbius date this tombstone to the late imperial period. A more exact date is able to be adduced from a comparison with the other panel-steles of this series (see *ad* 37). Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, p. 42; "Koç Collection," 32) considers this stele to be by the same mason who also produced 39-40, 42, 44, and *IPhyrChr* 15. The eds. of *MAMA* 10, on the basis of a careful analysis of the style of various panel-steles in this series by M. Waelkens, date 42 to c.290-300, which is the likely range for this stone also, even if the work was in fact carried out by one of the other masons in the same workshop. Because the socle is no longer extant, it is impossible to determine whether, like the slightly later 39 and 43, it was decorated with the vine and grape pattern, but the style of the extant borders is certainly later than 37.

Wreath encircling Latin cross

The most prominent decoration on this tombstone is a large wreath, inside which is carved a Latin cross. The wreath (garland), a universal funerary symbol indicating victory in death, here is clearly part of the prefabricated stone. Even though the workshop which produced this and similar monuments may have employed Christians as well as having Christians among its clientele (see *ad* 37), the Latin cross would probably not have been pre-carved but added at the time the monument was commissioned. Even Christians frequently chose (or commissioned) tombstones with wreaths but without crosses—especially in the pre-Constantinian period (e.g., 21, 50) but also later (e.g., 55, 62). On the other hand, it seems that, at this particular workshop, at least some crosses

were pre-carved within these wreaths and then carefully erased if the stone was purchased by a non-Christian; e.g., Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 212-214 no. 10 (= *IPhrygChr* 15 [pl. 15]) discovered at Aslanapa, now in the Kütahya Museum.

Wax tablets with stylus

A number of the monuments with the wreath/cross motif contain almost identical additional symbols which were obviously also pre-carved. They include, as in this instance, objects such as spindle and distaff (see *ad* 6) and comb (see *ad* 5). Also popular were wax tablets, almost invariably carved open and with a stylus protruding from the holder located centrally at the join (cf. 41-42, 47-48, 53-54, 60). Contrast 49, 57 which do not have a protruding stylus. Like the open book-scroll (cf. 5, 21), it symbolized literacy—although, because of its prefabrication, one cannot presume that the people named on any particular tombstone with the symbol were, in fact, literate. That, on Christian monuments, the wax tablets symbolized a Bible or, as a representation of the *tabellae* of a contract, the Covenant (W.M. Ramsay "Book" [1905]: 209-224, 294-306; cf. Calder "Philadelphia," 350) is stretching the imagination.

Oxen

This tombstone, like others with the wreath/cross motif (40, 47-48), is decorated with three teams of oxen. On other panel-steles and altars of the same genre, there is frequently a single pair of oxen, but with a plough (e.g., 30(?), 37(?), 39, 41-43). Although Anderson (194) suggested that the symbols carved on these monuments indicated the occupation of the departed, there is no need to assume that the deceased (or the dedicators) were farmers wealthy enough to own oxen or that, indeed, all of those mentioned on the tombstone were agriculturists. This popular funerary symbol, presumably, was used widely because of importance of oxen in the agricultural life of the Upper Tembris Valley and of Phrygia in general; see Gibson "Koc Collection," 2. See also Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités [1990]: 2006 and nn.370, 371.

A double name

Appes' husband's additional name Krassos is most likely derived from the Latin Crassus (Armanet, 206), although it is also possible that it is based on Χρῆσος (Ferrua, 177). On double names of this sort, see Horsley, 1011-1017. On the name Trophimos, see *ad* 35. Αππης is formed from Appe; see L. Zgusta (1964: §66-14 and n.170 at §66-6).

"For father and mother"

The children of Trophimos are not only co-dedicators with their mother of the tomb of their father but also dedicate the tomb to future use by their mother, who, at the time, was still living. This practice was extremely common on tombstones. Because only the father was deceased at the time the tomb was constructed, care was taken to reflect this in the syntax of the Xp.-Xp. formula.

Similar or identical tombstone?

Crowfoot (83) reported that, at Aykırıkçı, he had seen a small slab with a semicircular pediment containing a cross in a circle. The last line of the inscription on this stone reads Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῶ. G. Mendel ("Catalogue," 329), followed by Waelkens (1977: 309 n.108 [*ad* no. 37]) and Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 29), assumed, probably correctly, that the stone which Crowfoot saw is the same as the one containing the inscription under discussion here. The last two words are certainly identical. There is, however, some room for doubt. Crowfoot's exact words are: "the last line of the inscription which fills the field runs—Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῶ" (83). But in the inscription published above, the last two words are not, strictly speaking, "the last line" but part of the penultimate line and the last line. Moreover, the inscription does not "fill the field," although it does fill the top register of the field. Thirdly, as mentioned above, the stone under discussion here probably had a triangular rather than a semicircular pediment. All of this, of course, can be explained by imprecise terminology on the part of Crowfoot and he, like others, could have assumed that the stone had a semicircular pediment when, in fact, it (at least originally) had a triangular one. Despite all that, it may still be the case that there was, indeed, a second stone at Aykırıkçı ending with the words Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῶ. If so, that stone has been lost. See also *ad* 37.

Montanist?

Irrespective of whether there were two panel-steles at Aykırıkçı with the Xp.-Xp. formula, the formula, by itself, does not convey Montanism (see *ad* 27). It is not likely that the tilted *chi* in 1.4 is an intentional representation of a Greek cross (see *ad* 40), but even if it was meant to be such a cross, it would not add anything that was not already conveyed by the large Latin cross within the wreath. The early open use of crosses does not lend support to a Montanist interpretation of the Xp.-Xp. epitaphs, as Christians other than Montanists displayed such crosses in the pre-Constantinian era; see *ad* 17 and cf. Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 100 (but contrast Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 87-88).

39. Asklepiades for Asklepiades

Alibey köy,
in house at S. of village, set in floor and used as step

c.305-310

Ed. pr. — Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 268 no. 1 (designated Cox, no. 1).

White marble panel-stele: Type C or E Altıntaş 1 (see *ad* 38). Broken at top, top right and bottom right. Surface very worn. Height: 1.055m.; width: 0.535m.; thickness: 0.20m. Lower pediment reveals part of wreath, presumably encircling Latin cross (see *ad* 38). Rectangular panel recessed in extant shaft of stele, surrounded by double border, decorated like 43, including vine and grape pattern on socle. Lower panel has low reliefs. To the right of II.9-13: comb (cf. 5) above spindle and distaff (cf. 6). Immediately below inscription: wood-carving tool(?), drill(?), felling ax, carpenter's ax. At bottom of panel: pair of oxen with plough (see *ad* 38). Presumably there was a tenon, but, if so, this has broken off. Inscription, copied by C.W.M. Cox and A. Cameron in 1926, in upper panel. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. The text provided by MAMA 10 [1993]: 104 indicates dittography at II.3-4, but this alleged dittography appears to be based on reading an *omega* as a *sigma* at the end of I.3. MAMA 10's facsimile does not show dittography. Haplography in I.4. Ligatures at II.3, 4, 6, 7, 12. Letter height: 0.012-0.22m. Figure 39. Plate 22.

Αὐρ. Κύριλλα
ἀνδρὶ Ἀσκληπι-
αῖ ἀδὴ κὲ ἐαυτῇ ζῶ-
σα κὲ τὰ τέκνα <α>ὐ-
5 τῶν Ἀσκληπι-
αδὴ πατρὶ κὲ
μητρὶ κὲ Δόμν-
α νύμφη ἐκυροῖς.
Χρηστια-
10 νοὶ Χρησ-
τιανοῖς.

μνήμης χ-
ἀρην.

Aurelia Kyrilla (prepared this tomb) for her husband Asklepiades and for herself, (while still) living, and their children (also provided this tomb): | Asklepiades for his father and mother and Domna, daughter-in-law, for her parents-in-law. Christians | for Christians, in memory.

Other edd.: *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 14 (reprints Calder's text; with trans. and first published photograph); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 104 with line drawing/facsimile and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 163; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 657-658 no. 22 with trans.; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 46-47 no. 2.4 with trans.

Variant readings:

- I.1 Κύριλλα: *IPhrygChr* does not mark partly illegible letters other than those already marked by Calder; Κύριλλα: *MAMA* does not mark partially illegible *alpha* here, but elsewhere normally follows Calder in marking partially illegible letters; Johnson, who follows *IPhrygChr*, does not mark partially illegible letters or ligatures.
I.2 ἀνδρὶ: previous *edd.* do not, here or elsewhere, mark letters once visible or once partly visible, but no longer visible.
I.3 ἐαυτῇ: Calder (*SEG*; *IPhrygChr*; Tabbernee); ἐαυτῇ: *MAMA*.
II.3-4 ζῶσα: *MAMA*.
I.4 τέκνα: Calder (*SEG*; *IPhrygChr*; Tabbernee), *MAMA*.
II.5-6 Ἀσκληπιᾶδης: Calder (*SEG*; Tabbernee; *IPhrygChr*); Ἀσκληπιᾶδης: *MAMA* does not mark partially illegible *lamda* in miniscule text but shows partially illegible *kappa* and *lamda* in facsimile of majuscule text.
I.7 μητρὶ κ-: Calder (Tabbernee); μητρὶ κὲ: *SEG*, *MAMA*; μητρὶ κὲ: *IPhrygChr*. *MAMA* shows partially illegible *rho* and *kappa* in facsimile of majuscule text.
I.8 γύμφη: Calder (*SEG*; Tabbernee), *MAMA*; γύμφη: *IPhrygChr*; ἐκυροῖς: Calder (Tabbernee); ἐκυροῖς: *SEG*; ἐκυροῖς: *IPhrygChr*, *MAMA*.
II.9-10 Χρηστιανοὶ: Calder (*SEG*; *IPhrygChr*; Tabbernee); Χρηστιανοὶ: *MAMA* marks partially illegible *alpha* in miniscule text but not in facsimile of majuscule text.
I.12-13 χλάρην: Calder (Tabbernee); χλάρην: *SEG*; χλάρην: *IPhrygChr*; χάρην: *MAMA* only marks partially illegible *chi* in miniscule text but shows partially illegible *chi*, *rho* and *nu* in facsimile of majuscule text.

Further references: M. Waelkens (1977: 309 n.108 [*ad* no. 40]); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhrygChr*, pp. 10, 41-44; Gibson "Kof Collection" [1978b]: 32; A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 503 no. 110; D. Feissel (1981: 370); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 93); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 14); Tabbernee "Christian

Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.201); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-344, 350, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25); *BE* [1995]: 479; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 39, 113, 115; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 195 and n.74).

Photographs: *IPhrygChr*, plate 14; *MAMA* 10, plate 10 no. 104.

Line drawing/facsimile: *MAMA* 10, p. 31.



Fig. 39: Tombstone of Asklepiades (and Aurelia Kyrilla)

Date

This panel-stele, with decorated socle, comes late in the series; see *MAMA* 10, p. 31. It may have been sculpted by the same mason who carved some of the other panel-steles over a ten- to fifteen-year period; see *ad* 38.

Τέκνα

E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p.32) considers τέκνα in *l.4* to be an erroneous plural. However, although only one of the natural children of Asklepiades and Aurelia Kyrilla is mentioned, i.e., a son also named Asklepiades (*ll.5-6*), the use of τέκνα is clearly intended to apply also to Domna, their daughter-in-law, who obviously is the younger Asklepiades' wife. This epitaph makes explicit what is often only implicit elsewhere: a number of the women named on tombstones as children of the deceased were daughters-in-law, presumably married to the man whose name immediately precedes theirs (e.g., 40). The word ἐκυροῖς (*l.8*), in this context, must mean "parents-in-law" and not "step-parents"; contrast 42. On the names Kyrilla, Asklepiades and Domna, see *ad* 25, 7, and 34 respectively.

Montanist?

W.M. Calder published this epitaph as an addendum to four previously published inscriptions (9, 57, 63, 84), each of which he considered Montanist (266-268). Only two of these (63, 84), are designated correctly as Montanist epitaphs. Calder (266) argued that 63 placed the Montanist character of Χρ.-Χρ. epitaphs beyond doubt. Consequently, he took the Χρ.-Χρ. inscription under discussion here to be Montanist. The identification of all Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions as Montanist, however, is not valid (see *ad* 27) and there is nothing on this tombstone, other than the formula, to suggest that it belonged to a Montanist family.

40. Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς

Akçaköy, from Erikli Mevkii cemetery
Now in the Rahmi Koç Collection, Istanbul

c.305-310

Ed. pr.—*IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 8 with trans. and photograph.

White marble panel-stele: Type C Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 37. Broken at bottom left. Seen and photographed by E. Gibson at Akçaköy in 1971.

Height (including tenon): 0.976m.; width: 0.445m.; thickness: 0.06m. Pediment decorated, at top, with stylized tendrils (to suggest akroteria?). Low relief of wreath encircling Latin cross located centrally in pediment (cf. 38). Single horizontal lines incised at either side of wreath where they join to form parallel lines reaching to peak of pediment (cf. 44). Rectangular panel recessed beneath pediment surrounded by double border, perhaps reminiscent of door posts and lintel, decorated with vines and grapes (outer) and stylized leaves (inner). Each border has raised, rounded edges. Socle is not decorated with vines and leaves (contrast 41, 43) but with low relief of (three?) pairs of oxen (cf. 42 [one pair of oxen with plough on socle]; for carvings of three pairs of oxen without plough, cf. 38). Lower part of recessed panel contains two (saddled) horses (cf. 47, 57). Inscription commences in upper panel and continues in pediment at either side of wreath. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. Some *upsilons* have short (or no) tail (cf. 38, 42, 44, 86). "Horseshoe" *omegas*. *Nu* corrected from *eta* in l.16. The cross bar of the *pi* in l.17 does not appear to have been cut. Tilted *chis* resembling Greek crosses at ll.9, 22. Ligatures at ll.3-13, 15, 18. Letter height: 0.017m. Figure 40. Plate 22.

In framed panel:

Αὐρ. Δόμνα
ἀνδρὶ Μέλη
κὲ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσ-
α· κὲ τὰ τέκνα
5 ἀντῶν Κύριλ-
λος κὲ Ἀλέξα-
νδρος κὲ Ἰστρα-
τονικῆς κὲ Εὐ-
θυχειανῆς κὲ
10 Τατιανὸς κὲ
'Αλεξανδρία κὲ
Αὐξάνω κὲ Κυρι-
ακῆς κὲ Εὐσέβι-
ς

At either side of wreath:

†

15 κὲ Δόμ-
νος
πατρὶ
κὲ μητρ-
ὶ ζῶσῃ.

20 Χρησ-
τιαν-
οὶ Χρησ-
τιανο-
ὶς.

5 Aurelia Domna (prepared this tomb) for her husband
Meles and for herself, (while still) living; | and their children
10 Kyrillos and Alexandros and Istratonikes and Euthycheianes
15 | and Tatianos and Alexandria and Auxanon and Kyriakes
and Eusebis | and Domnos (provided this tomb) for their father
and their mother who is (still) alive.

20 | Christians for Christians.

Other *edd.*: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 62-69 no. 2 with photograph; id., "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 30-32 no. 12 with trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 660-662 no. 26 with trans. and photograph; SEG 28 [1982]: 1104.

Variant readings:

l.3 ἐαυτῇ: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and "Koç Collection," does not mark ligature here.

l.5 ἀντῶν: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and "Koç Collection," does not mark ligature here.

ll.8-9 Εὐθυ+ειανῆς: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and "Koç Collection," does not mark ligature here; Εὐθυ+ειανῆς: *IPhrygChr*.

ll.12 Αὐξάνω: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and "Koç Collection."

ll.13-14 Εὐσέβις: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee).

ll.18-19 μητρὶς: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee); ζῶσῃ: no punctuation suggested by Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and *IPhrygChr* (SEG).

ll.22-24 +ρησ+τιανο+ὶς: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee), *IPhrygChr* (SEG) and "Koç Collection."

Further references: *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 10, 41-44; Gibson "Koç Collection," 3, 8-9, 11; BE [1978]: 472; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 109 no. 3, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 131g; D. Feissel

(1981: 370); D.E. Groh (1981: 450); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); R.S. Kraemer (1988: 114 no. 63 [8] trans. only); Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 174; *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1846; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. 54; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.119); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-346, 350, 352, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25 with photograph).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plate 9 [= cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," plate 2 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 8)] (Johnson, 346 plate 2); Gibson "Koç Collection," plate 6[c].



Fig. 40: Tombstone of Meles (and Aurelia Domna)

Inscription

It is clear from this epitaph that, normally, inscriptions on this type of gravestone commenced at the top of the recessed panel, not in the pediment. The pediment was used, however, if the engraver "ran out of space" at the bottom of the panel, in which case the inscription would continue on the pediment. Similarly, later additions to an inscription could be carved on the pediment, cf. 42 and 44. Those inscriptions, as well as 38-39, and *IPhyrChr* 15, were probably carved by the same mason who produced this one; see *ad* 38. This particular stone comes late in the series as it has a decorated socle. *MAMA* 10 (p. 54) dates it to c.305-310.

Orthography and onomastics

See L. Zgusta (1964: §893) on the Greek name Mel(l)es and see *BE* [1959]: 411 on masculine names ending in -ης. In this inscription, Istratonikes (cf. 13, 43), Euthycheianes (cf. 47) and Kyriakes (cf. 60) are all feminine names ending in -ης, on which, see *ad* 48. For the prothetic *iota* preceding the first consonant in Istratonikes, see *ad* 43. Tatianos is a Phrygian name (cf. Tatia [6]); see Zgusta, §1517-38, 1584-4.

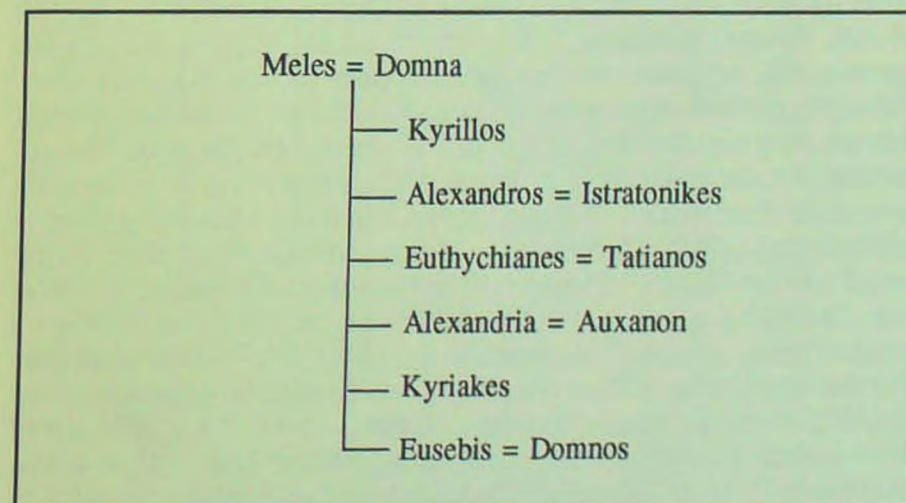


Fig. 41: Stemma showing likely "children-in-law" of Meles and Domna

E. Gibson originally ("Montanism," 63) assumed the omission of the final *nu* in Αὐξανῶν (<ν> (I.12) to be an engraver's error or that the name was feminine, i.e., Αὐξανώ. Later (*IPhyrChr*, p. 20; "Koç Collection,"

31) she considered the omission to be a reflection of pronunciation which reduced *nu* to *gamma* before *kappa*, ultimately causing *nu* to drop out. The feminine form of this name, in fact, is Ἀνδάνουσα (cf. 51), not Ἀνδανώ. The common fluctuation between aspirate and unvoiced consonant (see J. Friedrich [1941: 876] and *IPhyrgChr*, p. 21 n.1) is responsible for the substitution of *theta* for *tau* in Εὐθυχειανής (II.8-9). As in 39, some of τὰ τέκνα may be "children-in-law." The order in which they are listed suggests the stemma given above (fig. 41). For the omission of *sigma* before *tau* (in Χρηστιάδος), cf. 8, 61.

Chi carved as a Greek cross?

The *chis* in II.9, 22 (but not in I.20) are carved in a way which makes them resemble a Greek cross. Similar tilted representations of *chi* occur in a number of further panel-steles with Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions (38, 44, 47) as well as on some other Phrygian tombstones, including some which are definitely Christian; see, for example, Calder "Epigraphy II" [1924b]: 87 no. 4, 88-92 nos. 1-5; *MAMA* 7 [1956]: p. xl; Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs I* [1977]: 783 (cf. *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 236-238 no. 121); and *IPhyrgChr* 31 (cf. *BE* [1979]: 527; *MAMA* 10, pp. xxxviii, xl n.12). W.M. Calder ("Epitaphs" [1955]: 35) concluded that the substitution of a cross for a *chi* was a reliable indication of Christianity; cf. *EG* 4 [1978]: 313 n.1. Calder ("Epitaphs," 35) also concluded that in inscriptions prior to c.350, the presence of a substituted cross for *chi* indicated Montanism. Neither of these conclusions is warranted. As Calder had himself acknowledged earlier ("Epigraphy II," 90 ad no. 6), the cross-like appearance of a *chi* may merely be due to careless engraving. It is certainly the case that among the inscriptions included in this corpus *chi* is tilted at various angles—often inconsistently within a particular inscription; as, for example, in the Χρ.-Χρ. formula here and in that of 44. Similarly, letters other than *chi*, e.g., *upsilon* (cf. 3, 9) or *tau* (cf. 21), are sometimes carved in such a way that they resemble a cross (cf. 3). Even in obviously Christian inscriptions, such carving appears to be merely ornamental; see ad 3. Moreover, as letters resembling "Greek crosses" are also carved within inscriptions which are probably non-Christian (e.g., 53), it is best to conclude (*contra* Calder) that tilted *chis* were not normally intended as crosses and, hence, cannot even be taken as sure indicators of Christianity; see also *IPhyrgChr*, p. 39; Wischmeyer, 170; Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 134; *New Docs* 4, 237; and Johnson, 352, 362. For a similar argument against taking a tilted *chi* as an intentional representation of St. Andrew's cross, see ad 42.

Montanist?

Gibson at first ("Montanism," 65 and n.4) took this tombstone to be Montanist because of its open use of the cross at the top of the monument. She no longer assumed this in *IPhyrgChr*. Arguments for and against the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions being Montanist also apply to this inscription. Apart from that formula, nothing on this tombstone other than the alleged evidence of the tilted *chis* suggests Montanism.

41. "[Christians] for Christians"?

Said to be from Üçyüük

Now in Kütahya Museum, inv. no. 908

c.305-310

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 11 with trans. and photograph.

Large fragment of white marble panel-stele: Type C or E Altıntaş 1 (see ad 38). Broken at top right corner and front surface of tenon. Height (including tenon): 0.625m.; width: 0.55m.; thickness 0.07m. Pediment perhaps contained wreath encircling Latin cross (cf. 38). Rectangular panel recessed in extant shaft of stele, surrounded by double frame, reminiscent of door posts and lintel, decorated with vines and grapes (outer) and stylized leaves (inner). Double frame has raised edges, some rounded. Socle, carved as part of outer frame, also decorated with vine and grapes pattern. Lower half of panel contains low reliefs: large pruning hook (*falx vinitoria* [cf. 8]); wax tablets with stylus (cf. 38); pair of oxen with plough (cf. 39 and see ad 38). Inscription commences in upper half of panel and continues in empty spaces around prefabricated reliefs in lower half. Uneven lettering. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Slightly tilted *chi* in I.2 (see ad 40). Diagonal cross bar of *nu* in I.4 and of second *nu* in I.5 was not cut by the engraver. Final *sigma* of Ἐπιτώνχανος (I.5) is carved below line. The name Κύριλος (I.6) and the word χάριν (I.11) are carved sloping to the right to fit around the *falx vinitoria*. Similarly, the final syllable of Ἀλέξανδρος is carved slightly lower than the penultimate syllable in order to fit below the wax tablets. All should be considered as being on the same line. The second syllable (-ελ-) of ἀδελφῶ, although in right rather than left tablet, is still carved on same line as first syllable (αδ-). Consequently, ed. pr.'s line numbering of 15-19 is amended below to 15-17. Ligatures at II.3, 4, 6, 10, 14. Letter height: 0.017m. Figure 42. Plate 22.

Αὐρ. Κυρίλα ἀν[δ-]
 ρὶ Εὐτύχῳ Δευκω-
 μήτῃ κὲ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσ-
 α' κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτ-
 5 ὦν Ἐπιτύγχανος
 κὲ Κύ ριλος
 Χρηστ- Νικη- ἀδελ-
 ιανο- φόρος 17 φῶ.
 ἱς, κὲ Ἀλέ-
 10 μνήμ- 15 ξανδρος
 ης χάριν.

Aurelia Kyrila (prepared this tomb) for her husband
 Eutychos, a native of Deukome, and for herself (while
 5 still) living; and their children | Epitynchanos and
 Kyrilos (also provided this tomb) for (their parents
 10 who are both) Christians, | in memory. Nikephoros and
 15 | Alexandros for their brother.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1099; G.J. Johnson (1994: 351 [II.7-11 only]).

Variant readings:

I.2 Εὐτυ+φ: *IPhrygChr*.

II.14-15 Ἀλέ|ξανδ|ρος: *IPhrygChr* (*SEG*) places each syllable on a different line.

II.16-17 ἀδελ|φῶ: *IPhrygChr* (*SEG*) places each syllable on a different line.

Further references: *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 41-43; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 109 no. 5, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 503 no. 106d; D. Feissel (1981: 370); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 1963 n.204, 2006 and n.371; Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 412 [inadvertently cites inscription as *IPhrygChr*, p. 16f. instead of p. 26f.]; H.W. Pleket (1992: 423); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xliii; Johnson, 341-345, 348, 350, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25 with photograph.

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 12 (Johnson, 348 plate 4).



Fig. 42: Eutychos' tombstone

Workshop and date

This tombstone was manufactured by the same workshop which produced the other Xp.-Xp. panel-steles displaying a prominent wreath encircling a Latin cross; cf. 38 and see *ad* 37. According to E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 42), it was carved by the mason who also sculpted 53.

This stone closely resembles 43 and is similar to 38-40, 42, 44. Its decorated socle and the date carved on 53 (= 304/5 C.E.), suggests a c.305-310 date (cf. 39).

Nomenclature and orthography

The parents have names common among Christians. Note that the spelling of the father's name here is presumably Eutycho (cf. 47), not Eutycho (see *ad* 36), and that the mother's name (Kyrila, see *ad* 25) is spelled with -λ-, not the more usual -λλ-. The name Aurelia Kyrila is also spelled with one *lambda* on a Christian epitaph from Thrace (Dumont "Inscriptions" [1876]: 136 no. 53; cf. Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: col. 1471). C. Cecchelli (*Aureli* [1928]: 63 n.4) includes the Thracian epitaph in his list of Montanist inscriptions, presumably because it designates the Aurelia Kyrila referred to in that epitaph as *χρηστιανή*. Despite the *quasi-praenomen*, the inscription from Thrace is probably post-Constantinian (see Leclercq, col. 1471) and, in any case, pre-Constantinian open profession of faith does not necessarily point to Montanism; see *ad* 9. As no other scholar, not even Leclercq, has suggested even a possible link with Montanism for the Thracian Aurelia Kyrila, her epitaph has not been discussed in a separate entry.

The name of the second son of the Phrygian Aurelia Kyrila and her husband Eutycho is also spelled with -λ- rather than -λλ-. The name of the older son, Epitychanos, is based on a nickname (see *IPhyrChr*, p. 145) and is attested elsewhere in the Upper Tembris Valley; e.g., 46; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 107 no. 250 (pl. 41); and *CB* 2 [1897]: 467 (cf. *BE* [1898]: p. 338). The latter, wrongly attributed to Akmonia by W.M. Ramsay, honors the famous "pagan" prophet who took a leading role in the attempted revival of classical religion under Maximin Daia in c.312; see S. Mitchell (1993: 47 and n.274, 64 and n.70). For a further example of the name at nearby Kotiaion, see 64.

The names of the deceased's brothers are equally commonplace in Phrygia. For Nikephoros, cf. Waelkens, 178-179 no. 446 (fig. 50) and 213 no. 539 from the territories of Diokleia and Amorion respectively. For the frequency of the name Alexandros, see Appendix 5.

Deukome

Eutycho's home village may have been Daoukome, attested in the lists of the cultic organization known as the Xenoi Tekmoreioi; see W. Ruge (1934: cols. 158-169) and *BE* [1983]: 414. The cult itself was situated at two centers near Antiocheia; see Mitchell, 9 and n.67. The village of Daoukome, however, has not yet been located; see *IPhyrChr*, p. 27. It is more likely, however, that Eutycho's home village was a completely dif-

ferent village from that associated with the Xenoi Tekmoreioi and that it was situated somewhere in the Upper Tembris Valley; see Drew-Bear/Naour, 1963 and n.204.

"For Christians"

The context makes it clear that the designation *Χρηστιανοίς* applies to the (deceased) father and the (still alive) mother of the primary dedicators. Consequently, the children, who are also still alive, have no hesitation in declaring publicly that their father was and that their mother is a Christian. This declaration is certainly more revealing than those which merely indicate the religion of the *deceased* by the single word Christians; e.g., 21, 36. By implication, Epitychanos and Kyriolos may also be considered Christians—a fact not declared openly, but certainly not hidden. The same need not necessarily be implied in connection with Nikephoros and Alexandros who, presumably, were Eutycho's actual brothers and whose names were subjoined as co-dedicators. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 26), however, suggests that the word *Χρηστιανοί* is here omitted from the *Xp.-Xp.* formula in order to save space. On the alleged possible substitution of a Greek cross for *chi*, see *ad* 40. In this instance (l.2), there is no doubt that the tilted *chi* is not a Greek cross but simply a stylistic variation; cf. 48.

Montanist?

There is no warrant for claiming this inscription as Montanist. Even if the text contains a variant of the *Xp.-Xp.* formula, this formula is not a decisive indicator of Montanism; see *ad* 27. The open use of the word *Χρηστιανοίς* (ll.7-9) and the wreath encircling a Latin cross, which presumably was carved at the top of the stone, indicate nothing other than that Eutycho and his extended family were Christians. If they belonged to a Christian community other than the mainstream church, this is not revealed by the monument.

42. Χρηστιανοί . . . Χρηστιανή

Upper Tembris Valley, more precise
provenance unknown
Now in Kütahta Museum

c.290-300

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 10 with trans. and photograph.

White marble panel-stele: Type C Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 37. Broken at top right, bottom right and tenon. Piece of top right corner of recessed panel also broken away. Height (including tenon): 1.03m.; width: 0.49m.; thickness: 0.065m. Pediment decorated, at top, with stylized tendrils (to suggest akroteria?) and, in center, wreath encircling Latin cross. Rectangular panel recessed beneath pediment surrounded by inner frame with rounded edges and decorated with stylized leaves. Outer frame, panels reminiscent of door posts and lintel, with incised rectangle decorated with vines and grapes. Lower half of central panel contains low reliefs of double pair of spindle and distaff (cf. 6) at either side. Between them, from top to bottom: half a basket, part of bird on half a basket (cf. 29), two combs (cf. 5). Old reliefs (wax tablets with stylus [cf. 38]; whip [see *ad* 48]) still discernible beneath new ones. Socle not decorated with vines and grapes (contrast 43) but has pair of oxen with plough on plain background (cf. 40; see also *ad* 38). One part of the inscription commences at left of wreath and continues at right of wreath (part of surface of stone here broken away). Another part is engraved on the upper half of the central panel. As the first line of the latter is undoubtedly the first line of the total inscription (see below), *ed. pr.*'s numbering of the lines has not been followed, and the inscription has been divided into (a) and (b) in the transcription printed below. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. *Upsilon*s have short (or no) tail. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Tilted *chi* in l.4 resembles *crux decussata*. Diagonal bar of *nu* in l.16 does not appear to have been cut. Ligatures at 2-3, 8-9, 11. Letter height: 0.017m.-0.02m. **Figure 43. Plate 23.**

In framed panel:

(a)

4 Αὐρ. Εὐκτήμ-
ων κὲ Αμμίας
τέκνω Ὀνησί-
μη Χρηστια-
νῇ.

At either side of wreath:

(b)

8	Αὐρ. Θ- εόδωρ- ος κὲ Πα- τρικίς κὲ Πρόκλα κὲ Εὐκτήμων	† 12	Χ[ρησ-] τ[ιανο-] ὶ Α[ὐρ.] Δόμ[νη] έκυρᾶ [Χρ-] ησιανῇ.
		16	

(a)

4 Aurelios Euktemon and Aurelia Ammias (prepared this tomb)
for their child Onesime, | a Christian.

(b)

8 Aurelios Theodoros and | Aurelios Patrikis and Aurelia Prokla
12 and Aurelios Euktemon, | Christians, (are co-dedicators of this
16 tomb) for Aurelia Domna, | their stepmother, a Christian.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1098.

Variant readings:

l.6 Εὐκτήμων: *IPhyrChr* does not mark ligature.

l.15 Δόμ[νη]: *IPhyrChr* (*SEG*) does not mark partially illegible *mu*.

Further references: *IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 41-43; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 109 no. 4, 110 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 503 no. 106c; D. Feissel (1981: 370); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. 54, 67, 80; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and nn.199, 201); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-345, 347, 350-351, 353, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 364 n.8, 365 n.25 with photograph); C. Trevett (1996: 205 with trans.).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 11 (Johnson, 347 plate 3).



Fig. 43: Tombstone with funerary inscriptions for Aurelia Domna and Onesime

Workshop and date

This stone is said to have been confiscated from an antique dealer in Gediz (*IPhyrgChr*, p. 24). It, however, could not have been manufactured in ancient Kadoi. The stone was undoubtedly produced at Soa in the same workshop as the other panel-steles of this series (see *ad* 38), probably by the same mason who carved 38-40, 44, and *IPhyrgChr* 15; see E. Gibson in *IPhyrgChr*, p. 42. The eds. of *MAMA* 10 (pp. 54, 67, 80) date this stone to c.290-300. Its decorated socle suggests the latter part of that

decade (cf. 40). The epitaphs may have been carved at two slightly different times within this period, or at the same time (see below).

Two epitaphs

It is clear that there are two, related, epitaphs on this stone, but which was the main one? The family stemma and the fact that we are used to reading from top to bottom may lead to the (erroneous?) supposition that the text on either side of the wreath was inscribed first. However, children or grandchildren often predeceased their (grand)parents in the ancient world; cf., e.g., 12, 14², 16², 21, 25-26, 31, 43-45, 47, 53, 59, 61. On similar stones from the same workshop, the inscription is normally located centrally on the main panel within the frames; cf. 38-40, 43. The blank areas in pediments seem only to have been used for extremely long inscriptions and then only when the mason ran out of room at the bottom of the central panel; cf. 40. On this particular stone there was plenty of room for inscribing all of *ll.* 6-17. Hence, if these lines comprise the main text, they could easily have been carved in the central panel. The original prefabricated low reliefs in the bottom half of the panel were altered from symbols relating to men to ones relating to women. If more space had been needed for the text, this could have been created at the time of the alteration.

Aurelia Domna was apparently the stepmother of the dedicators of (b); see *LSJ* 3d ed., s.v. ἐκυρά *contra* Gibson in *IPhyrgChr* [p. 25], who translates the word as “mother-in-law” (cf. *LSJ* rev. ed.), which, in the context is more problematic. Their natural mother, and presumably their father and other relatives, were buried elsewhere. This tombstone, however, marks the family tomb commissioned by one of the sons, Euktemon, for his own family. *ll.* 1-5 were carved at the time of the death of Euktemon’s daughter. Either at the same time or, conceivably, later, Onesime’s step-grandmother (Domna) was also buried in this tomb rather than in the main family tomb. As a sign of respect, each of her stepchildren is named, probably in order of age—which would explain why Aurelios Theodoros rather than Aurelios Euktemon is listed first. Domna’s epitaph was carved in the pediment, probably to allow room for the future epitaphs of Euktemon, Ammias, and/or any of their other children to be carved below Onesime’s epitaph in the central panel.

Αὐρηλιοί/-αί

This double inscription, which includes Aurelios Euktemon in each epitaph, provides an excellent example of the fact that, for economy of space, a person’s full name was not always carved on tombstones. In (b)

Euktemon's *quasi-praenomen* is not recorded, although that of his older brother is. Presumably, each of Aurelios Theodoros' siblings had been given this *quasi-praenomen/gentilicium* (on which, see *ad* 5). Euktemon certainly bears it in (a) where he is the primary dedicator. The sense of the abbreviation Αὐρ. in these related inscriptions, therefore, is the equivalent of Αὐρρ. Consequently, in the translation given above, the full name has been supplied, apart from in the case of Onesime, as by the time she was born the practice of passing on the *praenomen* may have been discontinued. Similarly, in the other inscriptions contained in this corpus, Aurelios or Aurelia is not included in the translation unless there is some internal clue to support the addition (e.g., cf. 34). In many instances, nonetheless, the *praenomen* may be presumed.

Orthography and onomastics

For the -ις ending in Patrikis, see *ad* 43. Αμμιᾶς (cf. 49, 50) is a Phrygian name and may be masculine or feminine; see L. Zgusta (1964: § 57-23, 57-31 and n.88 at §57-5) and cf. Ammia (see *ad* 34). The context here declares Αμμιᾶς to be feminine.

St. Andrew's cross?

The tilted *chi* in l.4 is reminiscent of an equilateral cross with its arms carved obliquely in the shape of the cross of St. Andrew. This cross, also called the *crux decussata* because it resembles the Latin X which, in turn, is the Roman alphabetic numeral for ten, differs from the Greek equilateral cross with its vertical and horizontal arms; see P.C. Finney (1990: 245). The *crux decussata*'s similarity to the Greek *chi* means that, theoretically at least, a *chi* could be used with an intentional double meaning—especially, as here, in the word “Christian.” However, the similarity between the *chi* and St. Andrew's cross means that it is virtually impossible to determine whether the *chi* was, in fact, meant to have a double meaning. In this instance, it is best to assume that the tilted *chi* is merely a matter of epigraphic style (cf. 41, 48). For the alleged use of *chi* to portray a Greek cross, see *ad* 40.

Formulae declaring Christianity

The two parts of this double inscription show clearly that Christians of the Upper Tembris Valley employed a variety of means by which to reveal their religion. Onesime's Christianity is declared openly here by the single word Χρησιανῆ; cf. 63 and see also 13, 22. The religion of the dedicators may be presumed (because a daughter is not likely to have been a Christian unless her parents were also) but their Christianity is not stated as openly even though, undoubtedly, all who read the inscription

understood that they were Christians. The dedicators of Domna's epitaph used the fluid form of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula; see *IPhygChr*, p. 4 and Tabbernee “Christian Inscriptions” 128. The word Χρησιανοί, if restored correctly in ll.12-14, is used as an adjective to describe the previously named dedicators and is separated from the next occurrence of “Christian” by Domna's name and position in the family. The single word Χρησιανῆ (ll.16-17) here, as in Onesime's epitaph (ll.5-6), declares her Christian allegiance.

If restored as suggested by J. and L. Robert (*BE* [1972]: 282), an inscription from Aproi in Thrace provides the only known potential non-Phrygian example of the “Christians for Christians” formula: χριστιανῆ Ζωτικῆ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ [χρ]ιστιανῆ (*ed. pr.* – Taşlıklioğlu *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları* [1971]: 81 no. 9). It, theoretically, provides an interesting parallel to the inscription under discussion here. Z. Taşlıklioğlu, however, capitalizes the *chi* in the first use of “Christian” and suggests the dative Χρησιανῆ Ζωτικῆ, assuming “Khrisiane Zotike” to be the name of the deceased mother and restoring the latter part of the phrase as [χαρ]ιστιαν [ἐνεκα]. Given that there is a plausible alternative restoration and that all the undisputed Χρ.-Χρ. formula inscriptions come from the Upper Tembris Valley, it seems best to assume that the Aproi epitaph does not employ the formula nor perhaps even the adjective Χρησιανῆ. The Aproi inscription, therefore, has not been treated as a separate entry.

Montanist?

There is no trace of Montanism in either of the epitaphs of this double inscription mentioning Aurelios Euktemon other than what may be deduced from the two types of open profession of Christianity and from the tilted *chi*.

43. Χρησιανοὶ Χρησιανῶ

Upper Tembris Valley, more precise
provenance unknown
Now in Kütahya Museum

c.300-310

Ed. pr. — *IPhygChr* [1978a]: 9 with trans. and photograph.

White marble panel-stele: Type C Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 37. Edges and right-hand surface of pediment broken away. Pediment intact. Height (including tenon): 0.97m.; (max.) width: 0.47m.; thickness: 0.06m. Pediment decorated, at top, with stylized tendrils (to suggest akroteria?)

and, in center, with low relief of wreath encircling Latin cross (cf. 38). Rectangular panel recessed beneath pediment surrounded by double border, perhaps reminiscent of door posts and lintel, decorated with vines and grapes (outer) and stylized leaves (inner). Each border has raised, rounded edges. Central panel divided visually by means of low relief of *falx vinitoria* (cf. 8) below which is a pair of oxen with plough (cf. 39 and see *ad* 38). Inscription in upper half of panel. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Ligatures at ll.3, 4, 6-8. Letter height: 0.016m. Figure 44, Plate 23.

Within wreath:

†

In framed panel:

Αὐρ. Εἰστρατόνι-
 κος τέκνω Ἐρπι-
 δηφόρῳ κὲ Διονυσ-
 ᾶς ἀνδρί· κὲ τὰ τέ-
 5 κνα αὐτῶν Εἰστ-
 ρατόνικος κὲ Κύρ-
 ιλος κὲ Πατρίκис
 κὲ Φίλητος πατρ-
 ῖ. Χρησσιανοὶ Χρ-
 10 ησιανῶ.

Aurelios Eistratonikos (commissioned this tomb) for his child
 Erpidephoros; and Dionysas for her husband; and their
 5 children | Eistratonikos and Kyrilos and Patrikis and Philetos
 10 for their father. | Christians for a Christian.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1097; G.J. Johnson (1994: 353 [ll.9-10 only]); id., *Anatolia* [1995]: 48-49 no. 2.5 with trans.

Variant readings:

l.3 κὲ: Johnson *Anatolia* does not mark quasi-ligatures here or elsewhere.
 ll.5-6 Εἰστρατόνικος; *IPhygChr* (*SEG*; Johnson *Anatolia*).

l.7 κὲ: *IPhygChr* does not mark quasi-ligature here.
 ll.9-10 Χρησσιανῶ vac: *IPhygChr*.

Further references: *IPhygChr*, pp. 4, 41-43; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatic* [1981]: 502 no. 106b; D. Feissel (1981: 370); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 130, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 52; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and nn.199, 201); Johnson (1994: 341-344, 350, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25); id., *Anatolia*, 39, 113, 115.

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 10.



Fig. 44: Erpidephoros' tombstone

Workshop and date

This panel-stele is said to have come from Gediz (cf. 42) but was clearly manufactured in the workshop which produced the similar panel-steles with the $X\rho.-X\rho.$ formula. Presumably, it was made for Christians living in the Upper Tembris Valley rather than for Christians in Kadoi, the stone's presence in Gediz being the result of antique trafficking; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 22. E. Gibson (ibid., p. 42) considers this stone to have been carved by the mason who also sculpted 24. This is possible, given the very close similarity of the oxen with plough on both stones. This particular stone, however, must be slightly later than the other one (see *ad* 47). The socle of the panel-stele under discussion here is decorated with the vine-grape pattern characteristic of the later stones of this series.

Orthography and onomastics

The name of the grandfather and of one of the grandsons is written with a prothetic *iota* (here $\epsilon\iota-$) before the first consonant (here $\sigma\tau-$); cf. 40. The more usual form of the name is Stratonikos or Statonikianos, cf. Stratoneikiane (13). Use of the prothetic vowel is rare in Asia Minor apart from in Phrygia and bordering regions during the later imperial period; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 82 and n.153; C. Brixhe (1987: 115-116); and *ad* 60. For the substitution of *rho* for *lambda* in the name $\epsilon\rho\pi\iota\delta\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\delta\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$), see *BE* [1959]: 161 and *BE* [1961]: 315. On names such as Dionysas ending in $-\alpha\varsigma$, see *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 22, 145. Kyrilos, here spelled with one *lambda* (cf. 41), was a popular name among Christians; cf. 47. The ending $-\iota\varsigma$, in Patrikis, is a common contracted form of $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$. For another Phrygian attestation of the name Philetos, see Waelkens, 52 no. 44 (pl. 5). The substitution of $-\sigma\sigma-$ for $-\sigma\tau-$ is not unusual, especially not before ι —as in the case of $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$; cf. *ISikilChr* [1953]: 34. For a discussion of the phonological factors involved, see Tabbernee, 129-130.

Montanist?

As with all the other panel-steles of this series, only the $X\rho.-X\rho.$ formula (here used in a contextually consistent way [cf. 28, 38, 51]) warrants this particular stone being considered possibly Montanist; but see *ad* 27.

44. Mikalos for Mikos

Precise provenance unknown
Now in Kütahya Museum

c.300-310

Ed. pr. — Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 35 no. 3 with photograph.

Fragment of upper section of white panel-grave stele: Type C Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 37. Peak of pediment, much of shaft, and all of tenon broken off. Height: 0.76m.; width: 0.54m.; thickness: 0.11m. Top of pediment decorated with stylized tendrils (representing akroteria?). Low relief of wreath encircling Latin cross located centrally in pediment (cf. 38). Single horizontal lines incised at either side of wreath continue around top of wreath where they join to form parallel lines reaching to peak of pediment (cf. 40). Rectangular panel recessed beneath pediment surrounded by double border, reminiscent of door posts and lintel, decorated with vines and grapes (outer) and stylized leaves (inner). Each border has raised, rounded edges. Extant part of upper panel contains low reliefs: whip (cf. 48); wax tablet with stylus (cf. 38); comb (cf. 5); spindle and distaff (cf. 6). It is possible that middle or lower part of panel contained inscription (cf. 41). Extant inscription commenced at left of wreath, continued at right of wreath, and was completed at right of top horizontal border. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. *Upsilon*s have short (or no) tail. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. *Nu* in *l.4* appears to have been corrected from *kappa*. Tilted *chis* resembling Greek crosses in *ll.10, 11, 13*. Ligatures at *ll.5, 8, 12*. Letter height: 0.015m. **Figure 45. Plate 22.**

At either side of wreath:

<p>Αὐρ. Τατιον Φιλομή- λου τέκν- 5 ω Μίκω κ̅ Ἑρμιονῆς</p>	<p>† 10</p>	<p>ἀνδρὶ Μί- κω κ̅ Μίκα- λος πατρί. Χρηστιαν- οὶ Χρηστια- νοῖς, μνήμης</p>
--	-------------------------------------	--

On upper horizontal border:

χά-
14 ριν.

5 Aurelia Tation daughter of Philomelos (prepared this tomb)
 10 for her child | Mikos and Hermiones for her husband Mikos
 and Mikalos for his father. | Christians for Christians,
 in memory.

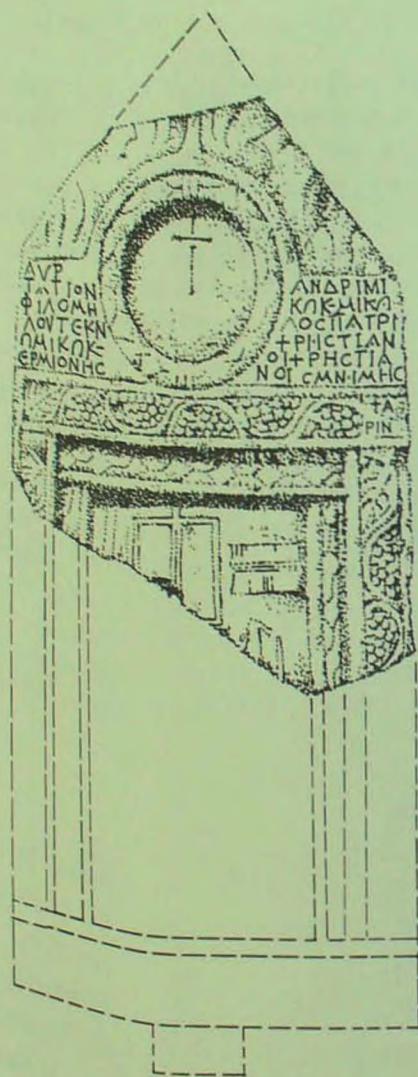


Fig. 45: Mikos' tombstone

Other ed.: *IPhrygChr [1978a]: 13 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1956]: ad 293; *SEG* 15 [1958]: 797; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 659-660 no. 25 with trans. and photograph; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 121 with French trans.

Variant readings:

l.8-9 Μίκαλος; previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letter.

ll.10-12 +ρηστιανοι +ρηστιανοι; Calder (*IPhrygChr* [SEG]; Tabbernee; Blanchetière).

ll.13-14 +αλφιν.; Calder (*IPhrygChr* [SEG]; Tabbernee; Blanchetière).

Further references: W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 456 and n.115); Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 65; M. Waelkens (1977: 314 n.166 [ad no. 4]); A.E. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); *IPhrygChr*, p. 4, 41-43; Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 32; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 314); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 109 no. 7, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); D. Feissel (1981: 370); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 13); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); R.S. Kraemer (1988: 114 no. 63 [13] trans. only); *SEG* 39 [1992]: 1846; G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-345, 350, 352, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, plate 2 [c] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 7 no. 25); S. Mitchell (1993: 61 fig. 19).

Workshop and date

On the workshop which produced this panel-stele of undoubtedly Upper Tembris Valley provenance, see ad 37. E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 42; "Koç Collection," 32) considers that the mason who carved 38-40, 42, 44, and *IPhrygChr* 15 also carved this one; see ad 38. The vine and grape pattern on the upper border of this panel-stele is identical to that of 40. They both commence with a leaf at the left-hand side. The vertical borders of the stone under discussion here also commence with a leaf at the top, as does 42. The latter's date is c.290-300; that of 40 is c.305-310. Unfortunately, the socle of the stone under discussion here is missing; hence, no conclusions can be drawn from the way it was (or was not) decorated. Given the style of its vine and grape pattern, it, nevertheless, may be assumed that this stele came from the latter period of the mason's labors, c.300-310.

Onomastics

Although the abbreviation, Αύρ., by itself, does not indicate gender and while Τατιον | Φιλομήλου (ll.2-3) could be translated "Tation, son of Philomelos" (see Tabbernee "Montanism," 659; Blanchetière, 504), it is best to assume with Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 30) that Tation is a woman; cf. the clear Αύρ., Τρόφειμος Ποτει[του τῇ ἐαυτοῦ] | σ[σ]υμβίῳ Τατιῳ in ll.1-2 of 26. For further examples of the genitive signifying

the patronymic of women, see 34, 68. Aurelia Tation's husband had presumably predeceased her. His epitaph may even have been inscribed on the now lost portion of the recessed panel, as this panel, rather than the blank area at either side of the wreath in the pediment was normally utilized first for inscriptions; cf. 38-40, 42-43 and see pp. 265, 275 above.

The names Mikos and Mikalos are derived from a nickname based on the word "small"; see L. Zgusta (1964: §916); *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 254-255 and *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 30-31, 145. The form Ἐρμιονῆς (rather than the more usual Ἐρμιόνη) of the name of Mikos' wife displays the common Phrygian Greek addition of *sigma* to the nominative of feminine names normally ending in -η; see *ibid.*, 256. On the name Philomelos, see L. Robert (1963: 40, 333-334, 404 n.1) and *IPhyrgChr*, p. 31 and n.1.

"Christians for Christians"

Blanchetière's translation of ll.10-14: "Des +rétiens à la mémoire de +rétiens," while giving the sense of the meaning of the formula, is not accurate. The words μνήμης | χάριτιν (ll.12-14) in this inscription come at the end of the Xp.-Xp. formula. They do not break up the formula in this instance (contrast 42) but provide a good example of the stereotyping of the formula.

Montanist?

W.M. Calder (35) presented this inscription as conclusive evidence for his theory that substitution of a Greek cross for *chi* in Phrygian inscriptions is a reliable indicator of Christianity. He dated this stone c.275 and argued that, because the use of the cross on "Orthodox monuments in Phrygia" (*ibid.*) are normally post-Nicene, this inscription must be Montanist. Jeanne and Louis Robert (*BE*, 293) were convinced by Calder's arguments and declared this an "építaphe montaniste" (p. 170). Calder's dating, however, was influenced by the alleged third-century date of all the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions. This dating is too early for some of these inscriptions, including this one. Nor is it the case that the *chis* in this or similar inscriptions were intentional Greek crosses which Calder viewed as a further example of Montanist open profession; see *ad* 40. Consequently, it is best to consider this an early fourth-century grave-stone commissioned by Christians belonging to the official, rather than the Montanist, church.

45. Inscription in a *tabula ansata*

Keçiller, set in cement in fountain

III⁴-IV¹

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 7 with trans. and photograph.

Large fragment of white marble rectangular funerary altar (broken on all sides) with projecting upper moulding. Built into fountain, water pipe protrudes from hole in (approx.) middle of stone. (Visible) height: 0.72m.; width: 0.60m.; thickness unobtainable. Remnants of low relief representing wreath at top of shaft. Framed panel, below *tabula ansata*, with reliefs of spindle and distaff (and traces of effaced plough?). Inscription in *tabula*. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas* and *omegas*. Lunate *mus*. In l.2, *iota* in Tatia's name corrected from *beta*. Ligatures at ll.2, 3, 5. Letter height: 0.025m. Figure 46. Plate 18.

Εὐτύχης Ἀμμία νύν-
φη κὲ Τατία ἐγγόνῃ· κὲ Μα-
κεδὼν νύφ' ἐαντοῦ κὲ τῇ
ἐαντοῦ (ν.) συμβίῳ Ἀμμι-
α· κὲ Εὐτύχης υἱὸς αὐτ-
ῶν ζῶντες ἐπ[οί]ησαγ.
Χρ(νν.)ιστια[νοὶ Χριστι]ανοῖς.

5 Eutyches for Ammia his daughter-in-law and for Tatia his granddaughter; and Makedon for his son and for his wife Ammia; | and Eutyches their son, (who like his father and grandfather is still) living, constructed (this tomb for their relatives).
Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 77 no. 4 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 663 no. 28 with trans. and photograph; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1108.

Variant readings:

ll.1-2 νύν|φη κὲ: Gibson "Montanism."

l.3 [κὲ τῇ]: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee).

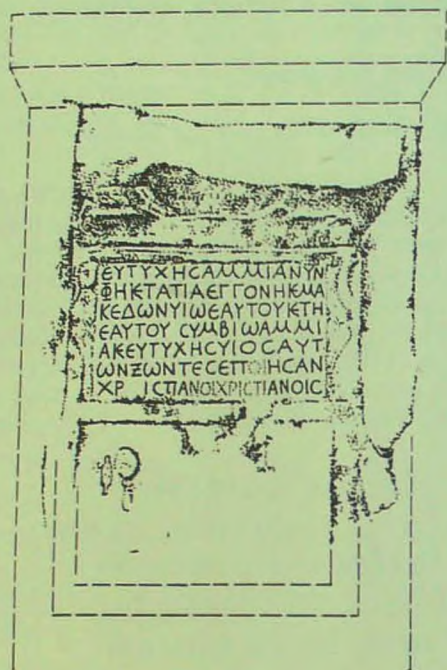


Fig. 46: Tombstone inscription
for Ammia, Tatia and unnamed (grand)son

Further references: *IPhyrChr*, p. 5; D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 131f; D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 93); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.201); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-344, 350, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.250).

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 8 (= Gibson "Montanism," plate 4 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 10]).

Workshop and date

E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, pp. 41-42) considers this funerary altar to be the product of the same workshop which manufactured the panel-steles with the Xp.-Xp. formula; see *ad* 37. As this workshop also produced altars with the characteristic wreath and Xp.-Xp. formula (see *ad* 38), it is likely that Gibson's judgment on the matter is correct, although, unfortunately, the remnants of what may be a wreath on this altar are too

indistinct for certainty. Nor can the shape of the altar be reconstructed without being unduly influenced by 46-49. It is possible that there was no wreath and that the monument was produced in the other workshop at Soa, which also manufactured Xp.-Xp. tombstones; see *ad* 26. The date of this stone, therefore, can range from early III^d (when the second workshop was still operative; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 90-92) to c.310 when the main series of panel-steles and similar altars were made by the first workshop. In either case, this stone is anomalous. No other extant Upper Tembris Valley Xp.-Xp. inscription has the *tabula ansata*, although there are a number of other Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions from elsewhere carved within such a *tabula* "with handles"; see *ad* 9.

Orthography

Unlike in the majority of cases, the Xp.-Xp. formula here appears to be spelled with an *iota*, although the Χριστι- of Χριστιανοῖς of 1.7 has had to be restored. There is only one other extant example where the whole Xp.-Xp. formula was probably spelled with *iotas* (29). In that instance, however, the Χριστ- of Χριστιανοί has had to be restored. Absolute certainty about the correctness of the restorations is impossible, because in 48 the formula reads: Χριστιανοί Χρηστιανοῖς. For the various ways in which Christians is spelled in the inscriptions belonging to this corpus, see *ad* 9.

Symbols

The symbols carved on this tombstone are not indicative of Montanism. Unless the stone was indeed originally decorated with a wreath encircling a Latin cross (cf. 38), the symbols are not even indicative of Christianity. No trace of a cross remains. For wreaths without crosses, see 21, 50, 55, 62. For the significance of the spindle and distaff, see *ad* 6. The plough, portrayed frequently on Phrygian tombstones, normally, but not exclusively with oxen (see *ad* 38), represented agriculture—especially related to the production of cereal crops; see M. Waelkens (1977: 283-284, 305 n.94). It is not clear whether oxen or other agricultural implements (on which, see *ad* 8) had also been carved on this particular tombstone.

A Montanist family?

Eutyches, who bears the same name as his grandfather, is co-dedicator, along with his grandfather and his father Makedon, of this inscription to his mother Ammia. It is not clear whether Tatia was his deceased sister, as seems most likely, or whether she was his cousin, the child of an uncle or

aunt not named on the epitaph; see *IPhrygChr*, pp. 18-19. Strangely, Makedon's other son is not named, but such mistaken omissions are not unusual; cf. 27. On the names Eutyches, Ammia and Tatia, see *ad* 34, 36, 6 respectively. The Xp.-Xp. formula, obviously, reveals that the family was Christian. Although this formula is often taken to imply adherence to Montanism, there is no evidence in this epitaph to support this; see also *ad* 27.

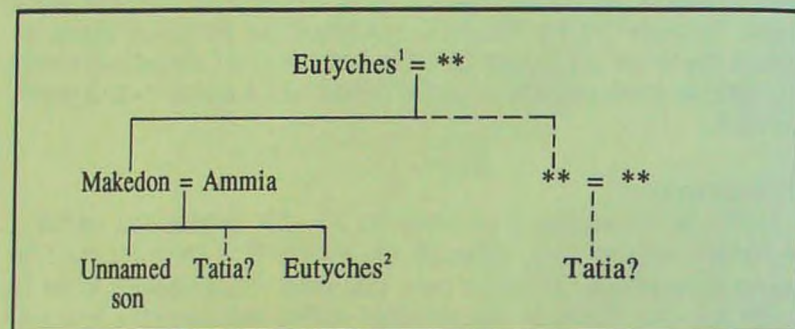


Fig. 47: Stemma showing possible family relationship between Tatia and other members

46. "For Christians" or "Christians for Christians"?

Nuhören

c.285/290-300

Ed. pr. — Huart *Konia* [1897]: 251 no. 5 with partial French trans. and facsimile of majuscule text.

White marble funerary altar, broken diagonally at top from right to left. Height: 1.28m.; width: 0.56m. (top), 0.48m.-0.54m. (shaft), 0.645m. (base). Akroteria carved in low relief (left front broken away). Shaft separated from top and base by oblique mouldings. Top of shaft contains wreath encircling (defaced) Latin cross (cf. 48 and see *ad* 38). Fragmentary inscription was copied by C. Huart on 23 May 1897(?) and also by C.W.M. Cox and A. Cameron in 1926. Cross described by Huart and mentioned by W.M. Calder ("Notebook" [1929]: 269) on the basis of Cox's notes; cf. *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 80. Inscription carved carelessly on front face of top of altar. First line of inscription missing. Only the

endings of the names in ll. 2-4 and the beginning of a name at the end of l.4 are extant; restorations are *exempli gratia*. Vertical line divides ll.6b, 7 from l.6a. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Iota in l.5 appears to be carved over an original *epsilon*. Ligatures at ll.3-5, 7. Letter height: 0.01m.-0.019m. **Figure 48. Plate 19.**

On front face of shaft:

[— — — — —]
 3 [Ἐπιτύνχα]γοῦ
 [κὲ Ἀντικ]λῆς
 5 [κὲ Εὐτύχο]ς γανβρὸς κὲ Εὐ-
 6b [γένιος κὲ] Μαρκελλίνα τῆς Κυρ-
 7 ἱλλῆς θυγ-
 6a [Χρηστιάνοι Χ]ρηστιάνοις.

Within wreath:

†

5 . . . Epitynchanos and Antikles and Eutychos, son-in-law, and Eugenios and Markellina, | Kyrilla's daughter (prepared this tomb) for (their parents). Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 245 with line drawing/facsimile and photographs.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 268-269 no. 3 (l.6a only; designated Cox, no. 3); *SEG* 6 [1932]: 164 (l.6a only); *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 6 (l.6a only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 649 no. 15 (l.6a only); G.J. Johnson (1994: 351 [l.6a only]).

Variant readings:

- l.1 Not shown by previous *edd.*
- l.2 OC: Huart (majuscule copy only); [—]γοῦ; *MAMA*.
- l.3 IIC: Huart (majuscule copy only); [—]λῆς; *MAMA*.
- l.4 -I ANBPOCKCY: Huart (majuscule copy); γανβρὸς κ(αί) σύ(μβιος): Huart.
- ll.4-5 [—]ς γανβρὸς κὲ Εὐ[—] M: *MAMA*.
- l.5 Μαρκελλίνα(ς) τῆς κυρ(ί)ας: Huart.
- ll.5-6 [—]Μαρκελλίνα τῆς Κυρ[ι]λλῆς; *MAMA*.

- l.6a IIOTIANOIC: Huart (majuscule copy); [Φ]οτιάν(φ) . . . : Huart (miniscule text);
 [X]ρηστιανοῖς: Calder (*IPhyrgChr*; Tabbernee); [-X]ρηστιανοῖς: SEG; Χρηστιανοῖς
 (sic): Johnson.
 l.6b IMI-ICΘVI: Huart (majuscule copy only).
 l.7 AT-II: Huart (majuscule copy only).

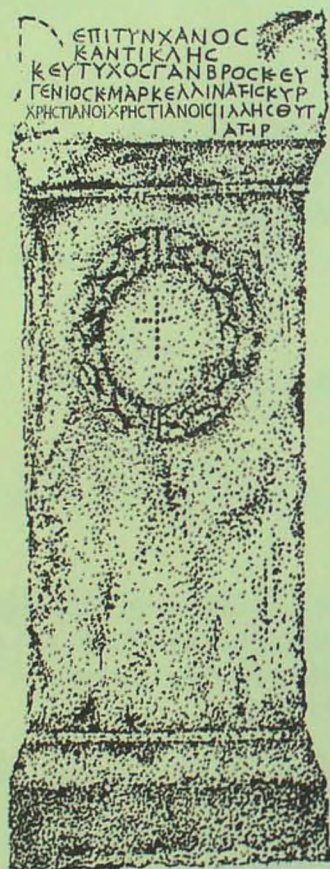


Fig. 48: Epitaph
for Christian parents

Further references: Huart, 75; *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 237-238; *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 41-43; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); S. Mitchell (1980: 201); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 118; D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92 n.1); SEG 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 6); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Mitchell (1993: 40 n.241); Johnson, 341-344, 350-351, 362, 363 nn.1, 3, 365 n.25; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 195 and n.74).

Photographs: MAMA 10, plate 27 no. 245 [of stone]; *ibid.* [of front face of top].

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 251; MAMA 10, p. 79 (inadvertently omits sigma in l.6b).

Restoration of text

The absence of dative endings in the extant names indicates that this fragmentary inscription only records the names of the dedicators. Presumably the deceased were listed in l.1.

The names of the dedicators, apart from Markellina, the daughter of Kyrilla (ll.5-7), are not certain. The suggested restorations have approximately the correct number of letters to fill the available spaces and, presumably, the correct endings. The partially illegible letters in ll.2-3, however, may be read differently—opening up the possibility of an even wider selection of possible names. On the names Epitynchanos, Eutychos and Kyrilla, see *ad* 41, 47, and 25 respectively. For further examples of the name Eugenios on Phrygian inscriptions, see Appendix 5. For an attestation of the use of the name Antikles in Phrygia, see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 86 no. 208.

The engraver seems to have been uncertain about the spelling of Markellina. He appears to have started to inscribe Μακελλεῖνα before correcting the second -ε- to -ι-. For examples of the name Markella, from which Markellina is derived, see 60. On the masculine form Μακελλεῖνος, see L. Zgusta (1964: n.164 at §885-7). The substitution of -v- for -μ- in γαμβρός (l.4) is not uncommon; cf. 62. Γαμβρός is spelled correctly in 27.

Calder, who considered this a Montanist inscription (268), made a point of stressing that, in this case, the word Χρηστιανοῖς stood by itself (269). If so, despite the fact that it is a dative, it should not be taken as the second word of a restored Xp.-Xp. formula, but must be classified with other Phrygian inscriptions which use a single word to designate the deceased Christians; cf. 21, 36, 37, and 41. Calder based his assumption on Cox's transcription and Cox's notes. By the time either Huart or Cox saw the stone, however, the left side of its top had already broken away. Hence, while some doubt must remain about the correctness of the restoration, it seems best to follow the eds. of MAMA 10 in taking l.7 as containing the whole Xp.-Xp. formula. There is room (if only barely) for the letters XPHCTIANOΙΣ to have been carved before the extant letters, and, during the period when this tombstone was commissioned, the whole formula was added more frequently than the single word Christian(s) to the tombstones prepared in the workshop in Soa, which numbered Christians among its clients (see *ad* 37) and which also produced this particu-

lar tombstone sometime between c.285 and c.300 (see *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 41-42 and *MAMA* 10, p. 80).

Montanist?

The presence of the Xp.-Xp. formula, or even simply the word Χρηστιανοῖς, on this inscription does not necessarily presume Montanism; see *ad* 27.

47. Orphaned children

Yalnızsaray, in modern cemetery

c.295-310

Ed. pr. — *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 3 with trans. and photograph.

White marble funerary altar with upper moulding and trapezoidal top. Edges of top and shaft worn, but not broken away. Height 1.24m.; width 0.445m. (top), 0.42m (shaft at middle), 0.50m. (shaft at bottom); thickness 0.35m. (base). Stylized horizontal garlands separate shaft from top and base. Shaft further divided into three registers containing low reliefs. Upper register: large wreath, encircling Latin cross (cf. 38). Middle register: wax tablets with stylus (cf. 38), spindle and distaff (cf. 6), comb (cf. 5). Lower register: oxen with plough (cf. 39 and see *ad* 38) followed by (bridled) horse. Inscription commences on moulding (ll.1-8) and concludes on upper register within wreath (ll.9-11). Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. At ll.1, 7, 9, 10 *chi* resembles Greek cross (cf. 40). At l.10, cross bar of *eta* was probably never cut. Ligatures at ll.2-3, 5-8. Letter height: 0.017m. **Figure 49. Plate 20.**

On upper moulding:

Αὐρ. Εὐτυχὸς Μενάνδ[ρου]
 καὶ Πρόκλα τέκνω Κυρίλλω καὶ [νύ-]
 μῃ Δόμνῃ καὶ ἐγγόνω Κυριακῷ
 καταλιπόντες τέκνα ὀρφανὰ
 5 Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πρόκλαν· καὶ Αὐ[ρ.]
 Εὐτυχὸς ἀδελφῷ Κυρίλλω καὶ ἐνα-
 τρὶ Δόμνῃ· καὶ Εὐτυχιανῆς δαέρι
 [Κ]υρίλλω καὶ ἐνατρὶ Δόμνῃ.

Within wreath:

†
 Χρησ-
 10 τιανοὶ Χρησ-
 τιανοῖς.

Aurelios Eutycho son of Menandros and Prokla commissioned the tomb) for their child Kyrillos and his wife Domna, and for their grandchild Kyriakos, who leave orphaned (the other) children | Alexandros and Prokla; and Aurelios Eutycho for his brother Kyrillos and his sister-in-law Domna; and Euty-chianes for her brother-in-law Kyrillos and her sister-in-law Domna.

10 Christians | for Christians.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1096; *Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 133-134 with trans.; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 58-59 no. 2.11 with trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1 Εὐτυ+ος; *IPhyrgChr* (*SEG*; Tabbernee; Johnson).
- l.2 καὶ: Johnson does not mark *quasi*-ligature here or elsewhere.
- ll.2-3 [νύ]μῃ: Johnson does not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.
- l.7 Εὐτυ+ιανης; *IPhyrgChr* (*SEG*; Tabbernee; Johnson).
- ll.9-11 +ρησ|τιανοὶ +ρησ|τιανοῖς; *IPhyrgChr* (*SEG*; Tabbernee; Johnson).

Further references: *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 6, 41-43, 96-97; E. Des Places (1980: 172); A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); W.H. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 109 no. 2, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169-170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 131d; D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 2006 and n.371; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 414; Pleket (1992: 423); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. 68; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.201); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341-344, 350, 352, 362, 363 nn.1, 3); id., *Anatolia*, 41, 42-43, 115.

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 5.

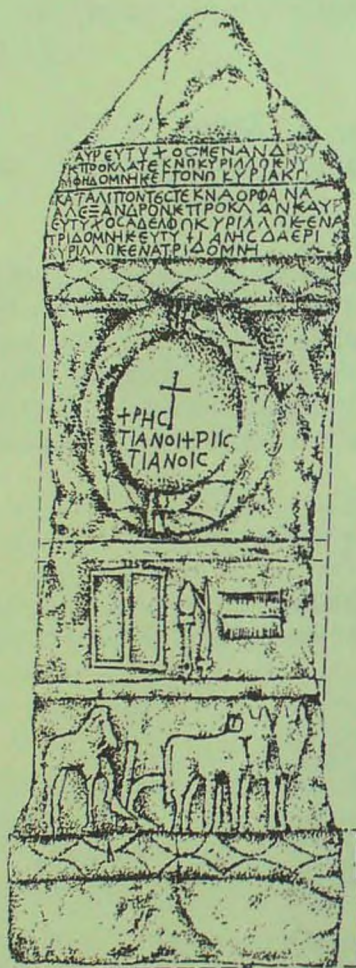


Fig. 49: Tombstone of Kyrillos, Domna, and Kyriakos

Workshop and date

On the workshop and mason who produced this tombstone, see *ad* 37 and 43 respectively. The wreath encircling a Latin cross motif is a common feature (see *ad* 38), but this particular stone is unique in that, of all the extant examples, it is the only one in which some of the blank space within the wreath is utilized to inscribe the Xp.-Xp. formula. The decorations in the lower register suggest a date *c.*300, within the range 295 to 310; cf. 40, 42, 53.

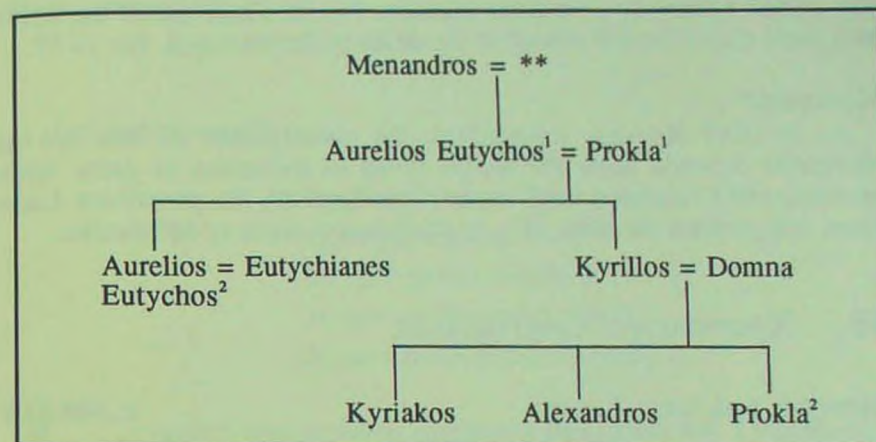


Fig. 50: Stemma of orphaned family

A family tragedy?

This extended family appears to have suffered a tragedy in that a married son, who apparently remained part of his father's household (*IPhrygChr*, p. 13; Pleket [1980: 198]), his wife, and their child had all died, presumably at or about the same time. It is stressed that two other children of Kyrillos and Domna are orphaned by the death of their parents, although there is no doubt that their grandparents and an uncle and aunt, all of whom are specifically named as co-dedicators, would take care of these orphans.

The members of the family have names popular among Christians; e.g., Eutykos (cf. 36), Eutychianes (cf. 40), Kyrillos (cf. 25), and Domna (cf. 34). Kyriakos (cf. 59, 82), a name sometimes used for slaves, was popular among Christians because of its linguistic association with Κύριος (cf. Domnos and *dominus*); see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 117 and *ad* 34. For the feminine ending -ης, as in Eutychianes, see *ad* 48.

Horses

Horses occur only on this and one other (40) tombstone with the wreath/cross motif, although they are portrayed frequently on other monuments from this region (e.g., *MAMA* 10.219 [Doğalar, III³⁻⁴]) and elsewhere in Phrygia. Phrygia was famous for horse breeding; see M. Waelkens (1977: 287-288 and n.158). The horse on this tombstone is probably part of the agricultural scene depicted and, like the team of oxen with plough, need not mean that Aurelios Eutykos' family actu-

ally owned a horse or were horse breeders. For the likely use of the horse as a more direct symbol related to the death of the deceased, see *ad* 57.

Montanist?

As in other Xp.-Xp. monuments, the classification of this one as Montanist depends upon the weight given to indicators of early open profession of Christianity such as the formula itself, the prominent Latin cross, and perhaps the tilted *chis*, as unequivocal signs of Montanism.

48. Χριστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς

Karaağaç, built into a fountain

c.300-310

Ed. pr. — *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 5 with trans. and photograph.

Shaft of white marble funerary altar with lower part of top moulding. Damaged on both sides and broken at top. Built into a fountain. (Visible) height: 1.16m.; width: 0.56m. (top), 0.52m. (shaft); thickness unobtainable. Stylized horizontal garlands at top and bottom separate shaft from top and base. Shaft is divided into two registers containing low reliefs. Upper register: large wreath encircling Latin cross (the cross bar of which slopes upwards from right to left and which may have been defaced, or at least affected, by wear); vines and grape bunches at each side of the upper half; whip, pruning hook (*falx vinitoria*), wax tablets with stylus, spindle and distaff, and comb underneath inscription. Lower register: three pairs of oxen. Inscription commences on upper moulding (only part of l.4 is extant) and continues on shaft below wreath. Slightly uneven lettering. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Second *chi* in l.9 slightly tilted. Ligatures at ll.5-8. Letter height 0.022m. Figure 51. Plate 20.

On horizontal moulding:

[-----]
[-----]
[-----]
[---] Ἑρμόδωρος Τροφίμ[ω]

Within wreath:

†

On shaft below wreath:

5 πατρί κὲ μητρί· κὲ Λου-
κειανῆς νύμφη (*vac.*)
κὲ τὰ ἑγγονα αὐτῶν Χα-
ρίτων κὲ Εὐγενία. (*vac.*)
Χριστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς.

5 . . . (and?) Hermodoros (prepared this tomb) for Trophimos | his father and for his mother; and Loukeianes, their daughter-in-law (for her parents-in-law) and their grandchildren Chariton and Eugenia (for their grandparents). Christians for Christians.

Other *ed.*: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 70-76 no. 3 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 662-663 no. 27 with trans. and photograph; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1107; *Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 130 with trans.; G.J. Johnson (1994: 362 [l.9 only]).

Variant readings:

- l.4 [. . . 'Ασ]κλᾱ[ς κὲ] Ἑρμόδωρος Τροφίμ[ω]: Gibson "Montanism."
l.5 κὲ: *IPhrygChr* inadvertently omits to mark *quasi*-ligature for second κὲ.
ll.5-6 Λουκειαῆς: Gibson "Montanism" (Tabbernee) and *SEG* do not indicate ligature.
l.6 νύμφη: previous *edd.* do not show *vac.* here or in l.8.

Further references: Tabbernee, "Montanism," 348-349; A. Ferrua (1980: 176); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 502 no. 102b; D. Feissel (1981: 370); A. Davids (1984: 228-229); H.W. Pleket (1992: 423); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. 54, 80; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.201); Johnson, 341-344, 350, 363 nn.1, 3, 364 n.8, 365 n.25; C. Trevett (1996: 275 n.10).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 7 (= cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," plate 3 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 9]).



Fig. 51: Funerary altar for Trophimos and (unnamed) spouse

Bunches of grapes

Vine-tendrils with leaves decorate numerous Phrygian tombstones. Popular with stonemasons because of the motif's flexibility, it was purely an ornamental reflection of the viticulture of the region. Even prominently carved bunches of grapes, such as those carved on this tombstone and on 51, do not have special Christian significance—although, of course, because of its relevance to eucharistic celebration, the “fruit of the vine” was not an inappropriate design for Christian tombstones; see M. Waelkens (1977: 281) and cf. Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 26-27. The artisans who produced the monuments displaying the large wreath encircling a Latin cross (on which, see *ad* 38) frequently employed a vine and grape-bunch motif to decorate the borders of these monuments (38-41, 43-44). These borders, like the wreaths themselves (but probably

not necessarily the crosses), appear to have been prefabricated, as they appear on non-Christian (e.g., probably 53) as well as on Christian stones. For further examples of similar, but not identical, vine and grape decorations on Christian tombstones from the Upper Tembris Valley, see 59-60.

Whip and other symbols

The shaft of this tombstone also contains other symbols common on Phrygian funerary monuments. The whip (cf. 42, 44, 49) is part of the agricultural motif portrayed also by the three pairs of oxen (cf. 38, 40, and see *ad* 38). Viticulture is portrayed by means of the *falx vinitoria* (on which, see *ad* 8). For the significance of the wax tablet and the spindle/distaff and comb, see *ad* 38, 6, and 5 respectively.

Orthography

The word “Christians” is spelled variously on Phrygian tombstones. The *iota* in the first syllable is often -ει- or -η- (see *ad* 9). The masons of the two workshops at or near Soa preferred the spelling Χρηστιανός to Χριστιανός. The juxtaposition of both of these forms in this inscription shows “fluidity” in the spelling used by the engraver. It also disproves the theory, proposed by W.M. Ramsay (“Monuments I” [1888]: 251-255) and followed by J.G.C. Anderson (“Paganism/ Christianity” [1906]: 198, 214-216), that the various forms, by themselves, can be used to date these inscriptions.

The daughter-in-law's name, Λουκειανής, is related to Λουκία, -ου- being the normal transposition into Greek of the original Latin -u- and -ει-, replacing -i- in Phrygian Greek. The addition of a *sigma* to the nominative of feminine personal nouns ending in -η or -α appears to be a peculiarity of N.W. Phrygia. These names use -ηδος or -αδος for the genitive. See Anderson “Paganism/Christianity,” 208; *Hellenica* 13 [1956]: 256; *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 14, 145; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 60; and cf. 40, 47, 60.

A Montanist family?

This family cannot be considered Montanist merely on the basis of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula and the use of the cross; see *ad* 38. As in other epitaphs, the slightly tilted *chi* in l.9 does not appear to be an intentional representation of a cross, but merely inconsistent epigraphy. It is not carved in the shape of a Greek cross (contrast 40) and only slightly resembles a *crux decussata* (on which, see *ad* 42).

The cross and the Χρ.-Χρ. formula testify that this family was Christian. The deceased's grandchildren, Chariton (on which, see L. Zgusta

[1964: §842]) and Eugenia, bear names based on sobriquets appropriate for Christians, but they are not exclusively Christian names. Similarly, the deceased (grand)father, Trophimos (cf. 16) and his daughter-in-law Loukeianes (cf. Loukeias [49]) have names common, but not unique, among Christians. The name of Trophimos' son, Hermodoros, shows that Christians continued to use non-Christian theophorics; cf. 17. On the workshop from which this family commissioned the tombstone, see *ad* 37 and cf. 40, 49, and *IPhygChr* 4 (inscription not extant). Judging by the oxen decorating the base of the altar, they commissioned the stone sometime during the first decade of IV.

49. Three men named Zenon

Provenance unknown
Now at Sam Fogg, London

c.300-310

Ed. pr. — *SEG* 40 [1993]: 1249.

Marble funerary altar (?) with upper moulding (or protruding fascia) and partly-extant (trapezoidal? [cf. 47]) top (for pediment). (Extant) height: 0.79m.; width: 0.285m.; thickness not provided. Stylized horizontal garlands separate shaft from top and base. Top decorated with geometric design. Right-hand top corner of surface of upper moulding broken away. Edges of shaft slightly damaged. Shaft divided into two registers. Upper register: whip (cf. 48), large wreath encircling Latin cross (cf. 38), wax tablets without stylus (cf. 57), a *falx vinitoria* (cf. 8), and a spindle and distaff (cf. 6). Lower register: pair of oxen with plough (cf. 39 and see *ad* 38). Traces of another symbol (?) are also visible to the left of the *falx vinitoria*. Decorations were all pre-fabricated, as inscription (which starts on upper moulding) had to be carved around existing symbols, accounting for the uneven lettering on the shaft. Curative *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Ligatures at ll.2-4, 8-11. Letter height not provided. **Figure 52. Plate 20.**

On upper fascia:

Αὐρη(λία) Απφιον Αὐ[ρη(λίω)]
Ζήγωνι πάπα κὲ τεκ[νω]
Ζήγωνι κὲ ἐγγόνω Ζήγω[νι]
κὲ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσα κὲ τὰ τέ-

Within wreath:

†

To the right of wreath:

5 κνα
αὐτ-
ῶν

Below wreath:

10 'Αλέξανδρος κὲ Ζη-
νόδοτος κὲ Χαρί-
των κὲ Λουκειᾶς κὲ Α-
μμίας κὲ Σευῆρα. Χρη-
στια-
νοὶ

Above oxen with plough:

Χρηστιάνοῖς.

Aurelia Apphion (commissioned the tomb) for Aurelios Zenon, grandfather, and for (his) child Zenon and for (the) grandson Zenon and for herself while still living, and for | the (also still living) children, Alexandros and Zenodotos and Chariton and Loukeias and | Ammias and Severa (for their grandfather, father and brother). Christians for Christians.

Other ed.: *Sotheby's Catalogue* [1990]: 236-237 no. 425 with trans. and photograph.

Variant readings:

l.1 Αὐρ(λία): *Sotheby's Catalogue* inadvertently omits *eta* and does not provide breathings, accents or punctuation nor marks partially illegible letters; *Απφιον: *SEG*; Αὐ[ε]: *Sotheby's*; Αὐ[. ca. 4 . . .]: *SEG*, but suggests restoration as given above, however in neither case marks partially illegible *upsilon*.

ll.6-7 αὐτῶν: *SEG*.

ll.8-9 Ζη|νόδοτος: *SEG*.

l.10 Λουκειᾶς: *SEG*.

II.10-11 Αἰνυίας; *Sotheby's Catalogue*; 'Αἰμυίας; *SEG*.

I.11 Σαυήρα; *SEG*.

Further reference: *BE* [1994]: 563.

Photograph: *Sotheby's Catalogue*, 236 no. 425.



Fig. 52: Epitaph for Zenon, Zenon, and Zenon

Provenance, workshop, and date

Although *Sotheby's Catalogue* attributes this monument to the Eastern Mediterranean, c.I-II, there is no doubt that *SEG* is correct in giving the provenance as the Upper Tembris Valley and assigning a third-century date. It was produced in the same workshop which manufactured the other monuments of this series (see *ad* 37). *Sotheby's Catalogue* (followed by *SEG*) describes this monument as a stele. If so, it is a stele carved to resemble a funerary altar (cf. 50-52). Unfortunately, dimensions of thickness are not provided. Although smaller in height than 46-48, this monument is probably, in fact, an altar. Its similarity to 47, 48 suggests that it was crafted c.300-310.

A Montanist family?

The translation in *Sotheby's Catalogue* assumes Aurelios Zenon to be Aurelia Apphion's father, and the other people named Zenon to be her son and grandson respectively. I am grateful to G.H.R. Horsley for suggesting a more likely stemma (fig. 53). The epitaph appears to be structured according to the grandfather and male descendants of the family into which Apphion married. The women are most probably daughters-in-law; see *ad* 39 and cf. 40. On the use of πάπας for "grandfather," cf. 61 and see L. Robert (1963: 62 n.11, 578 n.1). Αἰφίον is a Phrygian version of the Latin name Appia with a feminine ending in -ον like Αἰμύιον (cf. 4) and Τατίον (cf. 26); see L. Zgusta (1964: n.266 at §64-43, §66-23, §67n.). On Αἰμυίας, see *ad* 42.

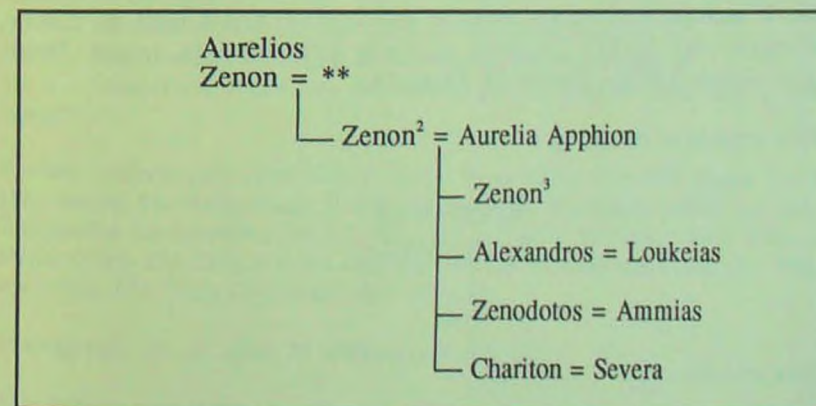


Fig. 53: Stemma showing likely structure of Aurelios Zenon's family

As in the case of all the other Xp.-Xp. epitaphs (see *ad* 27), there is nothing apart from the dubious criterion of pre-Constantinian profession of Christianity to suggest that Aurelios Zenon and his family were Montanists.

50. A stele carved to resemble a funerary altar

Eymir

III⁴-IV¹

Ed. pr. — *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 19 with trans. and photograph.

White marble stele with tenon base and projecting moulding at top. Both sides of moulding and stone broken off. Height (including tenon): 1.24m.; width: 0.41m. (shaft), 0.52m. (top and base); thickness: 0.115m. (shaft), 0.135m. (base). Moulding has dentils at top of front face. Base projects at front and at left and right sides. This along with the moulding gives this stele the appearance of a bomos (cf. 51). Large wreath with fillet carved prominently on front face. Leaves of wreath are not stylized (contrast 38, 40, 42-44, 47-49) but carved individually in low relief. The Xp.-Xp. formula is engraved above wreath; remainder of inscription below. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. The large *alpha* near the base, by another hand, is not part of the epitaph. It, perhaps, denoted the order in which stone stood next to others (*IPhrygChr*, pp. 50-51). Ligatures at ll.3-9. Letter height (apart from larger *alpha*): 0.015m. **Figure 54. Plate 16.**

Below projecting moulding:

Χρηστιανοὶ
Χρηστιανοῖς.

(vac.)

Below wreath:

Αὐρ. Πατρίκις καὶ Μακεδόν-
ις καὶ Ζωτικὸς καὶ Ἀμμίας καὶ Ἐ-

5 πικτὴς γνησίῳ πατρὶ Κυρίλ-
λῳ καὶ μητρὶ Ἀμμία καὶ υἱοῖς
'Ονησίμῳ καὶ Κυρίλλῳ καὶ Πα-
τρικίῳ καὶ ἀδελφῇ Δόμνῃ
μνήμης χάριν.

(vac.)

10

A

Christians for Christians.

5 Aurelios Patrikis and Makedonis and Zotikos and Ammias and | Epiktes (commissioned the tomb) for (their) dear father, Kyrillos, and mother, Ammia, and for (their) sons Onesimos and Kyrillos and Patrikios and (their) sister Domna, in memory.

Other ed.: *Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]:128-130 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: no. 1100; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: xii-xiii with trans. and photograph.

Variant readings:

l.3 κα: Johnson does not mark *quasi*-ligature here or elsewhere.

ll.2-3 Χρηστιανοῖς: earlier *edd.* do not mark *vac.* here or elsewhere.

ll.3-4 Μακεδόνις: earlier *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.

Further references: *IPhrygChr*, p. 42; A. Ferrua (1980: 177); D.M. Pippidi (1980: 180); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 110 no. 10; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 131b; D. Feissel (1981: 370); A. Davids (1984: 228-229); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.119 with trans.); G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362); C. Trevett (1996: 275 n.10).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 19 (Johnson *Anatolia*, xiii).

Workshop and date

The workshop which produced this monument cannot be identified with any certainty. E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 41) does not specifically list it as coming from the workshop which, between c.285-310, manufactured a series of panel-steles and altars with the Xp.-Xp. formula (see *ad*

37). Those gravestones are quite different in style to this one (e.g., wreath; shape of top). Nevertheless, Gibson (*ibid.*, p. 42), on the basis of the similarity of letter forms, suggests (perhaps correctly) that this monument may be an anomalous example. However, without a sculptor's signature, letter shape is, at best, a fallible indicator of workshop and exact date. Be that as it may, a late-III to early-IV date for this monument seems assured.



Fig. 54: Tombstone with prominent Χρ.-Χρ. formula

Χρ.-Χρ. formula "standing apart"

After the Χρ.-Χρ. formula had become stereotyped (see *ad* 24), it was often carved "standing apart" at the beginning of an inscription as, in this instance (cf. 29), or at the end (e.g., 24, cf. 40, 47). More frequently,

the appearance of having the formula "stand apart" was provided by placing it as the first phrase (e.g., 27) or as the last phrase (e.g., 25, 38, 43, 45, 48, 52) of the text. During the earlier stages of its development it was more "fluid," adapting itself to conform to the sense of the main inscription; cf. 42.

A Christian family

Use of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula marks this family out as Christian—as does the presence of names such as Kyrillos (see *ad* 47) and Onesimos (see *ad* 16). The stemma (fig. 55), however, is not absolutely clear. For example, although it may be assumed that Patrikios is the son of Patrikis, this is not certain. Patrikios, Kyrillos² and Onesimos are obviously the grandchildren of Kyrillos¹ and Ammia, but who their own parents were is left vague by the comprehensive use of υἱός in l.6. Also, is Domna a grandchild or a child of Kyrillos¹ and Ammia?

On the name Αμμία (l.6), see *ad* 34. Presumably Αμμίας (l.4) is feminine, but Αμμίας may also be masculine; see *ad* 42. If (as seems assured) the word here is feminine, it is interesting that both the forms Ammia and Ammias are used in the same inscription, as are Patrikis (l.3) and Patrikios (ll.7-8). See L. Zgusta (1964: n.104 at §1199) for the name Patrikios. On the name Ἐπικτής, a syncopated version of Ἐπικτήσις or Ἐπικτήτη, see Ferrua, 177 (*contra* *IPhyrgChr*, p. 50). Ammias and Makedonis and Ammias are more likely to be daughters-in-law than daughters of Kyrillos and Ammia (see *ad* 39 and cf. 40); the adjective γνήσιος in l.5 does not carry the more usual sense of "legitimate" as in offspring, but "dear," somewhat like the use of γλυκύτατος; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 50.

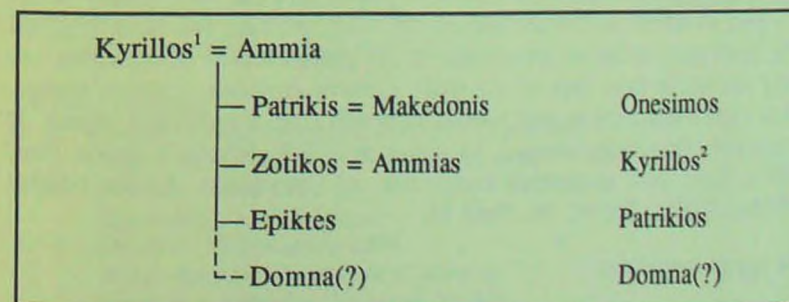


Fig. 55: Stemma showing likely family structure of people mentioned on tombstone in honor of Kyrillos, Ammia, and Domna

Montanist?

This inscription is considered "Montanist" by those who argue that the use of the $\chi\rho$ - $\chi\rho$ formula is a sure indication of adherence to the New Prophecy, but see *ad* 27.

51. The ploughman's finished work

Altıntaş köy

c.300

Ed. pr. — *CIG* 3 [1853]: 3857*p* with facsimile of majuscule copy by P. Le Bas.

Gray marble stele with triangular pediment and projecting upper moulding and base. Stone broken at top and top right of pediment and upper moulding. Edges of shaft and base damaged. Height: 1.01m.; width: 0.34m. (shaft), 0.38m. (base). Width of upper moulding (when complete): 0.40m. Thickness not provided. Central triangle of pediment recessed to provide visual border for diagonal edges and base of pediment which has semicircular akroteria (right one broken away). The horizontal edge of the base of the pediment forms the top of an upper moulding which, because of the recess, appears to be projecting. This appearance is strengthened visually by a sloping *cyma* moulding below the upper moulding and the smaller width of the shaft, which is also recessed to provide a lower "projecting" moulding which serves as a visual base. The stele is carved in such a way as to resemble a funerary altar (cf. 50). Intricately carved low reliefs decorate the pediment: spindle and distaff (cf. 6) and the shaft: two birds facing each other (cf. 57, 94 and see *ad* 29) perched on a large vine with grapes (see *ad* 48), below which is a pair of oxen (cf. 39 and see *ad* 38) with plough (cf. and contrast 47). Inscription is on the mouldings, as the prefabricated decorations occupy the whole front face of the shaft. Cursive *epsilons*. Cursive *sigmas*, apart from when used to start a word in which case a quadratic *sigma* is employed. Quadratic *omegas*. Ligatures at *ll.2-5*. Mason's guide lines visible. Leaf used to indicate conclusion of inscription. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.02m. **Figure 56. Plate 16.**

On upper moulding:

Αὐξάνουσα ἡ σύνβι[ος 'Αν-]
δρονίκου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ [Τρό-]

On cyma moulding:

φιμος καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ[υ]
Λασσαμος ζῶντες ἐα[υ-]

On lower moulding:

5 τοῖς καὶ Ἀνδρονεῖκ[ω]
Χρηστῖανοι Χρηστ[ιαν-]
ῶ ἐποίησαν. (*leaf*)

Auxanousa, the wife of Andronikos, and his son Trophimos, and his cousin Lassamos, (while still) living, | for themselves and for Androneikos, Christians for a Christian, constructed (the tomb).

Other edd.: LBW 3,5 [1870]: 783 with majuscule copy in LBW 3,1 [1870]: p. 233; Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 217-218 no. 17 with line drawing and facsimile of majuscule text utilizing, in addition to Le Bas' published copy, a copy made by W.M. Ramsay in 1884, and one by himself made in 1897; Aigrain *Manuel* [1913]: 46 no. 64 with French trans.; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V" [1928]: 29-30 no. 244 with photograph; **IPhygChr* [1978a]: 20 with trans.; Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs II* [1979]: 284 no. 1154 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: col. 1474 with facsimile; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 338-339 no. 7; *SEG* 6 [1932]: 154 only reprints partial text with suggested punctuation; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 802 no. 48 with line drawing and facsimile; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 655-656 no. 20 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1981]: 117 (*ad* no. 17; *ll.4b-7* only) with partial German trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1-2* Ἀνδρονεῖκου: Anderson (Leclercq); Ἀνδρονίκου: Aigrain.
- l.2* αὐτοῦ: earlier *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters.
- ll.2-3* αὐτοῦ — ριμος: *CIG*; αὐτοῦ . . . ριμος: LBW (Aigrain).
- l.4* [Δ]ασσά[λι]μος: *CIG* (Aigrain).
- ll.4-5* ἐ[αυτ]οῖς: *CIG* (Aigrain), LBW.
- l.5* Ἀνδρονεῖκω: Anderson (Calder; Leclercq).
- ll.6-7* χρηστῖανοι χρηστῶ: *CIG* (Aigrain; Strobel).

Further references: Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet *Exploration I* [1862]: 125-126; Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 254 no. 6 with trans.; Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 679 and n.4; id., *Epigraphik* [1917]: 60 and n.4; Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and

n.2; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. II" [1925]: 160; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 7; id., "Phrygie," cols. 783-784; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); M. Waelkens (1977: 309 n.108 [ad no. 38]); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 4, 5; H. von Aulock (1980: 48 [ad no. 1]); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167-169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 503 no. 109; D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 20); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 385-386; G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362); W.H.C. Frend (1996: 200 and nn.45-46 [inadvertently cites this inscription as LBW 3.1.1783], 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).



Fig. 56: Andronikos' epitaph

Photograph: Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V," 29 fig. 7 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 6 no. 20; Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 173).

Line drawing/facsimile: Anderson, 218 (Leclercq "Phrygie," col. 801 fig. 10193; Tabbernee "Montanism," 655).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, p. 1088 = Le Bas' copy, reprinted in LBW 3.1, p. 233 no. 783 (Leclercq "Chrétien," col. 1474).

Workshop and date

This, like 50, may be an anomalous example of a Xp.-Xp. epitaph produced by the workshop which, at Soa (the provenance of this monument), manufactured the distinctive panel-stele and altar series. The yoked oxen are certainly similar to, although not identical with, those on monuments of that series. The plough, here, is not behind the oxen but carried upside down on the yoke, perhaps symbolizing that the ploughman's work (both physical and temporal) is finished; see Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V," 29. W.M. Ramsay's dating of this monument to c.300, while based in part on the non-sensical claim that inscriptions which spelled Christian with *eta* predated those spelled with *iota* (254-255), nevertheless, is likely to be correct.

Lassamos

Lassamos, presumably, is Andronikos' cousin, not Trophimos' cousin. The name Lassamos, on which see L. Zgusta (1964: §798-2), is native Phrygian; cf. Zoulakios (34) and see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145.

The Xp.-Xp. formula

As in the case of 38 (cf. 28, 52), a number of Christians here honor one deceased Christian, a detail recorded accurately by the phrase Χρηστῖανοί Χρηστ[ῖαν] ἡ (Il.6-7). There is no need to doubt the accuracy of the restoration. *Ed. pr.*'s suggestion, χρηστῖανοί χρηστῶ, assumes an intentional word-play ("Christians for a good person"). The phonological equivalence of ε = ι = ει = η in this particular instance, however, would have rendered such word-play unintelligible; e.g., note the two spellings of Andronikos in Il.2-3, 5 (cf. νεῖός for νεός in Il.2) and cf. the spelling of "Christian(s)" with *eta* (as here) with the spelling of the same word with -ει- or -ι- in other inscriptions from the same region; see also ad 9. Moreover the development of the Xp.-Xp. formula moved from the open declaration of the Christianity of the deceased only by the single word Χρηστῖανός/-οί to the open declaration of the dedicators (who were still live) as well as the deceased. There is no in-

stance of the dedicators being declared Χριστιανοί while the religion of the deceased remains ambiguous, as would have been the case with a phrase such as Χρηστιανοί χρηστῶ, especially as Χρηστός was also a person's name.

Montanist?

As with the other Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions, there is nothing, other than the dubious criteria of the formula itself and the provenance of the tombstone to suggest allegiance to Montanism; see *ad* 27.

52. The tomb of Demetria and Aurelios Glykon

Gecek, in wall of mosque

early IV¹

Ed. pr. — CIG 3 [1853]: 3857g with facsimile of majuscule copy by P. Le Bas.

Fragment of pediment of broken marble stele. Height: 0.25m.; width: 0.83m.; thickness not provided. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Ligatures at ll.1-4. Letter height: 0.01m.-0.02m. Figure 57. Plate 15.

On the pediment:

- Αὐρ. Γλύκων Δημητρίᾳ συνβίῳ κὲ ἐ-
 2 αὐτῶ ζῶν κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Εὐγένιος
 κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Παπτικός κὲ Λ[εό]γτιος κὲ Γλύκων
 4 κὲ Ζωτικῆς, Χρηστιαγοῖ [Χρηστ]ιανῇ.

Aurelios Glykon (prepared this tomb) for Demetria, his wife, and for himself, (while still) living; and their children Eugenios and Domna and Pappikios and Leontios and Glykon and Zotikes (are the co-dedicators), Christians for a Christian.

Other edd.: LBW 3,5 [1870]: 785 with majuscule copy in LBW 3,1 [1870]: p. 233; Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 216 no. 15; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 338 no. 6; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V" [1928]: 24 no. 235 with photograph; **IPhygChr* [1978a]: 21.

Text reprinted and discussed: Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: col. 1474 with facsimile; Kaufmann *Epigraphik* [1917]: 229-230 with facsimile; SEG 6 [1932]: 143; Tabernee "Montanism" [1978]: 678 no. 33 with trans., facsimile, and photograph.

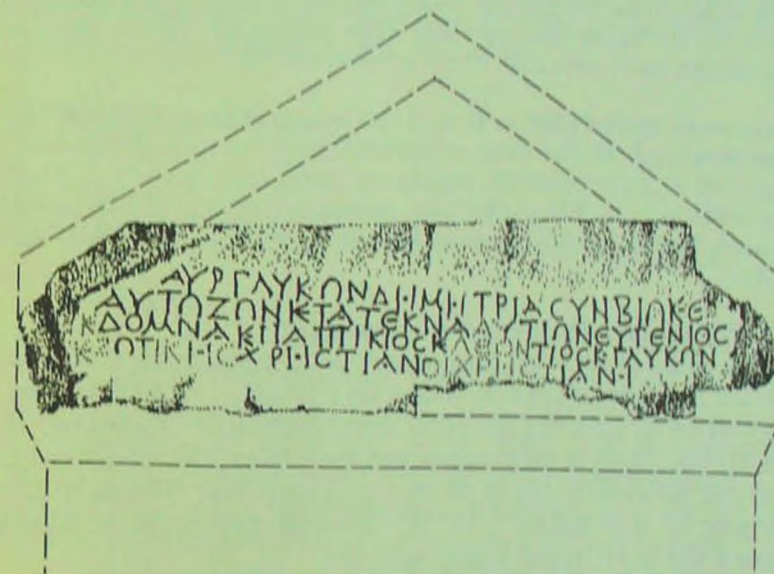


Fig. 57: Tombstone of Demetria (and Aurelios Glykon)

Variant readings:

- l.1 Partially illegible letters, here or elsewhere, not marked prior to Calder in Buckler/Calder/Cox.
 l.2 τέκνα αὐτῶν: CIG; [α]ὐτῶν: LBW.
 l.3 Πατ[ρ]ικός: CIG, LBW; Πα[τρ]ικός: Leclercq, Kaufmann; [Δομ]ίτιος: CIG; Ὑ[π]άτιος: LBW (Anderson; Leclercq; Kaufmann; Calder); Λ[εο?]γτιος: *IPhygChr*.
 l.4 Ζω[τ]ικῆς: CIG; Ζω[τ]ικῆς: LBW (Leclercq; Kaufmann); Ζωτικῆς: Anderson (Calder), Calder in Buckler/Calder/Cox (SEG; Tabernee); Ζωτικῆς: *IPhygChr* [and other earlier *edd.*] do not mark partially illegible letters or letters no longer visible here; Χρηστιανοῖ κ(αὶ) Δομιτιανῇ: CIG; Χρηστιανοῖ Χρηστ[ι]ανῇ: LBW (Anderson; Calder; Leclercq; Kaufmann); Χρηστιανοῖ [Χρηστ]ιανῇ: *IPhygChr* does not mark partially illegible *omikron*.

Further references: Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet *Exploration I* [1862]: 126; Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 254-255 no. 7 with trans.; Anderson, 198, 199; Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 679 and n.4; id., *Epigraphik*, 60 and n.4; Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Ceccheli *Aureli* [1928]: 63 n.4; Leclercq "Montanist (épigraphe)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 6; id., "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 784; E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickers-

ing (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 10; H. von Aulock (1980: 48 [ad no. 1]; 49 [ad no. 11]); W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 123; D. Feissel (1981: 370; 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 21); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 256-257; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.199); G.J. Johnson (1994: 354, 362); W.H.C. Frend (1996: 200 and nn.45-46, 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photograph: Buckler/Calder/Cox, 40 fig. 14 [of squeeze] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 14 no. 33).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, p. 1087 = Le Bas' copy, reprinted in LBW 3,1, p. 233 no. 785 (Leclercq, "Chrétien," col. 1474; Kaufmann *Epigraphik*, 230; Tabbernee "Montanism," 678).

Another stele carved to resemble a funeral altar?

The various editors of this inscription do not provide detailed descriptions of the extant fragment. E. Gibson (in *IPhyrChr*, p. 55), however, suggests that the gravestone was a stele carved in the style of a bomos; cf. 50, 51). The identity of the workshop which produced this monument is uncertain, but see comments on 50 which also apply here. The early date proposed by W.M. Ramsay (254-255), although derived at on invalid grounds (see ad 51), is undoubtedly accurate.

Χρηστιανοὶ καὶ Δομιτιανῇ?

Ed. pr.'s ingenious, if ungrammatical, reconstruction of the last phrase of this inscription was made before the existence of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula was widely known. The word [Δομιτ]ιανῇ presumably suggested itself to *ed. pr.* because of the existence of an imperial estate in the region; see p. 180 above. There can be no doubt, however, that Demetria's epitaph concluded with a grammatically correct version of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula: Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῇ. A number of Christians actually are burying one Christian (i.e., Demetria), even though the tomb has also been prepared for her husband who is still alive; cf. 38, 50, 51. On the spelling of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula with *eta*, see ad 9. This particular instance is the only clear example of the formula with Χρηστιανῇ (contrast 42).

Nomenclature

A number of the names mentioned on this epitaph, while not exclusively Christian, were favored by Christians. The name Glykon is based on a sobriquet; see L. Zgusta (1964: n.14 at §240). For its use in Christian circles, see Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. III" [1926]: 73.

Domna was a popular Christian name; see ad 34. On the name Pappikios derived from a pet form of "father," see Anderson (who appears to have used Ramsay's unpublished majuscule copy as well as Le Bas' published text to establish the correctness of Παπίκιος rather than Ὑπάτιος), 216 and Zgusta, 415 n.104. For Leontios, cf. 53. Ζωτικῆς has the common -ης ending in the nominative; see ad 48.

Montanist?

As in the case of similar inscriptions, apart from the Χρ.-Χρ. formula there is nothing to support the alleged Montanist origin of this tombstone.

Aizanoi

Map 7:G2 (N. Phrygia). Originally an agricultural center located in a fertile plain, Aizanoi lay 40km. S.W. of Kotiaion (7:E4) and approx. 40km. N.W. of Appia (7:H5) on a tributary of the Rhyndakos (modern Kocasu; 7:C1) called the Penkalas (Çavdarsuyu); see L. Robert (1981: 331-360). The site of Aizanoi has been identified on epigraphic grounds with Çavdarhisar; see Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 515 ad C1; id., *Geography* [1890]: 146-147 ad 88; BE [1939]: 257; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 46; MAMA 9 [1988]: p. xvii; and TIB 7 [1990]: 201-203. The city gained prominence because of its magnificent temple to Zeus, its festivals, legends and membership of the Panhellenic League; see R. Lane Fox (1987: 69). Aizanoi probably also belonged to the conventus of Synnada; so A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 65). In ancient times the term Aizanitis was used to refer to the extensive territory of the city which stretched to the Mysian border in the N. and N.W. The Aizanitis also bordered the territories of Kadoi (7:H1) in the S.W., of Kotiaion in the N.E., and of Appia in the S.E.; see Philipponson *Reisen* 3 [1913]: 85, 108-109, 129; R. Naumann (1979: 1-3, 8-11); Waelkens *Türsteine*, 46; MAMA 9, pp. xviii-xx. The ancient settlement at Çömlekçi köy (7:F3), 16km. N.E. of Aizanoi within the Upper Tembris Valley (see TIB 7, 226), probably belonged to the territory of Aizanoi; see M. Waelkens (1977: 284, 295-296 n.32; *Türsteine*, 87). Alternatively, Çömlekçi

köy may merely have bordered the territory of Aizanoi, without actually belonging to that city; see MAMA 9, p. xviii and p. xxi n.35; MAMA 10 [1993]: p. xvii (cf. Waelkens [1977: 282]).

53. The family of Aurelios Markeianos

Çömlekçi köy

Now in Kütahya Museum, inv. no. 917

304/5

Ed. pr. — *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 16 with trans. and photograph.

Two fragments of marble "Bogenfeldstele" Type C Altıntaş 1 (see below). Small fragment broken off from right bottom corner, but rejoined. Part of left bottom corner and all of tenon missing. Faces of carvings of human figures damaged. Height: 1.50m.; width: 0.90m.; thickness: 0.14m. Pediment decorated with stylized tendrils (representing akroteria?). Large rectangular naiskos with semicircular top recessed beneath pediment, contains reliefs of two males and one female. Central figure (male) stands on pedestal (decorated with carving of pair of oxen with plough [cf. 47]), carries cattle-prod (*stimulus*) in right hand and wax tablets with stylus (cf. 38) in left. Male figure at left carries *falx vinitoria* (cf. 8) in left hand. Female figure at right holds spindle and distaff (cf. 6) in left hand. Both hold right hand over their hearts. Single horizontal lines, incised at either side of spring of the arch of the naiskos, continue around top of arch where they join to form parallel lines reaching to peak of pediment. Beneath the naiskos is a fascia which serves as a visual base. The fascia extends to the left and right of the naiskos, forming base for pilasters with stylized capitals at either side of naiskos. Pilasters are decorated with vines and grapes. Below fascia: pair of oxen yoked to cart. Date carved in naiskos between heads of male figures. Main text commences on fascia and continues at either side of oxen with cart. Interpuncts at l.2. Dittography in l.11. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. "Horseshoe" *omegas*. Tilted *chis* at ll.10, 12, 16. Ligatures at ll.2-8, 13. Letter height: 0.02m. **Figure 58. Plate 26.**

Between the men's heads:

Ἔτους πθ'.

On fascia below figures:

Αὐρ. Μαρκειανὸς Μάρκου καὶ Δόμνα τέκνω Λεοντίῳ
γλυκντάτω ἀωροθανῇ ἐτῶν · ιθ' · καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες·

Below fascia, next to oxen and cart:

	καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν	Τι{σ}ς ἄν
5	Ἀμμιάντος καὶ Διομή- δης καὶ Εὐμηλος πατρ- ὶ ζῶντι καὶ μητρὶ ζώσῃ	προσάξι χίρ- α τῇ βαρύχθ- ονον ὀρφαν-
	καὶ ἀδελφῷ θεθνῶτι	15 ἃ τέκνα λίποι-
	γλυκντάτοις μνήμη-	το οἶκον χῆ-
10	ς χάριν.	ρον βίον ἔρη- μον.

In the year 389. Aurelios Markeianos son of Markos and Domna (prepared this tomb) for Leontios, their sweetest child, who died before his time aged nineteen, and for themselves (while still) living; and their children | Ammiantos and Diomedes and Eumelos (are co-dedicators of this tomb) for their father (who is still) living and for their mother (who is still) living and for their sweetest deceased brother, | in memory. If anyone shall bring a hand heavy with envy (against this tomb) may that person leave orphaned children, | a bereft household, (and) a wasted life.

Other ed.: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 58-61 no. 1 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: S. Mitchell (1980: 201-202) does not reprint whole text but does suggest emendations on the basis of his own copy and photograph; *SEG 28 [1982]: 1101; Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 138-139 inscr. E with trans.; *New Docs* 5 [1989]: 146 (ll.14-18 only).

Variant readings:

l.1 ἔτους πθ': Gibson "Montanism" does not number this as l.1 but commences numbering with l.2 as l.1.

l.2 Δόμνα Λέοντι: Gibson "Montanism" omits τέκνω; Λέοντι: Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (SEG; Snyder).

l.3 θ': Mitchell.

- l.10 +ἀπν: Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (Snyder).
 l.11 τιος: Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (SEG); τιος: Snyder; αv: *IPhrygChr* (Snyder).
 l.12 προσάξει: *IPhrygChr* (SEG; Snyder).
 ll.12-13 +ἰπα: Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (Snyder).
 l.13 τηv: Gibson "Montanism" does not mark ligature here.
 ll.16-17 +ἡ|ποv: Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (Snyder).

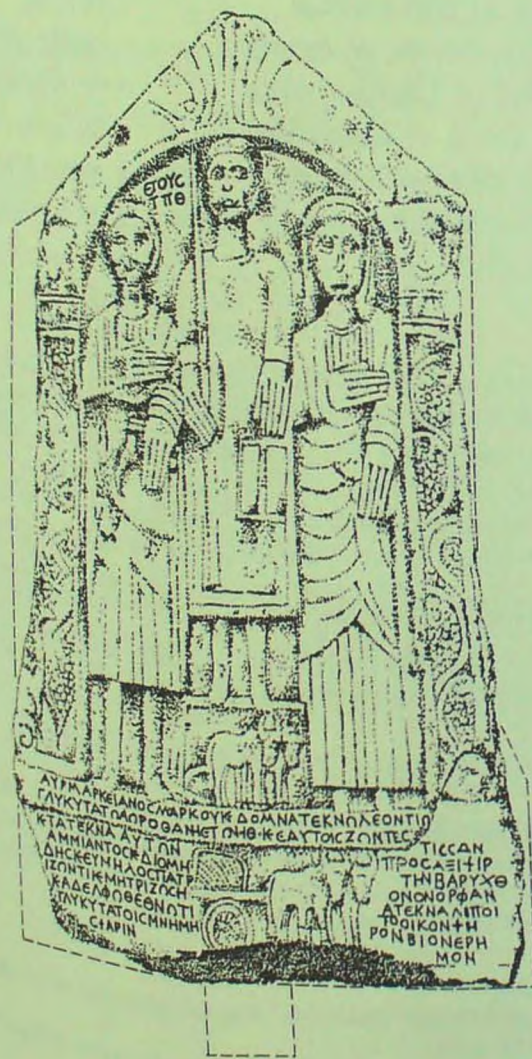


Fig. 58: Leontios' tombstone

Further references: Gibson "Montanism," 21; M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 295-296 n.32 [ad no. 6], 309 n.110 [ad no. 1]); *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 10, 41-43; P. Nautin (1979: 579); A. Ferrua (1980: 176, 177); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 109-110 no. 9; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-170); D. Feissel (1981: 370-371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92 n.1, 93-94); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 503 no. 106e; A. Giuliano (1982: 169-170); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 87 n.158, 102 n.246; *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 237-238; *MAMA* 9 [1988]: p. xxi n.35; Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 124 (ad no. 18); *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xvii, p. xxi n.24 and p. 52; J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.199); G.J. Johnson (1994: 341, 343, 363 n.3, 364 n.9, 365 n.25 with photograph).

Photographs: ed. pr., plate 17 [= cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," plate 1] (Johnson, 343 plate 5); Mitchell [unpublished; see Mitchell (1980: 201)].

Provenance, workshop, and date

Although E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, pp. 37, 42) was unaware of the precise provenance of this tombstone, she, on the basis of some similarity in style, identified it as having been produced in the same workshop as that which produced a number of the Xp.-Xp. or Χριστιανοί inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley. The register of the Kütahya Museum, however, gives the provenance as Çömlekçi köy which raises the theoretical possibility that the stone was produced in a different workshop (at Aizanoi or Göynükören?), perhaps by a specialist sculptor who had also worked in the workshop near Soa (see ad 31 and ad 37). A large number of tombstones and sarcophagi discovered in Çömlekçi köy certainly appear to have been brought there from Aizanoi (*TIB* 7, 226). Nevertheless, in this particular instance, the shape and style of the stone argue against it having been produced anywhere other than in the workshop near Soa. That workshop manufactured, in addition to panel-steles, a type of stele, designated by M. Waelkens as Type C Altıntaş 1 "Bogenfeldstelen" (*Türsteine*, 90), which featured carved representations of "full-sized" figures (rather than busts or busts with partial trunks) standing within a niche. Leontios' tombstone is a clear example of this type of "Bogenfeldstele" and undoubtedly came from this workshop (ibid., 87 n.158; Rigsby, 93-94). It is also a good example of how the decorations carved on one kind of stele (e.g., the "panel-stele") were utilized for other types. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 42) suggests that Leontios' tombstone was carved by the same sculptor who produced 41.

The date on this tombstone (ἐτους πθ', i.e., 389 "Sullan era" = 304/5 C.E.) is significant for establishing the approximate dates when the panel-steles with the Xp.-Xp. formula were produced.

Orthography and symbols

The substitution of $\theta\epsilon\theta\omega\tau\iota$ for $\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\acute{o}\tau\iota$ in *l.8* is due to the common Phrygian interchange between unvoiced aspirate and unvoiced consonant; see *ad 40*. Confusion between the two aspirates and between the words $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (genitive: $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) appears to have resulted in the use of $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ for $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in *ll.13-14* (Gibson "Montanism," 60-61 and *IPhrygChr*, p. 38). For other Phrygian inscriptions using $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in their imprecations, see Gibson "Κοç Collection" [1978b]: 15-18 no. 3 (pl. 3a) with discussion of the meaning of the term ("heavy with envy") plus a list of further examples and Gibson "Kütahya Museum" [1980]: 70-71 no. 12 (fig. 25), cf. 68 no. 8 (fig. 21) and 68-69 no. 9 (fig. 22). Note also the common phonological reduction of $-\epsilon\iota$ to $-\iota$ in $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota$ (*l.12*) and $\chi\iota\rho\alpha$ (*ll.12-13*).

The symbols (pre-)carved on this monument, including the oxen with cart for transporting corn and the *stimulus* or cattle-prod, portray the agrarian context in which Leontios had lived.

A premature death

Leontios, the deceased son of Markeianos and Domna, had died young. Mitchell's reading of $\epsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \theta'$ for $\epsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \iota\theta'$ in *l.2* does not accord with the text as shown on Gibson's photograph. It is also inconsistent with the carved relief of a grown man, presumably portraying Leontios. Gibson's reading, therefore, is the more likely. Leontios was 19 years of age at the time of his death, not 18 as translated by Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 38)—unless she means that he had lived for 18 years and was in his 19th year. In any case, Leontios' age was probably given in approximate terms, as people in the ancient world were not always sure of their exact age and tended to give rounded-off figures such as 20, 30, 60; see R.P. Duncan Jones (1977: 333-353) and cf. 60, 62. See also *P. Ups. Frid.* 1.1-20 where the names of people are given in multiples of five. Although Leontios' age was not "rounded off," the alphabetic numeral $\iota\theta'$ in his epitaph probably meant "a little short of 20 years." Gibson did not see the *omega* at the end of *l.2* and, consequently, presumed that the form of the deceased son's name was $\Lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$. For a further example of the form Leontios (if restored correctly), see 52.

Christian?

Apart from (possibly) the tilted *chis* in *ll.10, 12* and 16, there is little to suggest that this tombstone is Christian. The names Markos, Markeianos and Domna may be Christian, but are not exclusively so. Although W.M. Calder ("Epigraphy II" [1924b]: 88) considered the *chi* in the shape of a Greek cross unequivocal evidence of Christianity, simi-

lar tilted *chis* appear in Phrygian inscriptions honoring non-Christian deities (see *IPhrygChr*, p. 39). Even in inscriptions which are established as Christian on other grounds, tilted *chis* vary greatly in shape suggesting lapidary license rather than intentional imitation of a Greek cross; see also Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions," 134 and *ad 40*. G.F. Snyder (138) concludes that the tilted *chis* here (and elsewhere) are cultural attempts to ward off evil spirits and have no reference to the Christian cross. The imprecation at the end of this epitaph is very common on non-Christian tombstones from the area; see A. Parrot (1939: 134-137); *BE* [1962]: 194; *Hellenica*. 13 [1965]: 97-98; *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1609. Note that in this instance the usual position of the adjectives in *ll.16-18* has been inverted. The formula normally reads: $\chi\eta\rho\omicron\nu\ \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu,\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\rho\eta\mu\omicron\nu$; see *IPhrygChr*, p. 38. That Christians would use a formula as vehement as this one (Rigsby, 93) is by no means impossible, given the even stronger sentiments expressed by the "curse of Judas formula" employed by Christians elsewhere not all that much later; see *New Docs* 1 [1981]: 99-101 no. 61; *New Docs* 3 [1983]: 83 no. 64; *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 240 (*ad 3*), 264 no. 129.

Gibson ("Montanism," 21; cf. Waelkens [1977: 309 n.110 (*ad* no. 1)] at first considered this a "non-provocative" Christian inscription, but later (*IPhrygChr*, p. 39) questioned its Christian nature—a view adopted, probably correctly, by subsequent commentators.

Montanist?

Snyder, despite his comments regarding the non-Christian nature of the tilted *chis* (138) and despite the absence of the $X\pi.-X\pi.$ formula (or of the word "Christian"), considers this to be a pre-Constantinian dated $X\pi.-X\pi.$ inscription (134)—although, somewhat inconsistently, on p. 137 he refers to 27 as the only dated $X\pi.-X\pi.$ inscription. Snyder gives three possible explanations of the meaning of the formula: Montanist public witness and encounter; orthodox exertion of social and economic pressure on non-Christian neighbors; rural, monolithic frankness as contrasted with urban pluralism (137). Consequently, it is apparent that Snyder considers the $X\pi.-X\pi.$ inscriptions at least potentially Montanist, and, inasmuch as he describes the inscription under discussion here as one of the $X\pi.-X\pi.$ class, he, presumably, also considers this one potentially Montanist. However, the absence of the $X\pi.-X\pi.$ formula or of any decisive Christian symbolism other than the alleged Christian significance of the tilted *chis* certainly rules out classifying this as a $X\pi.-X\pi.$ inscription and probably also means that it is not Christian, let alone Montanist. A further argument against its Montanist nature is the prominent representation of the three human figures in the naiskos. Few of the other tomb-

stones published in this corpus contain human figures (54, 64-66). None of these is definitely Christian. Early Christians, in general, tended to be conservative in respect of portraiture; see Rigsby, 93. Montanists, as rigorists, probably would have been even more opposed to producing "graven images" of people—especially if these were portrayed in a shrine (naiskos). There is no need to assume that the figures carved here bore any actual resemblance to Leontios or his parents; see *ad* 54.

Kotiaeion

Map 7:E4 (N. Phrygia). Modern Kütahya. The ancient city 4km. W. of the Tembris (Porsuk Çayı) lay on the main road from Sardis (5:C1) to Ankyra (5:B4) and could be reached easily from both Appia (7:H4) and Soa (7:H5), via the main N.E. road from Akmonia (7:J3) to Dorylaeion (7:B7) and the main N.W. road from Prymnessos (7:J7) to Dorylaeion respectively. Kotiaeion belonged to the conventus of Synnada; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 65). Kotiaeion's border with Appia was the low mountain range immediately N. of the Altıntaşovası near Adaköy (12:F2). Kotiaeion's extensive territory stretched N. to become Phrygia's border with Bithynia, adjacent to that of Dorylaeion and reached the Türkmen Dağı in the N.E. (7:E6) to form the border with Dorylaeion and Nakoleia (9:C2). In the W., Kotiaeion's territory stretched beyond Köprüören (7:D3) to the edge of the Plain of Tavşanlı (7:D2) and in the S.W., it bordered Aizanoi (7:G2). See Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 506-507 (*ad* 84); *id.*, "Geography" [1890]: 144 *ad* 83; W. Ruge (1922: cols. 1526-1527); L. Robert (1962: 359 *and* n.4); Th. Drew-Bear (1976b: 252); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 88-89; TIB 7 [1990]: 312-316; and MAMA 10 [1993]: p. xvii.

54. A Montanist(?) symbol

Kütahya, in Armenian cemetery
Now at Ankara, depot at site of Roman Baths

III³⁻⁴

Ed. pr. — Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. II" [1925]: 161 no. 149 with line drawing/facsimile.

White marble doorstele with tenon: Type C Altıntaş 2 but with Type E arched pediment; see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 90-91, 105. Height: 1.26m.; width: 0.60m.; thickness: 0.21m. Broken at right bottom; weather-worn. Pediment is carved as niche containing two facing lions, the front paws of which hold down slain cattle (bulls?). Semicircular border of arch decorated with rope motif. Original inscription presumably commenced on horizontal upper border of pediment (*cf.* 64), but this has been replaced by Armenian inscription. "Door" separated from "gable" by "lintel" is decorated with eight incised ellipses. "Pilasters" are decorated with geometric "fish-scale" design similar to that of 66. Door consists of three recessed panels. Upper panel contains two busts and lower panels contain one bust each; all defaced. Further decorations are incised below door: spindle and distaff; comb(?); wax tablets with stylus. Extant two lines (ll.2-3) of original inscription carved on "threshold," first copied by W.M. Calder in June 1924. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Ligature at l.2. Letter height not provided. **Figures 59, 60. Plate 5.**

[-----]
2 κὲ 'Απολλωνίῳ ἀδελφοῖς, 'Αλεξάνδρῳ [Κυρίλ-]
 λης υἱῷ ἐπόησα.

... and for Apollonios their brothers, (and) for Alexandros son of Kyrilla, I have constructed (the tomb).

Other edd.: Miltner "Nachlese" [1937]: cols. 54-55 no. 58 with photograph; Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs II* [1979]: 511 no. 2123 with photograph; *Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 105 no. 246 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 708-709 (majuscule copy based on Calder); *SEG* 6 [1932]: 108; Taberner "Montanism" [1978]: 687-688 no. 40 with line drawing/facsimile.



Fig. 59: Reused tombstone of
Apollonios and Alexandros

Variant readings:

l.2 κ- ('Αλ)εξανδ[ρ]ω: Calder (Tabbernee); 'Αλ)εξανδρ[ω]: SEG with 'Εξα[ν]δίω as alternative suggestion.

Further references: *MAMA* 5 [1937]: pp. 122-123; *BE* [1939]: 420; M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 296 n.33); Tabbernee, 342; *SEG* 36 [1989]: 1191; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 314, 316; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. 189 (*ad* Kütahya no. 3) with photograph.

Photographs: Miltner, col. 55 fig. 32 (Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 305; Waelkens *Türsteine*, plate 40 no. 246); *MAMA* 10, plate 56 (P3).

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 161 fig. 81 (Tabbernee, 688); Grégoire, 709 (majuscule text reconstructed from *ed. pr.*).

A defaced monument

The erasure of l.1 of the original epitaph makes translation difficult. Presumably, the names of the dedicator and of at least one of Apollonios' brothers were recorded in l.1. The four, now defaced, busts (cf. 66) may suggest that at least four persons were named in the epitaph. Busts, like full-length human figures (cf. 53, 65, 66) and "heads and trunks" (cf. 64), supposedly represented the deceased or those still living members of the family who were also to be buried in the tomb. Funerary portraiture, however, varied little apart from gender shown by hairstyle or dress. For the use of -o- for -oi- in ἐποίησα (l.3), cf. 19.

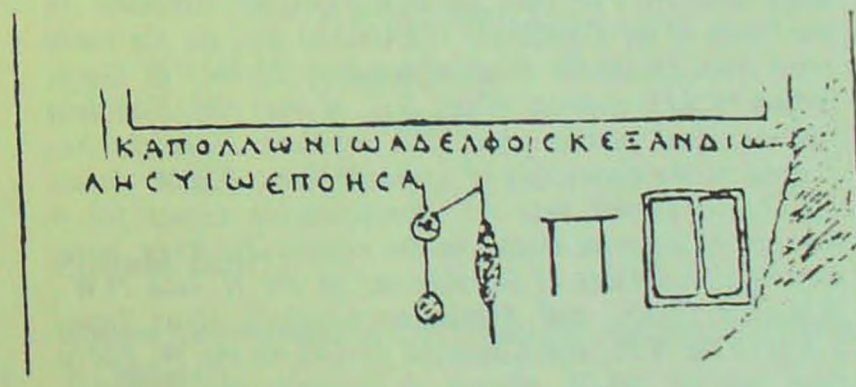


Fig. 60: Facsimile of epitaph
with symbol interpreted as *pi*,
as published in 1925

Montanist?

C.W.M. Cox in Buckler/Calder/Cox (161; cf. *MAMA* 5, pp. 122-123), followed by H. Grégoire (708), interpreted the symbol carved between the spindle and distaff and the wax tablets as a large *pi*, and, on the basis of a comparison with the use of the letter *pi* in 63, designated this a Montanist epitaph.

It is likely that the letter *pi* was used by Montanists as an abbreviation for πνευματικός/-ή; see *ad* 63 and cf. 55. It, however, was not used in this way on this particular monument. As Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 105) has shown, the symbol which Cox took to be a *pi* is in fact a comb (cf. 5), of which only the remnants of the sides and top are visible.

Other symbols

The other symbols on this doorstone are common in Phrygian funerary art. None is exclusively Christian. Consequently, the monument may not even be Christian. The likelihood of this being a Christian inscription would be strengthened if Calder's restoration of the name [Κυρίλ]λης (ll.2-3) could be shown to be secure (cf. 25). The restoration, however, is doubtful. While matronymics do occur in Phrygian epitaphs (e.g., *lPhrygChr* 26), they are extremely rare. See other commentaries for the significance of the lions (26), spindle and distaff (6), and wax tablets (38).

Nakoleia

Map 9:C2 (N. Phrygia). Modern Seyitgazi. Situated on the banks of the Parthenios (Seyitsuyu) and on the main road from Laodikeia Katakekaumene (10:H4) to Dorylaeion (9:A1), approx. 40km. S.E. of that city, Nakoleia was an ideal resting place for travelers. Nakoleia belonged to the conventus of Synnada (see A.H.M. Jones [1971a: 65]) and was the administrative center for a number of imperial estates in the region. Its huge territory bordered those of Dorylaeion, to the N. and N.W., Midaieion (9:A3) and Akkilaieion (modern Uyuz Tepe; 9:A3) to the N.E., and Kotiaieion (7:E4) to the W. For a time (see pp. 95-96 above), it encompassed Orkistos, 54km. to the S.E. (9:D5), stretching its S.E. border to Galatia. Even when Orkistos was independent, Nakoleia's territory perhaps extended as far as the boundary of Troknada (modern Kaymaz; 9:B4) in the E. Its southern border was probably defined by the low mountain ranges near Akin (9:C1), separating its territory from that of Metropolis (modern Oynes, approx. 3km. S.E. of Kümbet; 9:D2). See Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 499-501 (ad 67); W. Ruge (1935: cols. 1600-1604); MAMA 5 [1937]: pp. xxvi-xxxi; L. Robert (1962: 77 nn.4, 6; 1975: 171-172); M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 296 nn.38-39); H. von Aulock (1980: 74-77); Waelkens *Türsteine*

[1986]: 122; Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 1921 and n.40; TIB 7 [1990]: 344-346.

55. A Montanist(?) Π

Seyitgazi

III⁴-IV¹(?)

Ed. pr. — MAMA 5 [1937]: 260 with photograph.

Limestone stele with triangular pediment, broken at top. Parts of the surface of the shaft have been cut away. Height: 1.10m.; width: 0.59m. (top), 0.51m. (shaft); thickness: 0.26m. (top), 0.22m. (shaft). Wreath in center of pediment (cf. and contrast 38). Shaft separated from pediment by ribbed moulding. Prominent *pi* (height: 0.08m.) carved at top of shaft, just below moulding. Extant inscription (probably complete) in center of shaft. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Letter height (apart from *pi* in l.1): 0.045m. Figure 61. Plate 12.

Π

Ἄνθος Ἀπολλ-
ωνίω ἀδελφ-
ῷ, μνήμης
5 χάριν.

P(neumatikoi?)

Anthos (commissioned this tomb) for Apollonios his brother,
5 in | memory.

Text reprinted and discussed: Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 688-689 no. 41 with photograph; Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 131 with French trans.

Variant readings:

l.2 Ἄνθος: MAMA (Tabbernee; Blanchetière) does not mark partially visible letters here or elsewhere.

Further references: Tabbernee, 342; H. von Aulock (1980: 75); BE [1984]: 341; TIB 7 [1990]: 346.



Fig. 61: Apollonios' tombstone

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 55 no. 260 (Tabbernee, plate 14 no. 260).

Montanist?

The symbol carved at the top of the shaft, unlike the symbol on 54, is clearly a *pi*. The fact that it was retained, along with the inscription, when

most of the face of the stone was removed for other purposes, indicates that it was deemed to be a significant, and intelligible, symbol.

The letter *pi*, used as a symbol, occurs on a number of inscriptions. E. Testa (1962: 276-277), for instance, cites examples from Syria where the *pi* decorated the portals of private houses. Testa (275-278) argues that the *pi* was part of a sacred Jewish lintel design. This, in addition, may explain the origin of the use of the symbols ΤΠΠΤ on the door lintel of an inscription from Nabatene in Syria (*ISyriaW* [1870a]: 1961), also decorated with a cross. C. Clermont-Gannau, in a communication concerning 63 (in Pargoire "Dorylée II" [1903]: 62), suggested that the latter inscription may be Montanist. H. Leclercq ("Montanist [épigraphie]" (1934b): col. 2541 no. 17) tentatively listed it among his Montanist inscriptions but considered the data to be insufficient for certainty. The absence of any other substantive evidence for the existence of Montanism in Syria after III¹ (see p. 54 above) suggests strongly that *ISyriaW* 1961 is Jewish-Christian rather than Montanist and, hence, it has not been treated in a separate entry.

As there is no independent evidence for Montanists in Nakoleia, it is possible that the main inscription under discussion here is also Jewish or Jewish-Christian. The likelihood of it being Montanist, however, should not be dismissed too quickly. There is little doubt that, despite the absence of other evidence for the existence of Montanists in nearby Dorylaeion, an inscription (63), which uses the symbol Π twice, is Montanist. The self-designation *πνευματικός*/-ή for Montanists (see pp. 403-406, 456 below) makes it extremely likely that the letter *pi* was used as a prominent symbol standing for this self-designation. If there were Montanists using this abbreviation in Dorylaeion, there is no reason why there could not have been Montanists in Nakoleia doing the same. If so, however, it is not clear whether the *pi* in this instance designated only the deceased, or, as I have suggested in the translation, also the dedicator.

Laodikeia Katakekaumene

Map 10:H4 (S.E. Phrygia). This city, earlier known as *Klaudiolaodikeia*, is distinguished from *Laodikeia ad Lycum* (6:E6) by the additional term *ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη*, perhaps derived from the smoke produced by the smelting ovens of the region (TIB 7 [1990]: 327) rather than because of the blackened hills to the S.E., as argued by Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 68 n.2. Located 38km. N.N.W. of Ikonion (10:J4) at modern Halıcı

(formerly also known as *Lâdik*), the city's significance derived from being situated on an important trade route between Phrygia and eastern Asia Minor. The limits of its extensive territory have not yet been defined precisely, but it shared borders with the territories of Hadrianopolis (modern *Koçaş*; 9:J6) and Ikonion to the W. and S. respectively and with the provinces of Cappadocia and Lycaonia to the E. See W. Ruge (1924: cols. 721-722; *MAMA* 1 [1928]: pp. xii, 15; J. and L. Robert (1977: 42, 54); M. Waelkens (1977: 298 n.49) and id., *Türsteine* [1986]: 254. Ancient *Kongoustos* (modern *Altnekin*, formerly *Zıvarık*; 10:G6) was situated almost at the eastern limit of *Laodikeia's* territory approx. 58km. N.N.E. of Ikonion; *TIB* 4 [1984]: 153. An imperial estate, administered from *Laodikeia*, lay to the S. of the city near *Zizima* (modern *Sızma*; 10:H4); see Calder "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 361; Waelkens *Türsteine*, 254.

56. A pastor martyred during the Great Persecution

Altnekin, in the wall of the mosque

c.310(?)–313(?)

Ed. pr. — Callander "Explorations" [1906]: 175 no. 64.

Limestone block, broken at right diagonally from near top to bottom. Height: 0.74m.; width: 1.30m.; thickness: 0.25m. (top), 0.15m. (bottom). *Tabula ansata* with rectangular frame and ornamental handles (cf. 9) on front face. Inscription, carved in sunken field of *tabula ansata* (height: 0.52m.; width: 0.85m.), first copied by T. Callander in 1904, then by W.M. Ramsay in 1906 and W.M. Calder in 1910. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Third letter of 1.6 (*gamma*) is defaced. Letter height: 0.025m.–0.04m. **Figure 62. Plate 31.**

Τύμβον Γενναδείου πατὴρ καὶ
 πότνια μήτηρ
 ἐξετέλεσαν, ὁ γὰρ γέ-
 νος πάτρην τ' ἀκάχησεν.
 5 Ποιμέν' ὄντ' ἐπ' ὄφουσιν, ὁ ἱ-

ρο[γ]ραφεῖν γὰρ ἀνέτλη,
 οἰκτιστον θνήσκων, καὶ
 δυσμενέων ἀγοσεῖων
 ἥπιος ὢν, ἐταίων μινυνθά-
 10 δειος δ' ἐτελεύτ(α).

5 The tomb of Gennadeios (which his) father and revered mother completed, for (by his death) he grieved (his) family (and his) homeland. | Being a pastor over sheep, he endured (the precepts of) holy scripture, dying most piteously, and being gentle among
 10 impious enemies | he came to his end, being but short-lived in years.



Fig. 62: Inscription commemorating Gennadeios

Other edd.: Calder "New Monument" [1923c]: 85; **MAMA* 1 [1928]: 157 with photographs.

Text reprinted and discussed: H. Grégoire (1923: 86) does not reprint whole text but suggests alternative reading for 1.3; Calder "Martyrs" [1923d]: 299-300 and 300 n.2 with trans.; id., "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 358-360 with trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 709-710 with French trans. based on Calder's English trans.; P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1928: 119-122 with Italian trans. based on Calder's English trans.); Wilhelm "Grabinschriften" [1932]: 826-829, 832-835; Grégoire "Gennadios" [1933c]: 65-69; *SEG* 6 [1933]: 343; Leclercq "Paléochrétiens" [1937b]: cols. 603-604 no. 4; F. Halkin (1949: 89-90); Blanchetière

Christianisme asiatique [1981]: 512 no. 204 with French trans.; Mitchell "Maximinus" [1988]: 105 n.4 (II.5b-10 only).

Variant readings:

I.5 ποιμένων τ' ἐπ': Franchi de' Cavalieri; ὄντα πο[θεε]ινὸ[ν]: Callander; TE ΠΟCCCINOI: Ramsay in Callander; ἐπ' δεσσιν: Calder (Blanchetière); ποιμένων τ' (ποιμ[α]ίνων τ') ἐπ' δεσσιν: Grégoire (Wilhelm; *SEG*; Halkin).

II.5-6 ὁ ἱερο[γ]ραφεῖν: Calder ("New Monument") θιροτραφεῖν (οὐ θηροτροφεῖν): Grégoire; θηροτραφεῖν: Calder "Great Persecution" alternate reading considered but rejected; [θ]ιροτραφεῖν: Wilhelm (cf. Calder [1934: 503]); θιροτραφεῖν: Halkin; ἱερο[γ]ραφεῖν: Mitchell.

I.6 ροτραφ τὰν ἀνέτλη: Callander; ΦC·HNΓA: Ramsay in Callander.

I.7 θν[ή]σκων: Callander; θνήσκων: Calder "New Monument" (Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne").

I.8 δυσμενέων . . οσσίων: Halkin; ἀνοσ[ε]ίων: Calander.

I.9-10 μινυνθάδιο: Franchi de' Cavalieri.

I.10 ἐτελεύτα: earlier *edd.* do not indicate *vac.*

Further references: W.M. Ramsay (1923: 86); H. Grégoire (1927/8a: 694-695); *MAMA* 1, pp. xviii-xix; W. Peek (1931: 527, 529); H. Delehay (1932: 381); C.W.M. Cox (1933: 225, 227); A. Cameron (1933: 139); *BE* [1934]: p. 216; W.M. Calder (1934: 503); *BE* [1936]: p. 352; *BE* [1951]: 19; A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.102); *EG* 4 [1978]: 397; Blanchetière, 327, 480; *TIB* 4 [1984]: 153; S. Mitchell (1993: 65 and n.80).

Photographs: *MAMA* 1, p. 81 fig. (a) [of stone], fig. (b) [of squeeze].

Line drawing/facsimile: Calder "Great Persecution" [1924a]: fig. 2 (facing p. 357).

Pastor over sheep

There is no doubt that the description of Gennadeios as ποιμένων ὄντ' ἐπ' δεσσιν (I.3) is meant to be taken as indicating a Christian pastoral office. Calder ("Great Persecution," 358, 360) argued that, at this time, the church at the ancient settlement at the site of Zivarik, i.e., modern Altunekin (since identified as Kongoustos), had no independent organization and that, consequently, Gennadeios must have been a presbyter or a *chorepiscopus* ("village bishop") under bishop Severos of Laodikeia (on whom, see *ad* 70). If, however, Gennadeios was a Montanist—which Calder (364) also postulated—there is no reason why Gennadeios could not have been a "fully fledged" bishop, as Montanists, as well as non-Montanists, continued to use the title ἐπίσκοπος for the chief pastors of villages well beyond this time; e.g., cf. Soz., *h.e.* 7.19.2 with Ath., *Ar.* 2.25, 2.28.

Martyr?

A number of further ambiguous phrases on his tombstone are strong, if not absolute, indicators that Gennadeios died as a martyr. The first of these phrases juxtaposes ἀνέτλη^ν and ἱερογραφεῖν (I.3). It probably means that Gennadeios "suffered (death—on account of) holy scripture" or that he "endured (the precepts [or prediction] of) holy scripture," resulting in his death. If the phrase carries the former meaning, there may be an allusion to the possible circumstances leading to Gennadeios' death. Perhaps he, like others during "the Great Persecution," refused to "hand over the books" when required to do so by local officials acting in accordance with the demands of an imperial edict; e.g., Felix, bishop of Thibiua in Africa Proconsularis (*Pass. Fel.* 15, 20, 25, 28). However, this edict was not implemented universally or consistently and, therefore, the sense of the phrase under discussion may be that, in accordance with the scriptural injunction not to deny the faith by fleeing persecution, Gennadeios endured his martyrdom. Calder's suggestion ("Great Persecution," 359-360), that there is an allusion here to the fulfillment of the prediction made by St. Paul to the Christians of South Galatia that they would suffer tribulation and persecution (Acts 15:22; cf. 2 Tim 3:12), is dependent on his theory that Christians had become used to such veiled references on tombstones during the period before Christianity had become a legal religion (*ibid.*, 360).

Mitchell ("Maximinus," 105 n.4; 1993: 65) assumes that ἱερογραφεῖν is a reference to an imperial letter authorizing persecution, rather than to holy scripture, arguing that γράμματα would be the *vox propria* for such a document. If Mitchell's assumption is accurate, it would support, even more strongly than would a reference to scripture, the view that Gennadeios died as a martyr.

Phrases reporting that he died "most piteously" (I.7) and had come to a premature end among "impious enemies" (II.8-10) are compatible with martyrdom. For the view that these phrases, however, are not strong enough to warrant the conclusion that Gennadeios had indeed died as a martyr, see Wilhelm, 826-828, 832-834; Halkin, 90 and cf. Grégoire "Gennadios," 65-69—a view rejected vehemently by Calder (1934: 503).

Date and orthography

If Gennadeios did die as a martyr, it is likely that he did so as a result of the persecution under Maximin Daia (c.305-313), perhaps, like Severos (70), sometime during 312-313. He could, of course, have been martyred slightly earlier than this or, if he had merely suffered during the persecution (cf. Eugenios [69]) and died later of an untimely, yet

natural, death, it is impossible to give a precise date. In any event, it is safe to assume that his epitaph was engraved sometime in the second decade of IV.

As with similar inscriptions from this period, the terminal -v is frequently omitted (II.2, 6); -ατ- is substituted for -ετ- (I.9); -ετ- for -ι- (II.1, 8, 10); and ι- for ετ- (I.5).

Montanist?

Calder ("Great Persecution," 354-355, 358-364), in a discussion of this inscription and those honoring Eugenios and Severos (69, 70), argued that the Laodikeian church was "unorthodox" and greatly influenced by "Montanist-Novatian" sectarianism; *ibid.*, 362, see also pp. 347-349, 356-357 below. Assuming that Montanists, because of their alleged characteristic of open profession of Christianity and their strict attitude to those who apostatized during persecution, made "a specially tempting target to the organizers of persecution" (*ibid.*), Calder claimed Gennadeios and the others as Montanists, citing their absence from the martyrologies of the church as likely confirmation of this (*ibid.*, 364).

Calder's hypothesis in respect of Severos and Eugenios may well be correct as there is additional evidence to support his claim; see *ad* 70. His conclusion about Gennadeios' religious affiliation may also be correct, but there are no supportive data. Montanists did not differ greatly from Christians of the official church in respect of their attitude to voluntary martyrdom (see W. Tabbernee [1985: 33-34]) and, even on Calder's own admission ("Great Persecution," 358), the language on Gennadeios' epitaph is veiled and non-committal; cf. Grégoire, "Épigraphie chrétienne," 710. Moreover in another article dealing with the religious character of Laodikeia and its territory, Calder argued that the fusing of religious traditions in the villages was probably "less easy" than in Laodikeia itself and that in these villages "the sects tended to remain distinct" ("Anatolian Heresies," 85). Consequently, even if the church at Laodikeia itself had become "Montanist" (or, later, "Montanist-Novatian"), there is no absolute guarantee that this was also the case at Kongoustos. The alleged confirmation of Gennadeios' Montanism on the basis of his absence from the church's martyrologies is an unwarranted argument from silence. Consequently, it is unlikely that Gennadeios was a Montanist, but the possibility that he was should not be ruled out altogether.

Mysia

Kadoi

Map 7:H1 (Mysia Abbaïtis). Named after the Lydo-Phrygian hero Kadus (Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 517 *ad* CV), echoes of the accusative form of the ancient name are heard in the name of the modern city of Gediz near where Kadoi once stood; see Ramsay Geography [1890]: 147 (*ad* 92); I LydiaB [1898]: pp. 155-156; TIB 7 [1990]: 285; and MAMA 10 [1993]: p. xviii. Various attributed to Phrygia, Lydia, or Mysia (L. Büchner [1919: col. 1477] and W. Ruge [1941: col. 794]), it is clear from OGIS 2 [1905]: 446 that Kadoi was part of Mysia Abbaïtis and, therefore, probably belonged to the conventus of Sardis (6:C4); see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 81); C. Habicht (1975: 73); Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 35-37; and cf. Hellenica 6 [1948]: 104 and n.2. Located at a mountain pass near the Upper Hermos (Gediz Çayı), Kadoi was a significant city in the region bordering Mysia and Phrygia. It was situated approx. 25km. S.W. of Aizanoi (7:G2) and 65km. S.W. of Kotiaion (7:E4), both of which were definitely Phrygian cities within this border region. Kadoi may have used both the Sullan and Actian eras; see MAMA 10, p. 182.

57. An empty chair

Gediz(?)

III⁴-IV¹

Now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 4090

Ed. pr. — "Funde," in *MDAI(A)* 22 [1897]: 353-354 with facsimile of majuscule text, based on copy made by I. Meliopoulos.

White marble stele with triangular pediment and tenon. Slightly damaged at bottom left and right base and at right bottom corner of tenon. Height: 0.65m. (with tenon: 0.72m.); width: 0.48m.; thickness: not provided. I. Meliopoulos (c.1896) saw the stone at Kütahya, but reported that it was said to have come from Aizanoi. C.W.M. Cox, however, on the basis of artistic style, identified the stele as belonging to Kadoi; see Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 269; cf. *I PhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 100, confirming that the stone at least comes from a region W. of Kütahya. The

pediment is divided into a triangular field containing relief of basket with balls of wool (cf. 5), flanked on either side by a bird facing the basket (cf. and contrast 29, 42). Triangular raking cornices provide visual frame separating pediment field from wide pediment border above and main part of stele below. Pediment border contains akroteria with stylized palm leaf design at all three angles. The lower half of a garland is carved in both sections of the border, the semicircular spaces created thereby each contain relief of a bird facing the central akroterion. The shaft of the stele consists of main field, divided into two rectangular registers by means of horizontal moulding. Upper register contains relief of horse (at right) facing empty chair (at left). Lower register contains (left to right) reliefs of *falx vinitoria* (cf. 8), wax tablets *without* stylus (cf. 49 but contrast 38), comb above jar or bottle, hand-mirror (cf. 5). Registers are framed above by double fascia decorated at top with circles and below with triangles and at either side by stylized pilasters with Corinthian capitals and torus mouldings. Faces of pilasters are decorated with simple leaf design. Base of stele has fascia on which inscription is carved. Mason's guide lines visible. L.3 is in a different lettering style to that of ll.1-2. Cross bar of *alpha* in ll.1-2 is diagonal rather than horizontal; cursive *sigmas*; "bull's horn" *omegas*. Final *upsilon* of l.1 was initially omitted, then fitted in by carving it in ligature with *xi*. The *zeta* of l.2 is retrograde. An erroneous *mu* was carved at the beginning of l.2 and then partially erased. L.3 has horizontal cross bar in *alpha* and quadratic *sigma*, the latter perhaps due to the *sigma* being carved in ligature with *eta*. Ligatures at ll.1-3. Letter height not provided. Figure 63. Plate 11.

Αὐξάνων Τρύφωνι πατρὶ καὶ Αὐξάνων
2 {μ}νοῦσῃ μητρὶ ἔτι ζώσῃ μνή χάριν.
(vac) Χρηστῖανοί. (vac.)

Auxanon (commissioned this tomb) for Tryphon, his father, and for Auxanousa, his mother, who is still alive, in memory. Christians.

Other *edd.*: Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 267 with photograph (incorrectly cites *ed. pr.* as *MDAI(A)* 22 [1897]: 353 no. 4 and is followed in this by most later *edd.* or republications); Mansel "Istanbul" [1933]: cols. 135-136 no. 48 with photograph; **IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: 30 with trans. and photograph; Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs* II [1979]: 530 no. 2202 with photograph; Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 127 (*ad* VII no. 7) with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 135; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 649-650 no. 16; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxvi.

Variant readings:

l.1 καὶ: Meliopoulos.

ll.1-2 Αὐξάνωνος: Meliopoulos, Calder (Tabbernee), *SEG*, Mansel, Pfuhl/Möbius; Αὐξάνουσα: *MAMA*.

l.2 μνήμης: Meliopoulos, *SEG*, Pfuhl/Möbius; μνή: Calder (Tabbernee).

l.3 Χρηστῖανοί.: Calder (*SEG*; Tabbernee), Pfuhl/Möbius; Χρηστῖανοί: Previous *edd.* do not mark *vac*.



Fig. 63: Tombstone for Tryphon and Auxanousa

Further references: C.W.M. Cox (1933: 230); M. Waelkens (1977: 314 n.160); *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 4, 98; P. Nautin (1979: 579); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100; 1980: 177); H.W. Pleket (1980: 198); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 112 no. 1 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad* no. 30); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128-129; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens *Tür-*

steine [1986]: 198 and n.523; Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 2011 n.399; *MAMA* 10, p. 182 (*ad* Cadi no. 22); S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.229, 40 and n.240, 107 and n.451).

Photographs: Calder, plate B [facing p. 259]; Mansel, col. 137 fig. 21; *IPhyrgChr*, plate 25; Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 314 (Koch, 117 fig. 4).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 353.

A Christian family

The addition of the word Χρησianoί clearly marks out Tryphon, Auxanousa and, by implication, Auxanon as Christians. That this is a single word in the nominative and not part of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula is evident from the fact that there is sufficient space for the whole formula to have been carved. Moreover, a clear instance of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula, thus far, has not yet been discovered outside of the Upper Tembris Valley. *Contra* Waelkens (*Türsteine*, 198 and n.523) this cannot be seen as an abridged form of the formula. The sense of the word Χρησianoί here is simply: "(They are) Christians"; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 100 and cf. 21, 36, and (perhaps) 12. The omission of the *tau* may have been an engraver's error, although it is more likely to have been the result of orthography; cf. *CIG* 4 [1877]: 9481 and *P. Oxy.* 42 [1974]: 3035 (*II.4-5*). The engraver of *II.1-2* did, however, at first make a mistake in the carving of the name Auxanousa, a mistake later corrected by adding the final *upsilon* in *l.1*. The carving of *μνη* for *μνήμης* in *l.2* is probably an internal contraction rather than an error; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 100 and L. Robert (1955a: 218 n.4). The names Auxanon (see *ad* 34) and Auxanousa (cf. 51) are based on sobriquets (see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145), but Tryphon is not; see Ferua, 177 (*contra IPhyrgChr*, p. 145).

The different style of *l.3* reveals that the epithet "Christians" was probably added by another hand, perhaps that of a colleague at the same workshop (cf. 24).

Horse and chair

Although there is no need to suppose that Tryphon actually owned a horse, the portrayal of a riderless horse standing before an empty chair is undoubtedly meant to symbolize the felt absence of the departed. For horses and chairs as funerary motifs, cf. 47 and 58 respectively. For the use of palm leaves in Christian funerary art, cf. 9, 61, 88.

Date and alleged Montanist nature

E. Gibson (*IPhyrgChr*, p. 98) dates this inscription to III. The absence of the *quasi-praenominal/gentilicia* Aurelius/-a suggests early IV; see also

Mitchell, 40 n.240. W.M. Calder (267) considered this epitaph to be Montanist, primarily on the basis of its early open profession of Christianity, supported by his contention that the portrayal of doves was "a known Montanist as well as an Orthodox device" (*ibid.*). It is not absolutely certain that the birds carved on this stone are indeed "doves," as doves, at least on later Christian monuments, are frequently portrayed with olive branches (e.g., 72, 75, although see also 88, 94). The extent to which doves were used in Montanist funerary art depends, however, on the extent to which tombstones with doves, or other birds, can be considered Montanist. In this particular instance, neither the "doves" nor the open profession of Christianity proves Montanism. Calder's comments about the significance of what he took for certain to be the addition of the word "Christians" by a *later* hand are difficult to comprehend. He argued that "the stone may have been an old one, reused to cover a Montanist grave" or that "it may have been added, in circumstances we can only guess, to an epitaph originally Montanist" (*ibid.*). Did he mean that the word was added by Montanists in either case? If so, what relationship would there have been in his first option between the people named on the tombstone and the "Christians" mentioned in *l.3*? Moreover, in respect of his second option, could it not also have been possible that a post-Constantinian Christian (whether Montanist or not) added the word Χρησianoί to an earlier (perhaps, but not certainly, pre-Constantinian) non-Montanist Christian epitaph? The whole argument may, of course, be moot, as a "different hand" need not mean a later one. Once again, the case for this epitaph being Montanist is not convincing. Consequently, Tryphon and his family are best classified as mainstream Christians.

Part V

**Montanist
and Allegedly Montanist
Inscriptions**

***c.*314-394 C.E.**

Introduction

Constantine and Montanism

Despite some notable claims to the contrary,¹ the official Roman attitude to Montanism does not appear to have been any different than to other forms of Christianity in the pre-Constantinian era. Constantine's growing adherence to catholic Christianity, however, meant that Christian groups, other than the officially recognized church, were not only distinguished from "orthodoxy" but persecuted with increased intensity. Constantine, as early as 313, formulated the religious policy which was to motivate all his later anti-heretical legislation: deviant forms of Christianity have to be rooted out in order for the Empire (and the emperor) to maintain the favor of the God of catholic Christianity.² Fearing the anger of this God, Constantine not only became personally involved in the attempt to reconcile catholics and Donatists, but convened the council of Nikaia (325) participating, as "the bishop from without," in defining orthodoxy.³ Stern measures were taken against all who refused to conform.

According to Eusebius (*v.C.* 3.66), a Constantinian constitution sent to the governors of certain unspecified provinces *c.* 325-326⁴ effectively extinguished several movements, including Montanism. The edict itself has not survived, but a letter addressed to the dissidents written by Constantine to explain his action and to exhort them to return to the official

¹ E.g., C.B. Phipps (1932: 173-200); M. Sordi (1961: 365-378; 1962: 1-28; 1965: 171-174, 465-468); W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 320); P. Keresztes (1970a: 448; 1970b: 574-575); G. Lanata (1973: 132).

² Const., *epp.* (CSEL 26.204-206; *ap.* Eus., *v.C.* 2.64-72, esp. 65; and *ap.* Socr., *h.e.* 1.9).

³ Eus., *v.C.* 4.24; cf. 1.44. See also W. Seston (1947: 127-131).

⁴ The date can be established within certain limits. It was issued after the close of the Council of Nikaia (August 25, 325) and before another edict published on September 25, 326 which rescinded the application of this edict to Novatianists; see below.

church has been preserved (*ap. ibid.*, 3.64-65).⁵ The letter summarizes the main points of the edict. Heretics are henceforth forbidden to gather together—whether publicly or privately. Consequently, they are to be deprived of all buildings in which they hold their assemblies. “Houses of Prayer” are to be handed over to the catholic church and other property is to be confiscated by the public service. A veiled threat suggests that this will also be the fate of private houses in which heretics are caught assembling together. Eusebius adds the information that “the law directed that a search should be made for their books” (*ibid.*, 3.65).

From Constantine’s letter, it is clear that the constitution singled out the Novatianists, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulianists and the Cataphrygians (Montanists), but that all others who held private assemblies were also included (*ibid.*, 3.64). The letter does not particularize the faults of these “heretics.” Their major error was that they were separatists, an error which the edict sought to remedy (*ibid.*, 3.65). It is clear that Constantine was not very well informed about the exact nature of the groups condemned by his edict. The stated reason for his refusal to particularize about Novatianists, Montanists and the others is that a discussion of their criminality would demand more time than he could spare (*ibid.*, 3.64). Sometime later he apparently found the time to become more informed about the Novatianists, for, on September 25, 326, he published a supplementary edict relaxing his attitude toward them. Novatianists were once more allowed to possess “their own church buildings and places suitable for burial” (*Thds. Imp., cod. XVI.5.2*). There is no evidence that Constantine ever became better informed about Montanism. Perhaps the New Prophecy had no advocates for its cause with access to the emperor. The favorable treatment which the Novatianists received, however, may have been a factor in the apparent merging of the two movements in some areas during the century.⁶

Eusebius was convinced that Constantine’s edict had achieved its aim. As its direct result,

the members of the entire body became united and compacted in one harmonious whole; and the one catholic church at unity with itself shone with lustre, while no heretical or schismatic body anywhere continued to exist. And the credit of having achieved this mighty work our

⁵ On the authenticity of this and other Constantinian documents preserved by Eusebius, see A.H.M. Jones (1954: 196-200) and T.D. Barnes (1981: 265-271).

⁶ See pp. 347-349 below.

Heaven-protected emperor alone, of all who had gone before him, was able to attribute to himself (*ibid.*, 3.66).

Eusebius’ interpretation of the events of his day was accepted by some later church historians (e.g., Soz., *h.e.* 2.32) but can hardly be called historical in any modern sense. Eusebius’ report was colored by his political theology. Eusebius believed that Constantine’s rule was an image of God’s domination of the world.⁷ As God triumphed over evil, so did the emperor. The mere publication of the edict against the Montanists and others ensured its eventual success. Even if, at the time of writing the *vita Constantini*, the edict had not yet been completely successful, Eusebius was confident that it would be.

Phrygia

Constantine’s edict appears to have had little, if any, effect in Phrygia. Although the Council of Laodikeia ad Lycum, held sometime between 343 and 381,⁸ adopted procedures by which Montanist lay people and clergy could be received into the officially sanctioned church (*C Laod., can. 8*), this need not be taken as evidence that great numbers of Phrygian Montanists were, in fact, becoming catholics as a direct consequence of Constantine’s legislation. After all, a Phrygian council, convened more than a century earlier at Ikonion (c.233-235), had formulated similar procedures.⁹ A century after Eusebius’ confident assertion about the demise of Montanism, Sozomen, one of the few church historians to have some personal contact with Montanists (*h.e.* 7.19.2),¹⁰ although influenced by Eusebius into thinking that Constantine’s edict had been successful elsewhere in the Empire, declares Phrygia to have been an exception (*ibid.*, 2.32.5).

Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in Gaul (c.353-367), spent four years (356-359) exiled in Asia Minor (*Hil., syn.* 8, 63).¹¹ Sulpicius Severus (*chron.* 2.42), Fortunatus (*v.Hil.* 1.5) and Jerome (*chron.*, entry for year 359) are

⁷ H. Eger (1939: 97-115, esp. 110-114).

⁸ C.J. Hefele (1907: 995). An inscription commissioned by Manuel I Comnenus (c.1143-1180) for a church in Bethlehem summarizes this council: *CIG* 4 [1877]: 8953 with facsimile of majuscule text (= P. de Labriolle [1913b: 255 no. 224 with French trans.]; Tabbernee “Montanism” [1978]: 586-587 no. 11 with facsimile and trans.; R.E. Heine [1989b: 178-179 no. 148 with trans.]).

⁹ See pp. 135-136 above.

¹⁰ See Tabbernee “Montanism” [1978]: 377.

¹¹ For discussions of the reasons for Hilary’s exile, see D.H. Williams (1991: 202-217) and Barnes (1992: 129-140).

probably correct in claiming that Hilary spent most of his exile in Phrygia. Soon after the end of this period of exile, Hilary wrote a scorching invective against Constantius II, the Roman emperor (c.337-361) responsible. As part of his list of grievances, Hilary refers to the exile of Paulinus of Trier, also to Phrygia, where, before his death in 358, the inadequacy of the provisions made available to him caused him to be in danger of having to pollute himself by contact with Montanists (Hil., *In Constantium* 11.16-21). Hilary's account of Paulinus' treatment need not necessarily mean that Paulinus had, in fact, been in touch with Phrygian Montanists. Nor need it mean that Hilary himself had had personal contact with Montanists,¹² as is often assumed,¹³ but it does show that Hilary was aware that Montanist communities still existed in Phrygia c.359.

Epiphanius (c.375), while relating that Pepouza was a deserted place in Phrygia, the town having been razed to the ground (*haer.* 48.14.1), nevertheless reports that the site had become a place of pilgrimage for Montanists and that certain Montanist rites, including initiation, were still celebrated there. The extent of the destruction of Pepouza, even if accurate, may have been overstated. In any case, the town appears to have been rebuilt, at least in part.¹⁴

Montanist subjects in Phrygia

By Epiphanius' time, Pepouza had also become linked with the name of Montanism itself, or of a subgroup. According to Epiphanius, Pepouzians was an alternative name for Quintillians (*ibid.*, 49.1.1). Quintilla, their leader (*ibid.*, 49.2.1), was a Montanist prophetess who, in Pepouza, had seen a vision of Christ in the form of a woman, declaring that the place was holy and that Jerusalem would descend from heaven there (*ibid.*, 49.1.2-3). Epiphanius argued that Quintilla's status and the location, as well as the content of her vision, had led to the interchangeable designation of her followers (*ibid.*, 49.1.2). Epiphanius was also aware of the use of the name Priscillians for some Montanists and of a tradition that the vision ascribed to Quintilla had really been experienced by Priscilla (*ibid.*).

Epiphanius himself favored the tradition which linked the vision to Quintilla, but stated that he could not be sure about this (*ibid.*). Epiphanius' instinct, however, is undoubtedly correct, as it makes more

¹² See Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 380-381.

¹³ E.g., F.E. Vokes (1961: 519).

¹⁴ See pp. 215-216 above.

sense for a tradition about a *later* Montanist prophetess' vision to have been attributed to one of the founders of the movement in order to give the vision more authority than for the opposite to have occurred.¹⁵ The term Priscillians may have arisen as a result of the controversy of the origin of the vision. Perhaps the Priscillians were those who were convinced of the antiquity of the vision.¹⁶ It is also possible that these groups attributed the founding of Montanism to Priscilla (and Quintilla?), rather than to Montanus.¹⁷ In any case, Epiphanius had no doubt that the Quintillians/Pepouzians and the Priscillians were "the same as the Cataphrygians"—originating from them even if they differed slightly in certain ways (*ibid.*, 49.1.1).

Epiphanius also identified Artotyrites as belonging to the Cataphrygians (*ibid.*), claiming that they used cheese as well as bread in their mysteries (*ibid.*, 49.2.6). Does this mean they substituted curdled milk ("cheese") for wine at the eucharist?¹⁸ Later writers, however, separated their discussion of Montanists and Artotyrites,¹⁹ indicating doubt about the accuracy of Epiphanius' linking of the two groups. Similarly, later writers were not convinced that Tascodrougitans (or Passalorinchites), people who placed their index finger against their nose during prayer (*ibid.*, 48.14.4), should be equated with Cataphrygians or with the Quintillians—as Epiphanius had equated them (*ibid.*, 48.14.3; 48.14.5).²⁰

Montanism and Novatianism

During IV, if not earlier, Novatianism gained a strong following in Phrygia, the inaccurately assumed birthplace of Novatianus (Philost., *h.e.* 8.15), especially in rural villages. One such village was Pithoi (modern Kadınhanı) within the territory of Laodikeia Katakekaumene.²¹ Clear epigraphic evidence of Novatianism has also been discovered at other ancient sites on Laodikeia's territory.²² In N. Phrygia at the town of

¹⁵ W. Tabbernee (1989b: 54-56); cf. C. Trevett (1996: 98, 167-170).

¹⁶ Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 446.

¹⁷ See R.S. Kraemer (1992: 185).

¹⁸ See F.C.A. Schwegler (1841: 121-122); J. De Soyres (1878: 99).

¹⁹ E.g., Filast., *haer.* 49, 74; Aug., *haer.* 27, 28. See also Hier., *Gal.* 2.2.

²⁰ See Filast., *haer.* 76; Hier., *Gal.* 2.2; Sophr. H. *ap. CCP* (681), *act.* 11; id., *ep. syn.* (PG 87.3193c); Tim. CP, *Ex Niconis Pandecte* (PG 86a.69); and Trevett (1995: 258-269; 1996: 199-203, 223).

²¹ *TIB* 7 [1990]: 362-363; Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 75 no. 2 (= *MAMA* 1 [1928]: 172); 76 no. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 76-81 no. 4; cf. S. Mitchell (1993: 100-102 and n.406 [fig. 24] with partial trans.); 82-83 no. 7 and probably 82 no. 6.

Altıntaş in the Upper Tembris Valley, a family funerary altar, if restored correctly, laments the death of a young virgin named Ammia who, against her parents' wishes, joined the Novatianists and took a vow of celibacy instead of marrying her betrothed.²³ Novatianism, however, was not confined to Phrygian villages. There was a Novatian church in Laodikeia Katakekaumene itself.²⁴ In IV³ there was also a Novatian bishop at Kotiaëion (Socr., *h.e.* 4.28).

According to Socrates, the Novatian bishop of Kotiaëion was one of the four most senior Novatian bishops in the Empire, ranking with those of Constantinople, Nikaia, and Nikomedia (*ibid.*). Socrates also makes a point of stressing that this bishop (whom he does not name) did not attend a synod convened at the time by some dissident Novatian bishops at a village approximately 100km. S.E. of Kotiaëion near the Phrygian-Galatian border (*ibid.*). This village was called Pazon (ἐν Πάζω κώμη [*ibid.*]). Although not yet identified positively, it may have been near modern Başaran (Başören), 12km. S.E. of Erten.²⁵ Sozomen (*h.e.* 7.18) cites the name of the village as Παζουκώμη, combining the word for village (κώμη) with the name of the village itself. In later sources the name is given as Πούζα or Πέπουζα and, mistakenly, equated with the Pepouza of the Montanists.²⁶

T.E. Gregory,²⁷ while distinguishing clearly between the places named Pepouza, nevertheless suggests that the choice of village with this particular name as the location of the synod may have been made consciously—representing an initial stage in the unification of Novatianists and Montanists. Although Gregory probably overemphasizes the symbolic significance of the name of the village, his main point may still be accurate. The synod of Pazon was convened by Novatianists reacting against a developing laxity within “orthodox” Novatianism and desirous of reinstituting the celebration of Easter at the same time as the Jewish passover (Socr., *h.e.* 4.18; 5.21; cf. Soz., *h.e.* 7.18). It would have been

²³ Buckler/Calder/Cox “Asia Minor, 1924. IV” [1927]: 49–58 no. 230 with photographs (pls. 4–5); Calder “Notebook” [1929]: 260–263 with trans.; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. 55.

²⁴ *CIG* 4 [1877]: 9268 = *LBW* 3,5 [1870]: 1699 with a copy of majuscule text in *LBW* 3,1 [1870]: p. 420 no. 1699 = Cumont “Inscriptions” [1895]: 224; Calder “Anatolian Heresies” [1923b]: 81 no. 5; 87–89 no. 10.

²⁵ Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 129; but see *TIB* 7 [1990]: 356–357 and cf. *TIB* 4 [1984]: 221, 238. Mitchell (1993; map 4) locates Pazon approximately 25km. N.E. of Erten.

²⁶ See *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 575 and nn. 2, 3.

²⁷ T.E. Gregory (1975: 13).

natural for those Novatianists who subsequently formed a separatist group under Sabbatius (Socr., *h.e.* 5.21; cf. Soz. *h.e.* 7.18) to gravitate toward Montanists who held similar rigorist attitudes and celebrated Easter more in line with what the Sabbatians instituted (Soz., *h.e.* 7.18).²⁸ In addition, perhaps some Novatian bishops and laity, in reaction to what they perceived to be a lowering of standards within their own tradition, simply merged with local Montanist communities rather than becoming adherents of a separatist group within Novatianism.

Because of the similar emphases and practices of Montanism and Novatianism, mergers between the two may have occurred even earlier than c.375. W.M. Calder certainly presumed this when he claimed that it is not inappropriate to argue backwards from the evidence of the existence of Novatianism in a particular locality to Montanism.²⁹ According to him, there is no doubt that Montanism fused with Novatianism in many places in Phrygia and, perhaps as early as IV¹, Montanism appears in a “Novatian guise.”³⁰ Like A. [von] Harnack,³¹ but independently,³² Calder argued for a “Montanist-Novatian” type of Christianity which pervaded parts of Phrygia during IV and which, in various locations, also took on Encratite or other tendencies which Montanists, Novatianists, Encratites, and similar rigorist groups had in common.³³

Cappadocia

Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (370–379), in a canonical letter written c.375 to Amphilocius, bishop of Ikonion in Phrygia (c.374–394), reaffirmed the wisdom of the position formulated at the council held in Amphilocius' city almost 150 years earlier, namely, that Montanists had to be rebaptized upon entry into the officially recognized church (*ep.* 188.1; cf. Firmil., *ap. Cypr.*, *ep.* 75.7). It is possible that Basil had had some experience of Montanists who were leaving the sect, but this is by no means certain. Basil's letter also discusses the procedures for admitting other non-catholics, thus his inclusion of Pepouzans [Pepouzians] = Montanists may have been for the sake of comprehen-

²⁸ See also *ibid.*, 16.

²⁹ Calder “Philadelphia” [1922/3]: 321; *id.*, “Anatolian Heresies” [1923b]: 64.

³⁰ Calder “Anatolian Heresies” [1923b]: 64.

³¹ A. [von] Harnack (1908: vol. 2, 356 n.3).

³² See Calder “Anatolian Heresies” [1923b]: 64 n.4.

³³ See *ibid.*, 85; *id.*, “Martyrs” [1923c]: 301; *id.*, “Great Persecution” [1924a]: 362; and *TIB* 4 [1984]: 84–85, but note the caution expressed by K. Belke and N. Mersich in *TIB* 7 [1990]: 128–129.

siveness in light of the earlier decision at Ikonion, rather than from personal experience.

Basil's brother Gregory, bishop of Nyssa (c.372-395), appears to have discussed Montanism in a work now lost,³⁴ but there is no extant evidence, one way or the other, as to whether he had personal contact with Montanists. Their friend Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of Sasima (c.371-379) and, later, of Constantinople (c.379-381), mentions Montanism three times in his extant writings (*or.* 22.12; 33.16; *carm. de vita sua* 1.2.1.). In the first of these, an oration delivered at Constantinople, he claims that the fury of the Phrygians was still alive in his day. He does not indicate, however, whether he meant that the Montanists still existed in Constantinople,³⁵ in Cappadocia, or merely in Phrygia. Nor does he reveal whether he had personally experienced their fury.

That Montanists had indeed survived in Cappadocia until IV³ is stated definitively by Epiphanius (*haer.* 48.14.2). In this instance, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Epiphanius' statement. The Cappadocian Fathers' interest in Montanism may have been more than academic, even if they do not explicitly mention the continued presence of Montanism in Cappadocia during their time.

Galatia

Epiphanius (*ibid.*) was certainly correct in claiming that Montanists still existed in Galatia at this time. Marcellus, bishop of Ankyra (c.314-336 [337]), vigorously combated the various heretics and schismatics who resided in the city.³⁶ Perhaps he, rather than Didymus the Blind,³⁷ should be considered the author of the anonymous *Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox*.³⁸ Jerome visited Ankyra in 373.³⁹ Some years later (c.386), he commented:

Whoever has seen Ankyra, metropolis of Galatia, knows as I do by how many schisms it is ripped apart even now, by what a variety of dogma it is raped. To say nothing of Cataphrygians, Ophites, Borborites and Manichaeans—for these designations of human disaster are already

³⁴ Phot., *cod.* 232.

³⁵ See below.

³⁶ Eus., *Marcell.* I.1.1; see also Mitchell (1993: 93).

³⁷ See below.

³⁸ Published by G. Ficker (1905: 447-463).

³⁹ See J.N.D. Kelly (1975: 37).

known—who has heard of Passalorynchites, Ascodrougites, Artotyrites and other monstrosities other than by name in any other part of the Roman world? Vestiges of ancient foolishness remain (there) to the present day (*Gal.* 2.2).

Jerome's personal knowledge of the existence of these sects in Ankyra means that it is possible, although, of course, not certain, that he had taken the trouble to make contact with them. In any case, his information about them is more accurate than that of some of his contemporaries. He does not make Epiphanius' mistake of thinking that the Passalorynchites (and Artotyrites?) were members of Montanist subsects,⁴⁰ and he, elsewhere, supplies some authentic information about the Montanist hierarchy not provided by any other ecclesiastical writer but confirmed by imperial legislation and epigraphic data.⁴¹

S. Mitchell argues that the *Life of Theodotus* was written c.360.⁴² If it is indeed a pro-Montanist or Montanist document,⁴³ it may provide further information about Montanism at Ankyra during this period of time.

Elsewhere in Asia Minor

Epiphanius, in his list of places where Montanists existed during his day, mentions Cilicia (*haer.* 48.14.2). There is no reason to doubt this, as, at least in respect of the other locations, he appears to have had accurate information. Thus far, however, there is no supporting literary or epigraphic evidence.

As indicated previously,⁴⁴ Epiphanius also claims that for more than a century the church at Thyateira in Lydia had been Montanist but had returned to the fold of official Christianity (*haer.* 51.33.4). Depending on the accuracy of Epiphanius' information and on the theory regarding the emendation of Epiphanius' numbers, Thyateira may have remained Montanist until c.335 when, perhaps as a direct consequence of Constantine's legislation,⁴⁵ the leadership of the church deemed it prudent for the congregation to become catholic. If so, the church at Thyateira was Montanist for at least part of the period under consideration here.

⁴⁰ See p. 347 above.

⁴¹ Cf. pp. 474, 476 below.

⁴² Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 113.

⁴³ See p. 216 above and *ad* 88.

⁴⁴ Pp. 136-138 above.

⁴⁵ See above.

No other literary evidence has survived for the presence of Montanists elsewhere in Asia Minor. If there had, indeed, been Montanist communities during III at Smyrna in Lydia, at Pergamon in Mysia, or even in Pamphylia,⁴⁶ there is no trace of such communities in IV.

North Africa

Around 367, Optatus (born c.320; died c.385), bishop of Milevis in Numidia, wrote a treatise in reaction to a defense of Donatism written in 363 by Parmenian, Donatist bishop of Carthage. In a lengthy passage, the precise argument of which is somewhat convoluted, Optatus indicates that, as far as he was aware, heresies such as that of the Cataphrygians were a phenomenon of the distant past, even their names being unknown in North Africa (*Contra Parmenianum* 1. 9). Optatus may have overstated his case, but, at least, it appears Montanism was not a contemporary problem for him in northern Numidia during IV³. He even mentions Tertullian as among the champions who defended the catholic church (*adsertoribus ecclesiae catholicae superati* [ibid.]), confirming that, at that time, Tertullian was not remembered as a heretic or a schismatic. Optatus does not mention a separatist heretical group known as the Tertullianists who appear still to have survived in Carthage at this time.⁴⁷ It is possible that Tertullianists also existed in southern Numidia during this period,⁴⁸ but if so, it is surprising that Optatus does not refer to them.

The funerary inscription of a young girl named Florentia, discovered at Sousse (ancient Hadrumetum in Africa Proconsularis), contains the word *consociata*.⁴⁹ The *Epistula Lovocato et Catiherno presbyteris* refers to a sect named "Pepodians" who had "women-associates (*socias*) in the ministry of the altar."⁵⁰ J. Friedrich unconvincingly argued that "Pepodians" is a corruption of Pepouzians,⁵¹ i.e., a Montanist subsect,⁵² and that *socias* described the second rank of the Montanist hierarchy.⁵³ Friedrich's theory has been refuted convincingly⁵⁴ and, in any case, as pointed out by K. Aland, to suggest that Florentia was a Montanist is

⁴⁶ See pp. 138-141 above.

⁴⁷ See p. 142 above and pp. 475-476 below.

⁴⁸ See *ad* 71.

⁴⁹ *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 4737 (l.7).

⁵⁰ *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 5508, Sec. 9 (folio 102), ll.20-25. Critical edition, with French trans., in de Labriolle (1913b: 226-230 no. 187).

⁵¹ See pp. 346-347 above.

⁵² J. Friedrich (1895: 207-221).

⁵³ E.g., by A. Hilgenfeld (1895: 635-638). See also Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 260-261.

"excessive fantasy."⁵⁴ If the restoration of l.1 of her inscription is accurate, she was only six years old when she died. There is no evidence here for the existence of Montanism in North Africa.

Rome

During the 380s, while Jerome was still in Rome, a Montanist attempted to convert his friend Marcella (*ep.* 41.1), showing that adherents of the New Prophecy were still actively proselytizing in Rome at that time. That Constantine's legislation had not been able to rid the old capital of Montanists was probably due to the strength of the immigrant population, especially from Asia Minor, among whom Montanism had flourished from II onward. Around c.392-394, the Montanist community in Rome may have been influenced by a Tertullianist presbyter.⁵⁵

Constantinople

Constantine's edict of c.325-326 and the general anti-heretical legislation which followed it were not only ineffective in rooting out Montanism in Rome, they were unable to prevent Montanist communities being established in Constantinople once the refounded and renamed Byzantium became Constantine's capital. As in the case of old Rome, immigrants from Asia Minor may also account for the initial presence of Montanists in the new capital. Epiphanius (*haer.* 48.14.2) states that in his time (c.375), the Cataphrygian heresy was to be found, above all, in Constantinople. Not until tougher laws against Montanism were enacted by the Byzantine emperors following the ultimate division of the Roman Empire in 395 were Montanists driven from Constantinople.⁵⁶

Palestine

The *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (c.349-386), show clearly that catechumens at Jerusalem were taught the errors of various heresies, including Montanism (e.g., *catech.* 16.8). These lectures were probably delivered, or at least commenced, while Cyril was still a presbyter (c.348). The information contained in them about Montanism was based, no doubt, on Eusebius' *Church History*, but also charged Montanus with infanticide, a charge not found in Eusebius. Cyril was also the first to call adherents of the New Prophecy Montanists (ibid.). As

⁵⁴ K. Aland (1960a: 159).

⁵⁵ See *ad* 72.

⁵⁶ See pp. 473-474 below.

noted,⁵⁷ there is no conclusive evidence that there were, or had been, Montanists in this part of Palestine. Cyril's polemic against Montanism, therefore, does not appear to have been occasioned by a need to denounce contemporary Montanists. Rather it appears to have arisen from the need to defend the legitimacy of the prophetic charisms as practiced at Jerusalem by distinguishing them from alleged Montanist excesses. This was particularly important, as Jerusalem, at this time, was re-establishing itself as a significant Christian religious center attracting numerous pilgrims. At least some of these visitors appear to have been suspicious of the prophetic charisms practiced, at that time, in the city of the first Pentecost.⁵⁸

Further south at Gaza, some Montanists had been martyred c.304.⁵⁹ It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that Epiphanius, one of Montanism's most ardent opponents, was born (c.315) near Gaza. Could he have had some contacts with Montanists there in his youth?

Other Montanist communities?

There is no conclusive evidence that Montanist communities existed elsewhere in the Roman Empire from the time of Constantine to the division of the Empire, but this possibility cannot be ruled out. A work traditionally ascribed to Didymus the Blind (c.313-398), the last and perhaps greatest of the heads of the catechetical school at Alexandria, provides information about Montanism not recorded by earlier opponents (e.g., in *Trin.* 3.41.1-3).⁶⁰ P. de Labriolle argued that Didymus was also the author of the anonymous *Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox* and that his knowledge about Montanism came from personal confrontation with Montanists living in Alexandria.⁶¹ A papyrus containing the report of a similar dialogue between someone named Didymus and an unnamed heretic, discovered in 1941 at Toura, near Cairo, now in the Egyptian museum at Cairo,⁶² may provide support for

⁵⁷ Pp. 143, 217 above.

⁵⁸ See K. McDonnell, in K. McDonnell and G.T. Montague (1991: 200-218, esp. 215-217).

⁵⁹ See p. 217 above.

⁶⁰ Arguments against Didymus' authorship of the *De Trinitate* (e.g., B. Kramer [1981: 741-746]; F. Young [1983: 83-91]) are far from convincing; see A. Heron (1989: 173-181) and cf. id. (1972: 91-166).

⁶¹ De Labriolle (1913b: CVII-CVIII).

⁶² *Ed. pr.* — Kramer (1978: 201-211 with photograph); cf. id. (1985: 107-117). See also K. Treu (1980: 257 [ad no. 1090]).

this. The Δίδυμος of I.19 of the Toura papyrus must be Didymus the Blind, as the rest of the cache consists of his writings and those of his mentor Origen.⁶³ B. Kramer⁶⁴ argues convincingly that the heretic of this dialogue was an Apollinarianist. Whether these dialogues were transcripts of actual debates is not clear. Didymus may simply have used the dialogue format as a literary device, in imitation of Origen, a copy of whose *Dialogue with Heraclides*⁶⁵ was also discovered at Toura. The data about Montanism contained in the anonymous dialogue, however, could have been based on earlier published material. Moreover, rather than being the author of the *Dialogue*, the *Dialogue* could have been one of Didymus' own sources for the *De Trinitate*,⁶⁶ if he indeed wrote that, and an additional model for his dialogue with the Apollinarianist. In light of the multiplicity of possibilities, no certainty exists about the presence of a Montanist community in Alexandria in III³.

Similarly, although Pacian (c.310-392), bishop of Barcelona in Spain, is sometimes cited as an opponent of Montanism who was personally acquainted with the movement,⁶⁷ this is not certain. In his reply to a letter from a schismatic whom he assumed to have been a Montanist (*ep. Symp.* I.1-2) but who turned out to be a Novatianist (*ibid.*, II.3), Pacian gave a *hypothetical* example of entering a city containing adherents of various Christian groups including Cataphrygians (*ibid.*, I.6). His main point was to illustrate that in such a situation, the name "catholic," in addition to "Christian," would be necessary to distinguish him from others (*ibid.*, I.7). The fact that Montanists are mentioned in this hypothetical case neither proves nor disproves their presence in Spain in Pacian's time.

References to Montanism by other fourth-century writers provide equally equivocal data about the existence of contemporary Montanist communities in the location where they wrote.

⁶³ See *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 196-198 no. 108.

⁶⁴ Kramer (1978: 203-205).

⁶⁵ See J. Scherer, ed. (1949).

⁶⁶ Tabbernee (1989a: 198); see also p. 350 above.

⁶⁷ De Labriolle (1913b: XCVIII); Vokes (1961: 518).

Inscriptions

(i) *Criteria*

As in the case of inscriptions belonging to the pre-Constantinian era, the Montanist nature of a particular inscription can only be deduced from a number of fallible criteria.⁶⁸ The most reliable of these, for the inscriptions discussed in this part, is the use of certain words or phrases popular among Montanists. One such word is πνευματικός/-ή, which appears on two inscriptions from this period (63, 72), both of which may be claimed with a high degree of certainty as being Montanist (cf. 70).

Among the further (not mutually exclusive) criteria by which some of the other inscriptions from this period have been claimed as Montanist are provenance (58, 73-75), Montanist or alleged Montanist practices (67, 68), formulae (59-62, 64-66) or terminology (68, 70-71, 73-75), links with other inscriptions which are deemed Montanist (69, 73-74), and open profession of Christianity (58-63, 72-73), including the use of the Xp.-Xp. formula (59-62).

(ii) *The post-Constantinian examples of the Xp.-Xp. formula*

Calder, on the basis of the known presence of a Novatian bishop at Kotiaion in IV³, claimed that a fusion of Montanism and Novatianism had occurred in Northern Phrygia, perhaps as early as the beginning of IV, and argued that this fusion helps to explain the nature of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions from the Upper Tembris Valley. Applying his method of working backwards from "later Novatianism" to "earlier Montanism," he arrived at the inevitable conclusion that the tombstones portraying the Xp.-Xp. formula were set up by third-century, pre-Novatian, Montanists.⁶⁹ As already noted, the Montanist nature of these tombstones, in turn, was used by Calder to explain the anomaly between their alleged third-century date and their open profession of Christianity.⁷⁰ Calder's theory, however, is unconvincing. Some of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions (e.g., 60-62) are, in fact, post-Constantinian in date—taking the term "post-Constantinian" to refer to the period following Constantine's "edict" of toleration (c.313). Moreover, while there is no doubt that Novatianism existed in Kotiaion and in the Upper Tembris Valley during IV, there is no independent evidence for the existence of Montanism in the latter at any time. If the fourth-century Xp.-Xp. inscrip-

⁶⁸ See pp. 6-10 above.

⁶⁹ Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 64.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 64-65.

tions do, indeed, belong to Christians other than those of the official church, it is theoretically possible to make a better case for them being Novatianist than for them being Montanist.⁷¹ However, as there is no evidence that the Christianity of the Upper Tembris Valley was, at any time, *exclusively* Novatianist, there is no reason why the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions could not have been set up, both before and after 313, by Christians belonging to mainstream Christianity.

(iii) *Other formulae*

Three of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions threaten impending doom for any potential grave violator (60-62). As in the case of the Eumeneian⁷² or similar formulae⁷³ common in Central and Eastern Phrygia, the wrath of God is invoked in terms which allow the identity of the god to remain ambiguous unless additional words, phrases or symbols are added. A particularly popular funerary curse on North-Phrygian tombstones is τὸν θεὸν σοὶ ἀναγνοῦς μὴ ἀδικήσης. Because it and a close variant occur on two Xp.-Xp. tombstones (60, 62), other inscriptions incorporating the curse (59, 64-66) have also been claimed as Montanist by some scholars.

(iv) *"Montanist-Novatian" inscriptions*

Calder's theory of a "Montanist-Novatian" type of Christianity, while unsubstantiated for Northern Phrygia, is theoretically more feasible in respect of S.E. Phrygia, especially around Laodikeia Katakekaumene. There exists for that city plausible evidence for the presence of Montanists prior to, or at least concurrent with, Novatianism (e.g., see *ad* 70). Consequently, it is possible that, in time, the two groups there merged—especially since, as mentioned above, Novatianism received imperial exemption from some anti-heretical legislation whereas Montanism did not. Once again, however, there is no absolute proof of this, and the two groups may have continued to exist side by side. Therefore, even though, theoretically speaking, a number of Novatian inscriptions from the region which date from the period under discussion here may belong to Novatianists of the "Montanist-Novatian" type, this is impossible to demonstrate in any of the extant examples and, hence, they are not included in this corpus of Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions.

⁷¹ Th. Drew-Bear (1980: 348); cf. *BE* [1979]: 522.

⁷² See *ad* 20.

⁷³ See Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 136.

(v) *Other inscriptions*

I have not included among the Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions discussed in this part the epitaph of a post-Constantinian N. Phrygian Christian named Akakios,⁷⁴ as not even Calder, in the *ed. pr.*, suggested seriously the possible Montanist character of this inscription. After stating that provenance, insistence on a single marriage, and a self-righteous sounding prayer, may suggest Montanist authorship, Calder concludes that "it is safer to treat Akakios as an Orthodox churchman."⁷⁵ Calder's conclusion is undoubtedly correct.

Similarly, I have excluded the epitaph of a post-Constantinian bishop from the Upper Tembris Valley named Heortasios.⁷⁶ Calder, in a brief prepublication reference to this inscription, claimed that because Heortasios is described as *τίμιος εὐνοῦχος* (l.6), he could not have been an orthodox bishop.⁷⁷ Calder, however, does not indicate whether he believes that Heortasios should be classified as Novatianist or Montanist. In light of the evidence of the existence of Novatianist communities in the Upper Tembris Valley, it is theoretically possible that Heortasios was a Novatianist. On the other hand, the absence of evidence (apart from the alleged support of the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions) for the existence of Montanists there makes it extremely unlikely that Heortasios was a Montanist. In any case, as C.W.M. Cox points out, the reference to Heortasios as an "esteemed eunuch" need not mean anything more than "ascetic continence."⁷⁸ If so, there is no need to classify the inscription as "heretical" after all.

⁷⁴ Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 31-33 no. 1 (pl. 1a) = *SEG* 15 [1958]: 796; cf. *BE* [1956]: 24, 93; *EG* 4 [1978]: 392-394 no. 5 (fig. 113); and Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 146-149 no. 4.16 with trans.

⁷⁵ Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 33.

⁷⁶ Cox "Heortasios" [1939]: 63-66 with facsimile (*BE* [1939]: 421); cf. *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 152 and see Mitchell (1993: 105 and n.438).

⁷⁷ Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 269 (inscription designated Cox, no. 5).

⁷⁸ Cox "Heortasios" [1939]: 65.

Inscriptions

Phrygia

Pepouza(?)

Map 12:G3 (S.W. Phrygia). Karapınar is approx. 2.5km. S.W. of Bekilli (12:G3) on the N. bank of the Büyük-menderes (Maidros) between Kuyucak (12:G3) and Bekilli. W.M. Calder ("New Jerusalem" [1931]: 424; cf. id., in *MAMA* 4 [1933]: p. xvi) located Pepouza at Bekilli, but this has not been substantiated; see pp. 27-28, 153-154 above. On Bekilli, see Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 204-208 and TIB 7 [1990]: 210.

58. A Montanist *cathedra* ?

Karapınar, in field

late IV¹⁻²-IV⁴

Ed. pr. — Calder "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 423.

White marble *cathedra*, broken at top edge of back and at right arm, discovered by W.H. Buckler in 1930. Height: 0.70m. (back), 0.39m. (front); width: 0.47m.; thickness 0.49m. Low reliefs on sides representing arms and riveted legs of faldstool and ornamental border. Inscription on front face, below seat. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*, but quadratic *omega* in l.4 to facilitate ligature. The first *omikron* in l.1 is lunate, the second is quadratic to accord with ligature which also contains an *upsilon* with diagonal tail. Ligatures at ll.1, 4. Letter height: 0.05m.-0.07m. **Figure 64. Plate 40.**

Διογένους
2 καὶ
Απφίας,
4 Χρειστιανῶν.

(In memory of) Diogenes and Apphia, Christians.



Fig. 64a: Front face of *cathedra* honoring Diogenes and Apphia

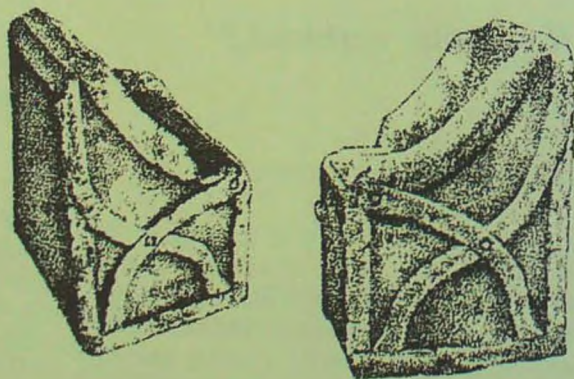


Fig. 64b: Sides of *cathedra* honoring Diogenes and Apphia

Other *edd.*: *MAMA 4 [1933]: 320 with photographs; *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 43 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 242; Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 692-693 no. 45 with photographs.

Variant readings:

l.1 (cross) Διογένους: *IPhrygChr*.

l.4 Χρειστιανῶν (cross): *IPhrygChr*.

Further references: *BE* [1932]: p. 210; C.W.M. Cox (1933: 228, 230); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100); *IPhrygChr*, pp. 98, 128; Tabbernee "Montanism," 344, 495-496 with trans.; H. von Aulock (1980: 60-61 and n.163); H.W. Pleket (1980: 197); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 70-71 with German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiate* [1981]: 496 no. 37; D. Feissel (1981: 371); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 43); A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 198 and n.523; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 358-359; Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 255; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 195); C. Trevett (1996: 204).

Photographs: *MAMA* 4, plate 65 nos. 320(1) [side], 320(2) [front], 320(3) [side] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 18 no. 45).

Date

W.M. Calder (423), on the basis of the shape of the letters of this inscription, dated it to late III. E. Gibson (in *IPhrygChr*, pp. 98, 120), however, argues convincingly for a fourth-century date because of the absence of the *quasi-praenominalgentilicia* Aurelius/-a, and the style of the ligatures. She also argues the case on the basis of her assumption that there were crosses incised at the beginning and end of this inscription, but this is incorrect. While there is room for a cross at the beginning, there are no visible traces of such a cross, and there is insufficient room for a cross at the end. Her assumption appears to have been influenced by the crosses at the beginning and end of 77. For similar syntactical constructions employing the genitive, cf. 9 (although in the singular), and possibly 1. M. Waelkens' view (198 and n.523) that we have here an abridged version of the Xp.-Xp. formula is untenable (see below). The substitution of -ει- for -ι- in the word Christians, as in other words, is common; see *ad* 9.

The *cathedra*

In antiquity, chairs were often used as funerary monuments; see, for example, T. Klauser (1971: 90 [fig. 12], 121 [fig. 31], plates 17-18). An empty chair normally symbolized the felt absence of the deceased (cf. 57). In a Christian context, a funerary "chair" could also represent a "throne," symbolizing eternal reward for faithful discipleship (cf., for example, Mt 19:28; Rev 3:21, 4:4). See also J. Stevenson (1978: 96-97). The shape and size of this particular monument, however, support Calder's contention (423) that it is a *cathedra*, i.e., bishop's throne; cf. MAMA 1 [1928]: p. 233. It is large enough, although barely so, to have been in actual use. Calder (423) is probably correct in assuming that the *cathedra* came from a church in the canyon near Karapınar.

Montanist?

Locating Pepouza at Bekilli, Calder (423-424) claimed that the man and woman whose Christianity is declared openly on this monument are Montanist clergy or prophets and that the *cathedra* belonged to a Montanist church at or near Pepouza. Prophetesses remained an integral part of Montanism (see p. 346 above and cf. ad 68), but there is no reason to assume that Apphia was a prophetess or that Diogenes was also a prophet. Calder's other suggestion that they were both Montanist clergy is more plausible in that there is literary evidence for Montanist women bishops, presbyters, and deacons (Epiph., *haer.* 49.2.5; Ambrosiast., *1 Tim.* 3.2); see ad 4; cf. ad 87. There is also epigraphic evidence for a Montanist *πρεσβύτερα* (4). However, unlike Ammion (4), Apphia is not actually designated a *presbytera*. Consequently, she may have been Diogenes' wife rather than a Montanist female-presbyter (see also Strobel's German trans.). Indeed, although Diogenes' name is on the *cathedra*, he need not necessarily have been the bishop who occupied this throne. Perhaps he and Apphia were Christian patrons—the *cathedra* being their gift to the church (cf. 77, 82, 89). Even more likely, as suggested in the translation given above, the *cathedra* may have been given to the church in their memory by (unnamed) relatives or friends who utilized the symbolism of chairs as funerary monuments to provide both a memorial and a functional piece of ecclesiastical furniture. Claims for the Montanist nature of this *cathedra* can no longer be based on alleged pre-Constantinian open profession of Christianity. Nor is its provenance conclusive. The case for this *cathedra* being Montanist would be strengthened if Bekilli could indeed be proved to be the site of Pepouza, but even then the location would not be decisive; see ad 17. At best Diogenes can be classified as a possible Montanist bishop whereas Ap-

phia can, at best, be classified as a possible Montanist laywoman. On masculine names, such as Diogenes, ending in -ης, see BE [1959]: 411 and cf. the shortened form in 3-5. Apphia is also a hypocoristic (see L. Zgusta [1964: §66-20]) common in Phrygia since New Testament times (e.g., Phlm 2) (cf. 17, 13).

Appia, Soa, and the Upper Tembris Valley

Map 11:E1-J5 (N. Phrygia). See pp. 179-181 and 248 above. Çakırsaz is ancient Kassa (11:H6). The ancient village which occupied the site of Aykırıkcı (11:G5) has not yet been identified.

59. "By God, do not violate the tomb!"

Çakırsaz

IV²⁻³

Ed. pr. — *IPhygChr* [1978a]: 25 with trans. and photograph.

Rectangular panel-stele of white marble with rounded top corners: Type J Altıntaş 1; see below. Top right corner, and parts of the surface of lower left side, bottom left corner, and socle have been cut away. Tenon missing. Height: 1.08m.; width: 0.67m.; thickness (of original stone): 0.522m. Face of stone framed by simple low moulding. Unlike 61, the resultant inner rectangular panel is not subdivided by a horizontal moulding. Upper moulding is undecorated. Vertical mouldings have incised vine and grape pattern. Remnants of a pair of oxen with plough (cf. 39) are visible on socle. Latin cross within single circle (cf. and contrast 38) is incised centrally in upper panel; *falx vinitoria* and *dolabra* (cf. 8) are carved to the left and right of cross. Top contains quarry mark (see below). Inscription was commenced in the panel (l.5). The engraver, however, had difficulties in fitting the whole text within the panel; see l.19 where the *upsilon* and *iota* of ἐπύρισαν (i.e., ἐποίησαν) were fitted in and l.20 where χάριν is carved in tiny letters. Rather than erasing the oxen with plough, the engraver appears to have decided to carve the funerary curse and the deceased's full name on the upper moulding. Consequently, *ed. pr.*'s line numbering has been altered for the text transcribed below. Mason's guide lines visible. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*.

Lunate *mus*, except for the first ones in ll.6, 9 and the last one in l.14 which have straight diagonal hastas. "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Dittography in l.4. Haplography in ll.12, 14. Ligatures at ll.3, 8-18. Cross bar not carved for what was probably intended to be *κ* in l.7. Letter height: 0.027m., 0.011m. (bottom line). **Figure 65. Plate 24.**

Within panel:

- Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει Ζώσιμον τί-
μιον ἄνδρα μέγιστον, τὸν
φιλοσυγγενέα κὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποι-
σι{ι} φανέντα. Ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν
5 ἔθανον ζήσας ἐπιτίμως,
σὺν Ζωτικῇ γαμετῇ, μετὰ ἧς
ἐβίωσα ἐπιτίμως, κ' ἔσχομεν
τέκνα, ὧν κὲ τὸνομα λέξω,
Μακεδόνις κὲ Πατρίκις ἄωρο-
10 θανὴς υἱοὶ μου κὲ τὰ ἐγγονά
μου τὰ ἄωρα Πατρίκις κὲ Τρόφι-
μος κὲ Κυριακὸς ἐνθάδε κῆν-
τη. Ἑρμῆς κὲ Εὐτύχις σὺν τ-
ῆς συνβίοις Ἀμμια κὲ Δόμνα,
15 κὲ Ἀλεξανδρία κὲ Ζωσίμη κὲ τὰ
ἐγὼνα ἡμῶν Ζωτικὴ κὲ Ἴρη κὲ
Τροφίμη κὲ Σωφρονίς κὲ Ζωσίμη
κὲ Ἀνξάνων ἐτι ζῶντες τοῖς ἐαν-
τῶν γονεῦσιν ἐπύαισαν μνή[μ]ης
20 χάριν.

On upper moulding:

- Τὸν Θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσις.
22 Ζώσιμος Διονυσίου Νανα

At top of panel:

24 † Κασση-
νός.

Here earth covers Zosimos, an honorable man, very great,
the one loving his relatives and pre-eminent among
humankind.

- 5 | "I died at sixty years of age, having lived most honorably,
together with Zotikai my wife, with whom I lived most honora-
bly, and we had children, whose names also I will declare:
10 Makedonis and Patrikis, | my sons, who died before their time
and my grandchildren, who died untimely: Patrikis and Tro-
phimos and Kyriakos, (all) lie here."
15 Hermes and Eutychis, with | our wives Ammia and Domna,
and Alexandria and Zosime, and our grandchildren Zotike
and Hire and Trophime and Sophronis and Zosime and
Auxanon, while still living, made (this tomb) for our relatives,
20 | in memory.
By God, do not violate (the tomb)!
- 22 | Zosimos son of Dionysios, grandson of Nanas, a native of
Kassa.

Other *ed.*: Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 78-94 no. 5 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1206.

Variant readings:

- l.1 Gibson "Montanism" and *IPhrygChr* (*SEG*) commence numbering with l.21.
l.2 μέγιστον,: Gibson "Montanism" prints lines according to inscription but also marks meter here and elsewhere.
ll.14-15 τη<ς> συνβίος: Gibson "Montanism"; τη<ς> συνβίος: *IPhrygChr* (*SEG*).
ll.15-16 Ἀμμια κὲ Δόμνα | κὲ: *IPhrygChr* (*SEG*).

Further references: A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100); *IPhrygChr*, pp. 4, 7, 10, 69, 85-95; S. Mitchell (1980: 202); W.H. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110 no. 12 with partial German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170-171); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 129b; D. Feissel (1981: 370-371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 92 n.2); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 134; A.

Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 385-386; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxii n.28, xliii; Mitchell (1993: 40 n.240); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and n.119).

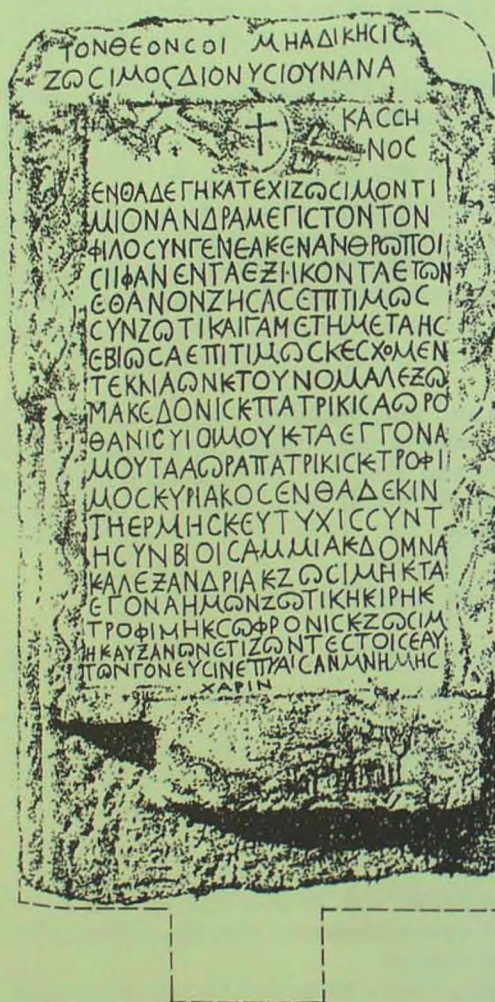


Fig. 65: Inscription commemorating Zosimos and his deceased sons and grandsons

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 20 (= cropped version of Gibson "Montanism," plate 5).

Metrical epitaphs

This inscription is typical of many of the metrical epitaphs of the Upper Tembris Valley. Although patterning verses on metrical inscriptions common elsewhere, these North-Phrygian epitaphs incorporate a number of unique phrases, or local variants of standard phrases, which must have been especially popular in that they occur frequently; e.g., cf. the phrases in II.1-13a of this epitaph with those on 60-62. E. Gibson (*IPhygChr*, p. 85) suggests that they may have been composed by a local poet, or, at least, have been selected by a local literary artist. The stone masons of the Upper Tembris Valley (as elsewhere) had catalogues of stock phrases which were used as models. For an analysis of the most popular phrases used in these epitaphs, see *IPhygChr*, pp. 85-92. For earlier discussions of other relevant Greek metrical inscriptions, see A. Souter (1896: 420-421; 1897: 136-138; 1898: 96-98); A. Petrie (1906: 119-136); J. Zingerle (1926: cols. 361-411). The most comprehensive collection of Greek metrical inscriptions remains GVI.

The metrical epitaphs of the Upper Tembris Valley follow a standard pattern. They commence with one or more elegiac hexameters spoken by a "narrator," naming and praising the deceased, who is referred to in the third person. Next the deceased, speaking in the first person, also employs hexametric verse to provide relevant biographic details, including references to grieving spouse and/or parents. Predeceased children often are mentioned also in this part of the epitaph. Other children and grandchildren may be enumerated in the "speech" given by the deceased, or may be listed in the following section, usually in prose, identifying the, still living, dedicators. Their religion may be attested by means of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula or similar profession of faith and, finally, the tomb is protected by means of a sepulchral curse.

Workshop

The popularity of metrical epitaphs altered the shape of the panel-steles manufactured in the Upper Tembris Valley. The panel itself gradually came to occupy most of the face of the stele. Borders and decorations were kept to a minimum to accommodate the larger texts, which, even so, often had to be carved on the borders as well as within the panel; see *MAMA* 10, pp. xxx, xxxii n.28.

The workshop which produced the new series of panel-steles was undoubtedly the one which had produced the earlier type in III⁴-IV¹ (on which, see *ad* 37). A marble quarry near Kassa (modern Çakırsaz), the provenance of this tombstone, was situated only 1.5km. away from Soa where the workshop appears to have been located. This particular stone's

quarry mark identifies it as being a reject from that quarry; see Th. Drew-Bear and W. Eck (1976: 316 no. 21 with photograph (pl. 50 [no. 4]); Gibson "Montanism," 86; *IPhrygChr*, p. 59. The presence of the oxen with plough on the socle of this panel-stele is also reminiscent of the decorations on steles from the latest phase of the earlier series. Moreover, two of the panel-steles of the new series (60, 61) and a related funerary altar (62) contain the Xp.-Xp. formula which was a specialty of the workshop in Soa.

Because of its shape, the panel-stele under discussion here should be classified as Type J Altıntaş 1 (see *ad* 37 and Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: plate 107), as should 61. Similarly, 60 should be classified as Type C or E Altıntaş 1.

Date and orthography

The burial formula ἐνθάδε κεῖται ("here lies so-and-so"), borrowed from the Latin *hic jacet*, was popular in the Christian circles of Asia Minor during the period c.340-380; see Ramsay *Luke* [1908c]: 337. The variant ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει (l.1) indicates a mid-IV date. Compare MAMA 10.77 (pl. 8) [Altıntaş köy] and MAMA 10.89 (pl. 9) [Altıntaş], dated to IV² (or later) and "later fourth century at earliest" respectively. Complete absence of the *praenomen* Ἀὐρ. and its similarity to other tombstones employing the "reader beware" formula (see *ad* 64) places this inscription at least in early IV², but it may be later; see Mitchell (1980: 202; 1993: 40 n.240).

This inscription employs similar orthography to that of 60-62: -ι- for -ει- (ll.1, 10, 12, 21); -ι- for -η- (l.16); -η- for -αι- (l.13); -αι- for -η- (ll.7, 19); -υ- for -οι- (l.19) and -υ- for -μ- (l.14).

Zosimos

As in the case of similar metrical epitaphs, this one, honoring Zosimos, commences with two elegiac hexameters comprising a narrator's declaration of the deceased's virtues (ll.1-4a). Secondly, Zosimos is portrayed as speaking in the first person, reporting the (approximate) age at which he died and giving information about his wife Zotikai (i.e., Zotike) and his deceased sons and grandsons who were buried in the same tomb (ll.4b-13a). Only the first part of Zosimos' speech (ll.4b-8) is in verse. It consists of three hexameters. The difficulties associated with making a list of names scan meant that invariably lists enumerating the predeceased had to be composed in prose. Thirdly, there is a listing (in prose) of the still living dedicators, i.e., Zosimos' two remaining sons and their wives, his two (unmarried or widowed) daughters, and his six surviving

grandchildren (ll.13b-20). The text does not specify who the fathers of these grandchildren were, nor does it mention Zosimos' wife as still being alive at the time the tomb was constructed. The funerary curse

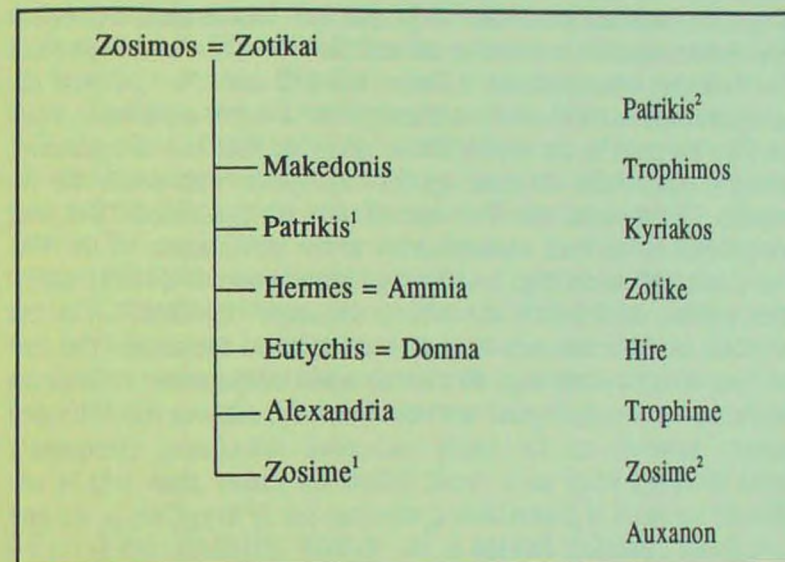


Fig. 66: Stemma of Zosimos and his family

(l.21), which comprises part four of the inscription, was intended to come next, but, as mentioned already, was carved on the upper moulding because the engraver had run out of room within the panel. Finally, the additional space on the moulding also enabled the carving of Zosimos' full name (ll.22-24), including his patronymics and ethnic (on the latter, see *IPhrygChr*, p. 64 and MAMA 10, p. xliii). Νάνας may be feminine (cf. 68) or, as in this case, masculine; see L. Zgusta (1974: §1013-6, cf. §1013-10); *IPhrygChr*, p. 145; Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 1932 n.76. On the name Here, spelled here with an *iota*, see *IPhrygChr*, p. 61. Sophronis is feminine, probably derived from Sophrone; see *ibid.* For φιλοσυγενής, cf. TAM 5.1 [1981]: 12b, l.14. For the practice of "age-rounding," cf. 60, 62, 72, 95, and see *ad* 53.

A threatening command

The formula τὸν θεὸν σοὶ μὴ ἀδικήσης was common in N. Phrygia (cf. 60, 62, 64-66) as well as elsewhere; see Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"

[1932]: 847-849; *IPhyrChr*, p. 62 and nn.5-11; Mitchell (1980: 202); and cf. Waelkens, 196 no. 485 with photograph. It addresses the reader directly, whether the word ἀναγνούς (or ἀναγινώσκων) is included explicitly (cf. 60, 62) or simply implied. J.G.C. Anderson's view ("Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 222) that σοι was a local erroneous form of the nominative or vocative σύ and that τὸν θεόν was dependent upon ἀδικήσης, is incorrect; see Wilhelm, 854-855 and *IPhyrChr*, p. 62. Rather, τὸν θεόν σοι is a variant of the sepulchral curse-oath πρὸς θεῶν σοι ("By the gods!"), the enclitic dative singular, best left untranslated, serving to indicate that the curse applies to anyone who reads the inscription. The formula, therefore, should not be translated "Do not wrong God," as had been common prior to the publication of A. Wilhelm's definitive article (e.g., by Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 255). Taken together, the first three words carry the sense "By God!". The last part of the formula commands the reader not to harm the tomb. The correct form is μὴ ἀδικήσης (e.g., 60), as the aorist subjunctive follows μὴ and the second person singular accords with σοι. Almost all Phrygian instances, however, use the future indicative ἀδικήσεις (frequently spelled ἀδικήσις), which (as it should follow οὐ rather than μὴ) is undoubtedly the result of grammatical confusion; see *IPhyrChr*, p. 63 and cf. *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 100-103.

A Montanist formula?

Calder at first ("Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 340; cf. id., "Epigraphy II" [1924b]: 85) claimed that τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσεις was the Montanist equivalent of the Eumeneian formula (on which, see *ad* 20). In a subsequent article ("Eumeneian formula" [1939b]: 26), he cited one instance where the formula was used by non-Christians in the Upper Tembris Valley, but he considered this a unique exception. Fifteen years later ("Epitaphs" [1955]: 36), he recognized that the formula was definitely used by non-Christians and probably also by orthodox Christians (cf. A. Cameron [1933: 139]; *BE* [1939]: 420, 451; *BE* [1956]: 289; Waelkens, 160 and n.402).

In the latter article, Calder published another Phrygian inscription from nearby Hacıbeyli köy with the same formula ("Epitaphs," 35-36 no. 4 [pl. Ib]; republished in *SEG* 15 [1958]: 800; cf. *BE* [1956]: 289) then in the Afyon Museum, now in the Kütahya Museum (*IPhyrChr*, p. 67 [*ad* no. 4]). Calder (36), in publishing this inscription, acknowledged that neither the formula nor the tilted *chi* in l.6 (see *ad* 40) warranted claiming it as Montanist.

Irrespective of whether the formula was ever employed by Montanists (cf. 60, 62, 64-66), it was never exclusively Montanist. Consequently, as with inscriptions using the Eumeneian or the Χρ.-Χρ. formula, criteria other than the formula itself must determine the religious allegiance of the people mentioned on the tombstone. Gibson, in her dissertation ("Montanism," 87) argued that the open use of the cross at the top of the inscription under discussion here provided the evidence for designating Zosimos and his family as Montanists. Dating the monument to III³⁻⁴, she claimed (65 and n.4) that while such use of the cross at the top of orthodox tombstones is post-Nicene and rare before 350, it was common among Montanists as early as late III. In her monograph, however (*IPhyrChr*, p. 64), she dates the monument to early IV and does not suggest a possible Montanist connection. Open use of the cross, even in the pre-Constantinian era, can no longer be considered an infallible criterion for judging an inscription to be Montanist; see *ad* 17. As there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of Montanists in the Upper Tembris Valley, it is unlikely that Zosimos and his relatives were Montanists.

60. The family tomb of a great soldier

Aykırıkcı

Now in Bursa Museum, inv. no. 27

IV²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Pargoire "Bennisoa I" [1905]: 329-333 with partial French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy. Emendations of text, suggested by N. Festa, are adopted by Pargoire in "Bennisoa II" [1906]: 99.

White marble panel-stele: Type C or E Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 59. Broken at top and top right. Triangular piece of lower horizontal moulding broken away. Stone, including ll.33-34 of inscription, now set in cement on brick display base. Height (as provided by Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 174): 1.41m.; (visible) height: 1.255m.; width: 0.77m. (at base); thickness: (approx.) 0.25m. Top of left and right of upper horizontal moulding represent pilasters with corbel, decorated with zigzag pattern. Incised lines suggesting palm leaves carved above corbel. Right "pilaster" broken away. Because of mouldings, part of pediment, in shape of semicircular niche, appears recessed. Precise shape of top of pediment is not clear. Large centrally located circle, surrounded by more concentric circles (the outer two of which contain zigzag pattern, is sug-

gestive of stylized wreath. This may have contained an incised cross; cf. 38 (but note different shape of wreath). Left vertical moulding immediately below corbel is decorated with an incised square, containing a pattern of diagonal lines. Remainder of moulding is decorated with vine, leaves and grapes, as is lower part of right vertical moulding which also contains carving of wax tablets with stylus (cf. 38). Lower horizontal moulding contains *crux gammata* at left and right; *alabastron* (cf. 5) below left *crux gammata*. The broad mouldings surround the field of the front face of the shaft, giving the impression that the rectangular panel is also recessed. Main inscription commences at extreme left of upper horizontal moulding, covering the whole of that moulding (ll.1-3), continues in panel (ll.4-29), and concludes on lower moulding (ll.30-34). A second inscription is carved on the right vertical moulding (ll.35-53). It is separated from the last few words of l.3 by a roughly drawn horizontal line. The final three lines (ll.51-53), may be a third inscription, rather than being part of the second. Cursive *epsilon*s and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. *Nu* often shaped like English M. "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Second *epsilon* in l.10 corrected from *omikron*. A similar correction may have been made in the third *epsilon* of l.8. A small *iota* is carved before *lambda* in l.11 and before *alpha* in l.27 to amend the spelling of Kyrillos and Alexandria respectively. A small *tau* is inserted in l.24 before *pi* to form double *pi* in ligature to spell Appe in ligature. Ligatures at ll.2-3, 13, 21-28, 39, 42, 44, 46. Haplography in l.21. Leaf used as interpunct in l.23. Letter height: 0.02m. (main inscription); 0.015m. (supplementary inscription[s]). Figure 67. Plate 25.

On upper horizontal moulding:

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει Δόμον μέγαν ἰστρατι[ώ-]
την, τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι φα-
νέντα, τὸν τὰ τοσαῦτα καμόντα καὶ ἐνδο-

Within panel:

ξότατον, μέγαν ἰστρατιώτην.
5 Ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον ζήσας
ἐπιτίμως. Κύριλλά μου σύνβι-
ος ἦν, μετὰ ἧς ἔζησα ἐπιτίμως.
Κύριλλον τέκνον ἶχον, πάνμο-

υσον ἐνδοξότατον μέγαν ἄ-
νδρα. Τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον
10 λύπησα δὲ πάντας. Τέκνα Κυρίλ-
λου ἁωροθανῆ, ὧν κῆ τὸ οὔνομ-
α λέξω, Χρυσὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀ-
δελφὴ Δόμονου Κύριλλα ἐνθά-
15 δε κῆτη. Δόμονου ἰοὶ Χρηστιαν-
οὶ πρεσβύτεροι λαοῦ πρεστά-
μενοι νόμῳ δίκῃ φρονούντε-
ς ἄνδρες ἀριστῆες μεγαλήτο-
ρες. Ἐνθάδε Δόμονου Χρυσὸς
20 καὶ ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ Τατιανῆς,
καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Κύριλλος καὶ Ζωι-
κὸς καὶ Πατρίκις καὶ Δόμνα καὶ Μάρκ-
ελλα (leaf) Ἀλέξανδρο«ς» καὶ ἡ σύνβιος
αὐτοῦ Ἀππῆ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Ἀλ-
25 ἔξανδρος καὶ Τρόφιμος καὶ Δόμονος
καὶ Δόμνα καὶ Κύριλλα καὶ Νοννα καὶ Ἀντι-
οχὶς καὶ Σωφρονὶς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρία καὶ
Τροφιμιανῆ, νύμφη Μάρκελλα καὶ
τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτῶν ἔτι ζῶντες

On lower horizontal moulding:

30 τοῖς ἐαυ[τῶν γονεῦ]σιν γλυκυστάτοις.
[Χ]ρηστιαν[οὶ] Χρηστιανοῖς ἔτι ζῶν-
τες ἐποίησαν. (vac.) Τὸν Θεόν σοι ἀνα-
γγοῦς μὴ ἀδικήσης. (vac.)
[— — — — — λατύπ]ος ἔτευξα.

On right vertical moulding:

- 35 Ἀρίστωγ
ἀνυψι-
ὸς ἐνθ-
άδε κῆ-
τη κἔ
40 Ἀλέξα-
νδρος
κἔ Τροφι-
μιανή
κἔ Μάρκε-
45 λλα θυ-
γάτηρ κἔ
Ἀλεξα-
νδρία ἐ-
νθάδε κ-
50 ἱντη.
(wax tablets)
Νύμφη
Κυριακῆς
Χρυσοῦ.

Here earth covers Domnos, a great soldier,
the one possessed of all virtue and pre-eminent among
humankind,
who accomplished so much and was a highly honored, great
soldier.

- 5 | "I died at sixty years of age, having lived honorably.
Kyrilla was my wife, with whom I lived most honorably.
I had a child, Kyrillos, a well-versed, highly honored,
great man.
- 10 | "I died at thirty years of age, and I caused grief for all."

Kyrillos' children died before their time, whose names also I
will declare: Chrysos and Alexandros.

- 15 The sister of Domnos, Kyrilla, (also) | lies here.

The other sons of Domnos (are) Christian presbyters, leaders
of the people, paying heed to law with justice—valiant, great-
hearted men.

- 20 Here (listed are) Domnos' son Chrysos | and his wife Tatianes,
and their children Kyrillos and Zotikos and Patrikis and
Domna and Markella. Alexandros and his wife Appe and their
25 children | Alexandros and Trophimos and Domnos and
Domna and Kyrilla and Nonna and Antiochis and Sophronis
and Alexandria and Trophimiane, (and) daughter-in-law
30 Markella and their grandchildren (while) still living | to their
sweetest parents. Christians for Christians, (while) still living,
made (this tomb).

By God, having read (this inscription), do not violate (the
tomb)!

I, (. . . .), sculptor, have prepared (this tombstone).

- 35 Ariston, cousin, (also) lies here and
40 | Alexandros and Trophimiane and
45 Markella, | daughter [of Chrysos], and Alexandria
lie here.

- 50 | Kyriakes, daughter-in-law of Chrysos, (also lies here).

Other *edd.*: Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 174-178, 179 no. 428 (= Mendel "Catalogue"
[1909]: 422-426, 427 no. 428) with photograph; **IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 29 with trans.
and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 342-344 no. 12
with photograph; Wilhelm "Grabinschriften" [1932]: 852 (*ad* no. 9 [II.31-34 only]);
Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2533-2536 no. 12 with line drawing
and facsimile of majuscule text; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 667-673 no. 30 with
trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph; S. Mitchell (1993: 106 and n.445 [II.1-
4, 8-10a, 15b-19a only] with partial trans., inadvertently cites this inscription as

IPhyrChr 20 instead of 29); G.J. Johnson (1994: 355 [II.15b-17a only], 365 n.18 [I.1a only] with partial trans.).



Fig. 67: Metrical inscription commemorating Domnos and his extended family

Variant readings:

- I.1 κατέχ[ε]ι: Pargoire.
 II.1-2 ἰσπρατι[ώ]την: Pargoire does not mark line divisions; ἰσπρατιώτην: Mitchell does not mark missing letters or line divisions but does mark lines according to meter.
 I.2 τὸμ πάσης: *IPhyrChr*; φανέντα. | ὄν: Mitchell.
 I.3 τοσαῦτα: previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.
 II.4-5 ἰσπρατιώτην | ἐξήκοντα: Mendel (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee). Mendel (Tabbernee) prints lines according to meter but also marks line divisions. Calder also adopts Mendel's line numbers but does not mark actual line divisions. Leclercq follows Calder, but marks line division and amends numbering.
 I.5 ἔθανον: Mendel (Calder; Leclercq; Tabbernee).
 I.8 [ε]ἶχον: Pargoire.
 I.10 Τριάκοννα: Pargoire.
 II.11-12 Κυρίλλ[ι]ου [i.e., Κυρίλλ[ι]ου]: Pargoire.
 II.12 κ[αί]: Pargoire (Festa) instead of κή.
 II.12-13 οὐνομ[α] [A]λεξώ, Χρύσος κ[αί] Ἀλεξανδρος: Pargoire "Bennisoa I";
 I.15 κ[ε]ἰτ[αί]: Pargoire; [υ]ιοί: Pargoire.
 II.16-17 πρ[ο]ϊστάμενοι νομῶ δικ[αί]α: Pargoire; προεστάμενοι: Mitchell.
 II.22-23 Μάρκ[ε]λλα: Pargoire does not note interpunct leaf here.
 I.23 Ἀλεξανδρος: previous *edd.* do not mark correction from omikron to sigma.
 II.24 Ἀππη: previous *edd.* do not mark ligature.
 I.30 ἐαντ[ων] γλυκντάτοις: Pargoire.
 I.31 [Χρησ]τιανοὶ [Χρησ]τιανοῖς: Calder (all subsequent *edd.*).
 II.31-32 ζῶντες ἐποίησαν: Pargoire, Mendel (Calder; Tabbernee); ζῶντες ἐποίησαν: Leclercq.
 I.32 previous *edd.* do not show *vac.*
 II.32-33 σ[ὺ] ἀ[ν]α[γ]νον[ος] μὴ ἀδική[σ]ης: εὐχα: Pargoire. Note that Pargoire places εὐχα at I.33.
 I.33 previous *edd.* do not show *vac.*
 I.34 [...λατύν?]ος ἔτευξα: Mendel (Wilhelm; Calder; Leclercq; *IPhyrChr*; Tabbernee), note that Mendel (Calder) places ἔτευξα (contrast Pargoire's εὐχα), correctly, at I.34 although he numbers this I.30.
 I.35 Ἀρίστ[ω]ν: Pargoire. Note that II.35-53 are numbered II.4-23 by Pargoire to show that they were carved at approximately the same horizontal level as II.4-23 of the original inscription. Mendel (Tabbernee) numbers these as II.31-49. Calder (Leclercq) does not number them at all and does not show line divisions. *IPhyrChr* numbers them as II.36-54, starting the numbering at 36 rather than 35 for these lines.
 II.36-37 ἀν[ε]ψηλός: Pargoire.
 II.38-39 κ[ε]ἰτ[αί]. Καί: Pargoire.
 I.46 [καί]: Pargoire.
 II.49-50 κ[ε]ἰν[αί]: Pargoire.
 I.50 Pargoire numbers that part of the right hand moulding on which the open wax tablets are carved as I.20.

Further references: *BE* [1910]: p. 323; Calder "Philadelphia," 321, 341, 350; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 705; Mansel "Istanbul" [1933]: col. 136; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 787; W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 476 n.184); *Hellenica* 13 [1965]: 97; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 84, 87, 93 n.20, 96-99; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 188 nn.1-2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrChr*, pp. 4, 7, 10, 85-98; Tabbernee "Montanism," 495; Mitchell (1980: 202); W.H. Pleket (1980: 198); A.R.R. Sheppard (1980: 315); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 111 no. 15 with partial German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170-171); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 505 no. 127; D. Feissel (1981: 370, 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 29); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132, 134, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Frend (1984a: 530; 1984b: 256, 422); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 116 n.290; Frend (1988b: 33); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 201; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxii n.28; Mitchell (1993: 40 n.240, 71 and n.133, 106 and n.449, 107 and n.451); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 410 and nn.119, 201); Frend (1994: 276); Johnson, 354, 356, 362; Frend (1996: 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: Mendel *Catalogue*, 175 fig. 90 [= "Catalogue," 423 fig. 90; this photograph, like that of 38 and 62, shows two letters within the wreath, but these letters must have been identification symbols rather than part of the original monument. They do not appear on Calder's republication of the photograph although are included in Leclercq's line drawing; see also ad 38] (Calder "Philadelphia" [opposite p. 343], fig. 4 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 11]); *IPhyrChr*, plate 24.

Line drawing/facsimile: Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)," col. 2534 fig. 8402, based on Mendel's photograph (Tabbernee "Montanism," 668).

Workshop, sculptor, and date

On the workshop which produced this tombstone, see ad 59. E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, p. 93) thinks it likely that 62 (and, probably, Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. V" [1928]: 33 no. 249, 33-34 no. 250) was carved by the same mason. Her suggestion is based on the similarity of the letter forms of these inscriptions, which, however, is not absolute proof; see Gibson "Montanism," 98-99 and Sheppard, 314. Irrespective of whether the same sculptor also carved the other inscriptions, the sculptor of the inscription under discussion here appears to have signed *l.34* (something which was not done on those other inscriptions), but, unfortunately, the letters of his name are no longer extant; cf. and contrast 36 where the name of the engraver may have survived but where the designation *λατύπος* was not added. On the term *λατύπος*, see *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 30 n.5. For a list of signatures of sculptors from the Upper Tembris Valley and nearby Kotiaion, see *IPhyrChr*, pp. 67-70. This panel-stele, like 59, is to be dated to IV²⁻³.

Orthography

As in other inscriptions from the region, -ει- is normally contracted to -ι-, e.g., *κατέχει* instead of *κατέχει* (*l.1*); *ἴχον* instead of *εἶχον* (*l.8*); *κῆτη* instead of *κεῖται* (*ll.15, 38-39*; cf. 49-50). The latter also shows a common substitution of -η- for -αι-; cf. *κῆ* instead of *καῖ* (*l.12*). The omission of the augment in the aorist of *λυπέω* (*l.11*) is not unusual (cf. 62). In *ll.16-17* the spelling *πρεστάμενοι* instead of *προϊστάμενοι* reflects pronunciation; cf. A. Petrie (1906: 125-126 no. 7, *l.3* [*προστάμενον*]). The absence of the *upsilon* of *υἱοὶ* in *l.15* is also the result of local pronunciation whereas in *l.21* the omission of the *alpha* of *ἀντῶν* was an engraver's error and must be restored. The prothetic *iota*, used here in *ἰστρατιώτην* (*ll.1, 4*) for *στρατιώτην*, is also common in Phrygia; for example see *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 393 (ad no. 267) and cf. *εἰσῳρατειώτου* on an inscription from Alaşehir (Philadelphia) in *ILydiaKP* 1 [1908]: 63. For the use of the prothetic *iota* in Greek names, see 40, 43. In *l.36* -υ- is substituted for -ε-. The common consonant substitution ν = μ occurs in *ll.6, 20, 23, 28, 51* and probably also in *l.5* (*πάνμουσον* = *πάμμουσον*?).

Crux gammata

Domnos' tombstone is the only one in this corpus displaying the *gammadion* or *crux gammata*. Made up of four *gammata* joined centrally at their base, this symbol was used in a Christian context as an equilateral cross; see Ramsay "Book" [1905]: 222-223; P.C. Finney (1990: 245). A similar pair of symbols is carved on another fourth-century Christian tombstone from the Upper Tembris Valley (Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 219-220 no. 18; = Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 116-117 no. 276 [pl. 42]). That inscription contains the word *πρεσβυτάτω* (*l.3*), which, according to Anderson (220) followed by Waelkens (117), is presumably a superlative of *πρεσβύτερος*. For further examples of Christian tombstones decorated with the *crux gammata*, see Kaufmann *Epigraphik* [1917]: 64-67.

Domnos and his family

The main inscription (*ll.1-33*) consists of eight parts. It commences with three elegiac hexameters praising the virtues of Domnos, the founder of the family (*ll.1-4*). Then Domnos, portrayed as speaking in the first person (*ll.5-10a*), identifies his wife, Kyrilla, by means of another hexameter. Although not specifically stated, it is to be presumed that Kyrilla is also (to be) buried in this tomb. Domnos next introduces one of his sons, Kyrillos, who had predeceased him (*l.8*).

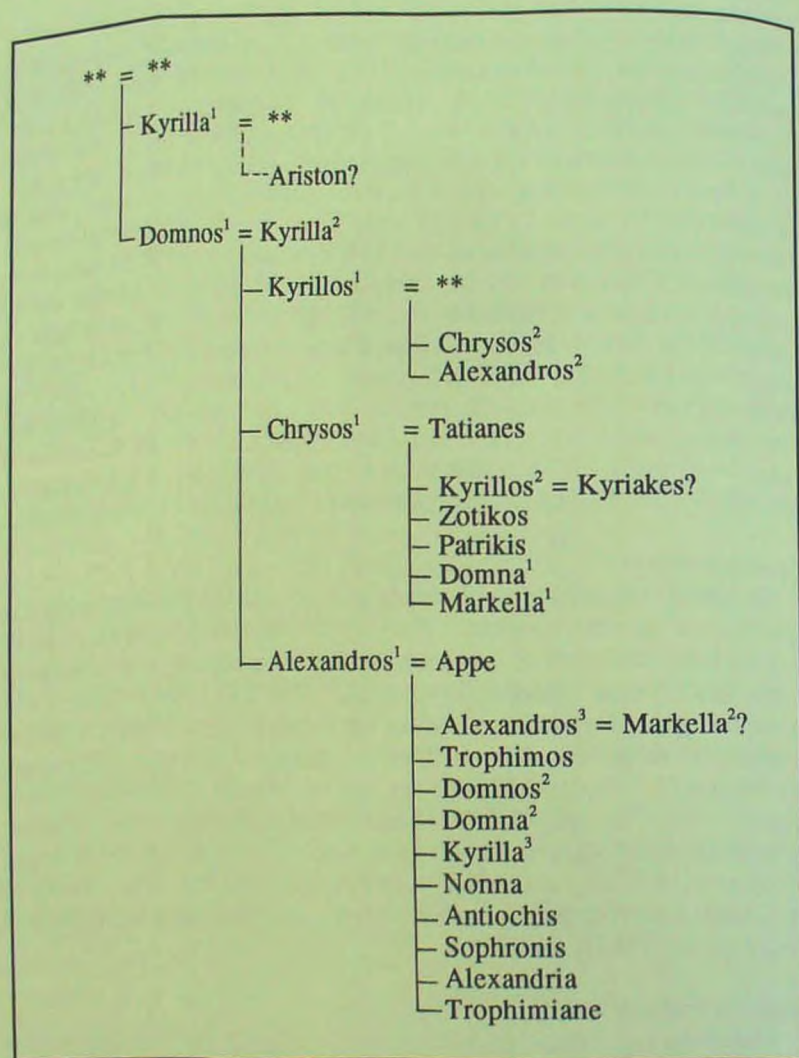


Fig. 68: Stemma of Domnos' family

It is possible that at l.10 the engraver made a mistake in carving $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ and that the word should be $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, in which case Domnos would be repeating the information that he had died at sixty-years of age before going on to explain the effect of his death on everyone; cf. 62

where the same phrase about the grief caused to all by the death of the deceased is preceded by the exact same statement giving the age of the deceased as thirty. Perhaps the engraver simply copied the whole line from his catalogue of stock phrases and hexametric verses. If so, Domnos' whole "monologue" should be taken to include at least l.11a and perhaps also ll.11b-12a (cf. 61 ll.13b-15a). As engravers commonly adapted the stock phrases they employed, it is more likely, however, that Domnos' "monologue" finishes at l.10a and that, as suggested by Pargoire (331), Kyrillos "himself" delivers, in part three (ll.10b-11), a funerary monologue similar to those on other metrical inscriptions (e.g., 59, 62), employing another hexameter.

The rest of the epitaph is not in verse. In part four (ll.11b-13), the "narrator" returns (or Domnos continues his speech?) to provide the names of Kyrillos' sons—both of whom had suffered an untimely death. In part five (ll.13b-15a), the narrator explains that Domnos' sister (who bears the same name as Domnos' wife) is also buried in the grave.

Part six (ll.15b-19a) praises the virtues of two sons of Domnos who are still alive. They and their families are the dedicators, and the names of all are duly recorded in part seven (ll.19b-32a), which also includes the Xp.-Xp. formula. Although the families of the two sons, especially that of Alexandros¹, seem somewhat large, it is unlikely that, in this inscription, the phrase $\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ (ll.21, 24) automatically includes children-in-law; contrast 40. It is clear from 62 that Kyrilla³ was the daughter, not daughter-in-law, of Alexandros¹. In this epitaph, daughters-in-law are designated with the word $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ [i.e., $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$] (ll.28, 51). Part eight (ll.33b-34) provides a funerary curse common among the Christians of N. Phrygia; see ad 59. The stonemason apparently appended his name and occupation to the main inscription (l.34). ll.35-49, 50-53 either enumerate the predeceased already in the tomb, in which case not all of the children of Chrysos¹ and Alexander¹ were actually still alive (despite the impression that this was so gained from ll.29, 31-32) at the time the tombstone was commissioned, or they were added later.

For the practice of "age-rounding," cf. 59, 62, 72, 95 and see ad 53.

Nomenclature and onomastics

The Xp.-Xp. formula reveals that we have here evidence of a large extended family whose allegiance to Christianity spanned at least three generations. Many of the names are those favored by Christians; e.g., Domna, Domnos (see ad 34); Kyriakes (cf. 40 and see ad 47); Kyrilla, Kyrillos (see ad 25); and Trophimos (see ad 35). On the Phrygian pet name Tatianes, here spelled with the typical ending in *sigma*, see L.

Zgusta (1964: §1517-38) and cf. 5. On Appe, see *ad* 24. The name Chrysos is based on a sobriquet; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 145. On the name Nonna, see Zgusta, §1046-7, cf. §1046-1.

Christian presbyters and leaders of the people

At least two of Domnos' sons (perhaps Kyrillos may be added by implication) are described as Χριστιανῶν πρεσβύτεροι (II.15b-16). That these two words were intended to be taken together to provide the sense of "Christian presbyters" is clear from a comparison with other metrical epitaphs from the Upper Tembris Valley which also employ the subsequent phrases λαοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, νόμῳ δίκαια φρονούντες (II.16b-18a) or slight variants. For example, the inscription from Çayırbaşı (formerly Zemme, only a few km. S. of Aykırık) already referred to above (Petrie, 125-126 no. 7), contains the words λαοῦ προστάμενον, νόμῳ τὰ δίκαια φρονώντα (I.3), which Petrie (126) translates: "a chief of the people, who gave heed to the just precepts of the law." As λαοῦ προϊστάμενος ("leader of the people") appears to be a stock phrase, λαοῦ cannot be taken to qualify πρεσβύτεροι. Consequently, while it is theoretically possible to view the word "Christians" in II.15b-16a of the Domnos inscription as an independent noun (i.e., Χριστιανῶν, πρεσβύτεροι), this destroys the poetic linking of the double pairs: Χριστιανῶν πρεσβύτεροι, λαοῦ πρεσβύτεροι (II.15b-17a).

The term προϊστάμενος, in mid IV, was used of a variety of ecclesiastical, as well as civic, leaders; see *LPLG*, 1150-1151. Perhaps Chrysos and Alexander were presbyters with a semi-episcopal status. Mitchell (1993: 71-72 and n.134, 107 n.451) suggests that they were "village bishops," similar to the *chorepiscopi* prevalent elsewhere in Anatolia. The additional phrase νόμῳ δίκαια φρονούντες (II.17-18) indicates, however, that Chrysos and Alexander also carried out juridical tasks in their village. Unless this refers exclusively to "ecclesiastical law," the two sets of descriptions were probably juxtaposed purposely to show that Chrysos and Alexander had both ecclesiastical and civic status. On the latter, see also *ad* 61.

Reader beware!

The sepulchral threat, used at the end of the main inscription: Τὸν θεόν σοι ἀναγνούς μὴ ἀδικήσης (II.32b-33), is common on fourth-century inscriptions from the region, cf. 59, 62, 64-66. Like its predominantly S. Phrygian counterpart, the so-called Eumeneian formula (see *ad* 20), it warned potential grave violators that God would punish them if they interfered with the tomb; see *ad* 59.

A Christian soldier

That Christians served in the Roman army, both before and after Constantine's conversion to Christianity, is well known from the *acta martyrum* (especially the "acts of the military martyrs"; e.g., *Pass. Marcell.* 1.1; *Pass. Iuli vet.* 2.3; *M. Das.* 6.1; cf. *M. Potam. et Bas.* 3) and from early Christian questions about the legitimacy of such military service (e.g., Tert., *coron.* 1, 11-12); see E. Ryan (1952: 1-32). The seminal study of the literary data by A. [von] Harnack (1905, trans. 1981) has been superseded by E. Molland (1959: 87-104); H. von Campenhausen (1968a: 160-170); and, especially, by J. Helgeland (1973; 1974: 149-163, 200; cf. 1979: 724-834) and J. Helgeland/R.J. Daly/J.P. Burns (1985). Thus far, however, little use has been made of epigraphic data, other than to shed light on more general issues of Roman military history, including the role of various (non-Christian) religious cults within the army; see, for example, P.M. Brennan (1987: 118-126).

[Von] Harnack (107) was unaware of any inscriptions from pre-Constantinian times in which the deceased is identified both as a Christian and as a soldier. He argued, however, that no conclusions should be drawn from this in respect of the number of Christian soldiers because military rank was rarely recorded in inscriptions. While the latter statement is not accurate, [von] Harnack's argument itself is valid. The relative paucity of pre-Constantinian inscriptions which declare that a deceased soldier was a Christian cannot be taken to reflect the actual numbers of Christians in the Roman army at that time. Many soldiers, irrespective of religion, never had an inscription to commemorate them—especially those of lower economic status who died while on active service far away from relatives. Although, in the case of such military inscriptions as do exist, the deceased's rank and legion are recorded more frequently than [von] Harnack assumed, and while open declaration of Christian allegiance on tombstones during III and early IV is not as uncommon as was once thought, the statistical likelihood that a large number of early inscriptions containing both features would survive is low. A small number of pre-Constantinian inscriptions of Christian soldiers, however, has survived; for examples, see J.-M. Hornus (1980: 118-122); Helgeland (1973: 126-130; 1974: 161). Other inscriptions, while dating from mid IV or later, provide the names of Christians who had served in the army during IV¹ or earlier (e.g., see *ad* 69).

Of particular interest is an inscription from nearby Adaköy describing the career and exploits of a veteran (ιστρατευόμενος) named Aurelios Gaios the younger (*ed. pr.* — Th. Drew Bear [1981: 93-141 with photograph] = M. Sartre [1983: 25-32] with Turkish trans.; cf. *BE* [1982]:

400; *AE* 1981 [1984]: 777; *BE* [1984]: 465; *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1116). That Gaios was a Christian is revealed by the use of the term [ἀ]ν[α]στ[α]σι[ς] in l.29 (the restoration of which is undoubtedly correct in that it completes a "play on words" in juxtaposition with [ἀ]νέστη in l.26) and supported by the fact that the stele is very similar to 40—the extant pediment of which contains a wreath encircling a Latin cross. According to Drew Bear, Gaios probably left the army as a result of Diocletian's anti-Christian policy (c.284-305). Diocletian, during a purge of the army (c.302), ordered all legion commanders to dismiss any soldier who refused to sacrifice to the gods (*Lact., mort.* 10). This action, while severe, was not as strict as the later measures taken by Maximin Daia, who, during c.311-312, commanded not only that all Christians in the army should sacrifice but that they should not be discharged. For a Christian soldier who, nevertheless, managed to leave military service during the reign of Maximin Daia, see 69.

As there is no hint in Domnos' epitaph that he wanted to leave the army because of any conscientious objection to military service or that he was forced to do so because of his refusal to sacrifice, Domnos probably retired or received an honorable discharge at the end of a normal military career. Perhaps he commenced his career sometime after 313, when, as attested by a somewhat larger group of extant inscriptions (e.g., see Hornus, 122), it was less problematic for Christians to serve in the army. The exact years of Domnos' military service are dependent on the date assigned to the erection of his tombstone, but they probably covered at least part of the Constantinian era.

Montanist?

W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia," 321, 344), while acknowledging the presence of Christians in the army, nevertheless argued that the term μέγαν ἰσραηλιώτην was used in a "Montanist sense" in Domnos' epitaph, i.e., in the sense that, according to Tertullian (*cast.* 12), the only legitimate form of military service for Christians was the *militia Christi*; cf. Klawiter (1975: 188 n.1) and Frend (1984a: 530; 1988b: 33; 1996: 195). This metaphorical interpretation of the description of Domnos as "a great soldier," however, is dependent on Calder's (and Frend's) underlying assumption that all Xp.-Xp. inscriptions are Montanist. Gibson, in her Ph.D. dissertation ("Montanism," 87), based her original identification of Domnos as a Montanist on this assumption. This assumption is not valid; see *ad* 27. If we omit the Xp.-Xp. formula from consideration, there is nothing to prove that Domnos and his family were other than

Christians belonging to the official church. Nor is there anything to suggest that Domnos had not actually been a soldier.

61. An epitaph for an anonymous Christian

Aykırıkçı

Now in Bursa Museum, inv. no. 32

IV²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Mirbeau "Épigraphes" [1904]: 331-332 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy.

Rectangular panel-stele of white marble: Type J Altıntaş 1; see *ad* 59 and Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: plate 107. Damaged very slightly at the edges and tenon missing. Height: 0.99m.; width: 0.655m. (base), 0.625m. (top); thickness: 0.15m. Face of stone framed by low moulding. The resultant inner rectangular field is divided by a horizontal moulding into two further rectangles, the lower one being the main "panel." Two concentric circles, within which are carved two parallel horizontal and two parallel (almost) horizontal lines, form a prominent symbol (see below) in the upper rectangle. The symbol is carved slightly left of center flanked by palm leaves, the right-hand set of which, in turn, is flanked by a pair of rosettes. E. Gibson (*IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 70), however, interprets these vegetal decorations to be flowering plants. The external moulding surrounding the top rectangle is undecorated, as is the base moulding. The horizontal moulding separating upper rectangle from panel contains stylized vine pattern. Mouldings at either side of panel are reminiscent of pilasters with capitals. The lower half of each is carved to represent a rounded pilaster on which rests a prominently carved vessel from which vines ascend vertically to join those carved on the horizontal moulding. The inscription occupies almost all of the panel. Mason's guide lines are visible for the carving of ll.1-13a. This section appears to be the extant remnant of the original inscription. It concludes with a leaf used as a punctuation mark. Leaves are used similarly in ll.2, 10. At the end of l.8, approx. eight letters have been erased. Part of the original inscription appears also to have been erased following l.13b to make room for additional text (ll.13b-23) which is carved by a different hand. The end of ll.17-18 show clear traces of erased letters, and some of the original letters were obviously utilized to become part of a new text (e.g., sigma unsuccessfully adapted from omikron in l.19 [cf. l.21] and omega carved over original omikron in l.19). The vast difference in size of let-

ters in ll.13b-23 may also be due to the second engraver wishing to utilize some original letters by fitting in new letters around old ones. A third hand carved the last two lines (ll.24-25) which contains the Xp.-Xp. formula (l.24). Cursive *sigmas*, but quadratic *epsilons* and *omegas* in original inscription (note the cursive *sigma* corrected from a quadratic *sigma* in l.10). Cursive *epsilons* in secondary inscription and in final two lines. Cursive *omegas* in secondary inscription. Shape of *alpha* is similar, although not identical, in original inscription and ll.24-25 but differs considerably from the *alphas* of ll.13b-23b. The first *alpha* of l.24 does not have its cross bar cut. Apart from in l.1, where the *upsilon* is carved on an angle to correct an erroneous *iota*, *upsilons* in the original inscription (but not elsewhere) have horizontal cross bar in tail (cf. 3). Lunate *mu* throughout—even in l.1 where a small lunate *mu* was made more distinct by the addition of diagonal hastas. Ligatures at ll.16, 19. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.02m. Figure 69. Plate 24.

- Τὸν φιλοχρήστοραν αὐθις ἐνὶ μεγάλ-
 ροισι φανόντα, (leaf) τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς
 μεμοιημένον εἵνεκα τιμῆς.
 Σοὶ Θεὸς ἀκαταφρόνιτον χάριν ἔ-
 5 θετο καὶ πόθον ἦν σοὶν ἀλ-
 όχω Νονη πατρὶ σῶ κῆ μητέ-
 ρι τῇ σῇ οἱ σ' ἔτεκαν μεγάροισιν
 ἐνὶ πρεπέα τε λαοῖσιν [-----]
 ἡδὲ κασίγνητος Τρόφιμος κῆ
 10 γνήσιος ἄνφω (leaf) ἄρχοντα πα-
 τρίδος λαοῦ καὶ πᾶσι ποθητὸν
 εὐξενίην ποθέοτα καὶ εὐσε-
 βίην ἅμα πᾶσιν. (leaf) Σῆμά τέ οἱ
 τεύξας εἰδίης πρᾶπίδεσι,
 15 στίλβην γράψας μνήμης χάριν
 ἔθετο αὐτὸς σὺν ἀλόχω Νονῇ
 οἱ τὰ τέκνα προέπεψαν, πάπ-
 πων ἔτι ζώντων. (vac.)
 Μῆτις ἐμῶν εἰδίων ἢ συγγενέ-
 20 ων μνήματα λύσι ἢ τις τῶν

- ἀλλωπατριωτῶν ἔπιτα ὅστέα
 γυγμῶσι ἀνασκάψι δὲ τὸ πτωμα
 ἐρχομένης κόλασιν ἐώνιον.
 Χρησ-τιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς,
 25 παρεστήσαμεν τὸ ἔργον.

[Here lies]

the one who was

a lover of Christ, born again into a [heavenly] mansion,
 possessed of all virtue, an initiated one because of his
 worthiness.

- To you, God has bestowed a grace not to be despised
 5 | and a sense of loss to your spouse Nona (and)
 to your father and mother, they who brought
 you into the world to become distinguished both at home
 and in society
 . . . and Trophimos, a brother and true-born brother both
 10 | ruler of your homeland's people (you are) longed for by all
 (as they are) missing (your) hospitality and piety towards
 everyone.
 And having prepared a gravestone from his own heart,
 15 | a stele engraved in remembrance (which) he composed
 himself together with his spouse Nonna, they sent the children
 ahead [to the heavenly mansion?] while their grandparents
 were still living.
 Lest anyone of our immediate family or our relatives
 20 | open (this) memorial-tomb or strangers afterwards lay
 bare the bones and exhume the body, (remember the) coming
 eternal punishment.
 Christians for Christians,
 25 | we performed the work.

Other *edd.*: Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 223-224 no. 21 with facsimile of majuscule copy; Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 170-172 no. 426 (= Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 418-420 no. 426) with photograph; **IPhyrChr* [1978a]: 27 with trans. and photograph.

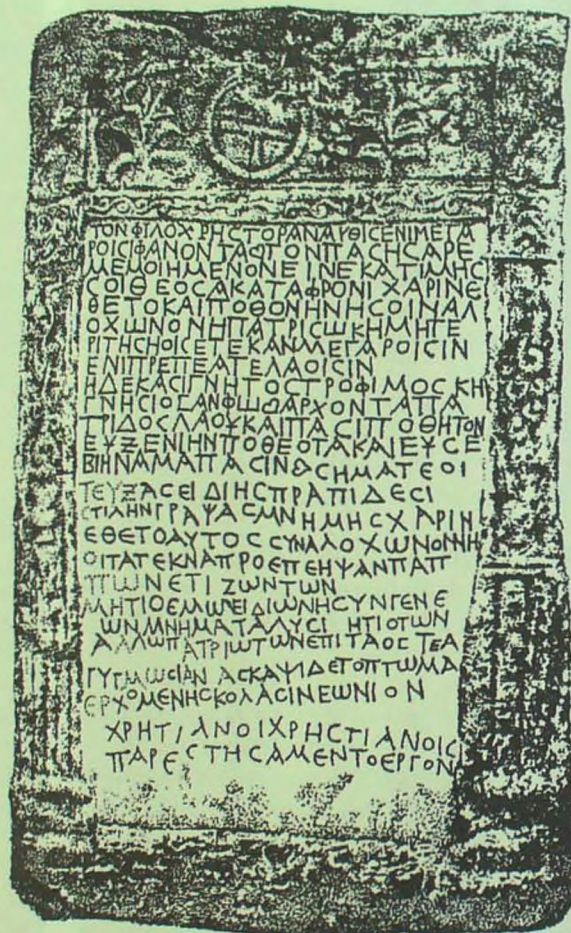


Fig. 69: Tombstone of an anonymous Phrygian Christian and his spouse Nona

Text reprinted and discussed: Pargoire "Bennisoa I" [1905]: 334 does not reprint whole text but does suggest emendations to *ed. pr.*; Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: cols. 1476-1477 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy; id., "Croix" [1914b]: col. 3060 fig. 3372 (line drawing with facsimile of majuscule text only); Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 340-342 no. 9 with photograph; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 803 no. 51; *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 439 (II.19-25 only); Tabbernee "Montanism"

[1978]: 674-676 no. 31 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, facsimile, and photograph; S. Mitchell (1993: 106 and n.441 [II.1-2a only] with partial trans.); G.J. Johnson (1994: 355 [II.10b-11a only] with partial trans.).

Variant readings:

II.1-2 μεγά[λ]οις: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie") prints lines according to meter rather than inscription.

I.2 φαν[έ]ντα: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"), Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"); φανόντα: Mendel (Calder; Tabbernee) prints lines according to meter but adds inscription line division and prints a lower case s here to show that he read some sort of symbol after the *alpha*; Calder, who follows Mendel in printing the small s also prints lines according to meter but follows Anderson in not marking inscription line divisions, other *edd.* do not note leaf here or elsewhere; φανέντα: Mitchell.

I.3 μεμ[υ]ημένον: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

II.3-4 τιμῆς | σοι: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"), Mendel "Calder; Tabbernee), *IPhrygChr.*

I.5 πόθον [Οι]ν[ε]ί σ[υ]ν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); ηνη: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"), Mendel (Tabbernee) do not suggest accent or breathing here. Anderson considered the letters unintelligible to him; Mendel correctly recognized that these letters = εἶνα.

I.6 Νόν[ν]η: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); σφ κ[α]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.8 ἐνὶ πρεπεατελαοισιν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien") nor any other earlier *ed.* marks missing letters at the end of the line; λαοῖσιν: Anderson.

I.9 Ἡδὲ: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); κ[α]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.10 Mirbeau, followed by all subsequent *edd.* apart from Calder, do not mark leaf, Mendel (Calder; Tabbernee) marks symbol by printing a small lower case e.

I.12 ποθέο[ν]τα: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien," and "Phrygie"), Mendel (Calder; Tabbernee); ποθέο(ν)τα?: Anderson.

I.13 πᾶσιν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien") nor any other previous *ed.*, apart from Mendel, marks leaf, Mendel (Calder; Tabbernee) prints lower case s; τε Οἱ[νευς]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.14 εἰδυῖσ[ι]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); παπιδεσ[ι] [καί]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.15 στ[ή]λην: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.17 προέπεμψαν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); προέπενψαν: Pargoire (followed by all subsequent *edd.*) does not note, however, that the first *nu*, read by Mirbeau as a *mu*, is, in fact, carved as an *eta* and hence should be marked as an editorial correction.

I.18 ζώντων: previous *edd.* do not mark (*vac.*).

I.19 Μή τις: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); Robert in *Hellenica* nor any other earlier *ed.* marks correction of *omikron* to *sigma* here; ἐμ[ων] ἐλ[ιδίων]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

I.20 λύσ[η] εἰ: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); τις: Mirbeau nor any other previous *ed.* marks editorial correction of *omikron* to *sigma* here.

- l.21 ἀλλω[ν] πατριωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτεα: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); ἀλλωπατριῶν: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"); ἀλλωπατριῶν: Mendel (Calder; Robert; Tabbernee); ἀ[λ]ωπατριῶν: *IPhyrgChr*; τὰ ο' ἔτεα: Pargoire; τὰ ἔτεα: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie") shows a leaf between these two words in his notebook copy, but this is a misreading of the *sigma*; ἐπὶ τὰ ὅστεα: Mendel (Tabbernee).
- l.22 π' γυμῶσι, ἀνασκάψ[η]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"), Pargoire, however, points out that the *pi* was misread by Mirbeau; [ἐρ]ημῶσι, ἀνασκάψι: Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"); γυμῶσι, ἀνασκάψι: Mendel (Tabbernee); γυμῶσι, ἀνασκάψι: Calder; γυ(μ)ῶσι, ἀνασκάψι: Robert; ἀνασκάψι: *IPhyrgChr*.
- l.23 ε[δ]χομ[αι τὴν] κόλασιν [αἰ]ώνιον.: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
- l.24 Χρητιανοί: *IPhyrgChr*.

Further references: Anderson, 195, 198-199, 201-202; *BE* [1907]: p. 86; *BE* [1910]: p. 323; Calder "Philadelphia," 318, 350-351; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 63 n.4; Mansel "Istanbul" [1933]: col. 136; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 9; id., "Phrygie," col. 787; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 217; W.H.C. Frend (1968a: 456 and n.116); Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 96; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 188 n.2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhyrgChr*, pp. 4, 7, 85-97; Ferrua (1980: 176); Mitchell (1980: 202); W.H. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110 no. 13 with partial German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170-171); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiate* [1981]: 504 no. 125; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J. Rigsby (1981: 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (ad no. 27); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132, 134, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); Frend (1984b: 422); Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 116 n.291; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 201; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: pp. xxxii n.28, 122; Mitchell (1993: 40 n.240, 105 and n.435 with partial trans.); Johnson, 354, 356, 362; Frend (1996: 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: Mendel *Catalogue*, 170 fig. 88 [= "Catalogue," 421 fig. 88] (Calder "Philadelphia" [opposite p. 340], fig. 2 [Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 12]); *IPhyrgChr*, plate 22.

Line drawing/facsimile: Leclercq "Croix," col. 3060 fig. 3372 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 674).

Facsimiles: ed. pr., 331 (Leclercq "Chrétien," col. 1476 [Tabbernee, 674]); Anderson, 223.

Text

The final text of this tombstone consists of five parts. Part one (ll.1-2b) is an elegiac hexameter in which a "narrator" extols the virtues of the deceased husband of Nonna, but, unlike some of the other metrical epitaphs from the region (59, 60, 62), it does not commence with the characteristic phrase, ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει, followed by the deceased's

name. The sense of that phrase, or simply ἐνθάδε κεῖται, was frequently omitted but taken for granted and the name of the deceased included elsewhere in the epitaph (cf. 67).

In part two (ll.2b-13a), the verse continues but now is addressed to the deceased, whose wife, parents, and brother are named among those who miss him. Seven hexameters make up this section which concludes the original epitaph.

Part three of the text (ll.13b-18) is a revised narrative description of the construction of the monument. This revision was presumably made at the time of Nonna's own burial. Part four (ll.19-23) adds a detailed sepulchral curse. In part five, the Xp.-Xp. formula is carved on a single line (l.24), followed by a concluding phrase (l.25). As the lettering of ll.24-25 differs considerably from both the original epitaph and from the additional third and fourth parts of the extant text (ll.13b-23), it is clear that these final lines were added by a third engraver.

During the revisions, no one seems to have noticed that the name of the deceased, which presumably had been engraved as part of the lines erased to make room for the revisions, was not replaced in the new text. It should have been included in ll.16 where αὐτός was carved. The theory that the deceased's name was Oineus, as restored by G. Mirbeau (ll.3, 13), is untenable. There simply is not room for -NEYΣ at the end of l.13. Similarly, W.M. Calder (340) rejected his own tentative suggestion that the person's name was Akataphron (l.4) because such a name is unknown and the restoration ἀκαταφρόνι(τον) makes sense in the context.

Orthography

The omission of the husband's name (cf. 27) is perhaps not surprising given the poor quality of the additional text. The orthography reflects pronunciation, e.g., -ε- for -ι- (l.23); εἰ- for ι- (ll.14, 19); -ι- for -εἰ- (l.21); -ι- for -η- (ll.4, 15); -η- for -αι- (ll.5, 6, 9); -η- for -α- (l.14); -η- for -εἰ- (l.5); -η- for -ι- (l.24); -ο- for -ε- (l.2); -οι- for -υ- (l.3); -ω- for -ο- (l.21) and -υ- for -μ- (l.10); cf. 60, 62. The name Nonna is spelled inconsistently. Whereas the original epitaph spells the name with a single *nu* (l.6), the additional text uses a double *nu* in ligature (l.14); cf. 60 and see L. Zgusta (1964: §1046). *Nu* is omitted from ποθέοτα (l.12) for the sake of the meter; see *IPhyrgChr*, p. 74. Note also the transposition of -γμ- for -μν- in γυμῶσι (i.e., γυμνώσι) in l.22. In l.14 read παπίδεσαι for παπίδεσι. The omission of -σ- before -τ- in the first part of the Xp.-Xp. formula (l.24), however, is common; cf. 40 and see also 8.

Lover of Christ

The description of the deceased as τὸν φιλοχρήστοραν may contain an intentional play on words in that φιλόχρηστος means "lover of goodness." However, as the spelling of "Christ" or "Christian" with *eta* was normal in this region (see *ad* 9), the *eta* probably merely reflects pronunciation. The Christianity of the deceased is stressed frequently. He is called μεμοιημένον, i.e., μεμνημένον (I.3), and his baptism is also alluded to in the reference to him having been "born again" (αὐθις [I.1] linked with φανόντα, i.e., φανέντα [I.2]), thus allowing him to reside in a (heavenly) mansion following his death (II.1-2; cf. Jn 3:3; Just., *I apol.* 61). Although its juxtaposition with λαοίσιν (I.8) by the use of the enclitic particle τε indicate that in I.7 μέγαροισι means "at home" (see *LSJ*, 3d ed., s.v. μέγαρον), the repetition of the word also contrasts his natural birth in an earthly "many-roomed house" with his new birth in his heavenly "mansion" (cf. Jn 14:2). The word, however, need not be taken literally to mean that he was born in a "palace" (as translated, for example, by Mirbeau followed by Gibson in *IPhyrgChr*). The deceased's brother, Trophimos, was also a Christian, being described both as a [Christian] brother and as a natural-born brother (II.9-10).

Christian symbols

The concentric circles containing the parallel horizontal and vertical lines carved prominently near the top of the face of the monument are taken by most eds. as a stylized wreath encircling a cross. This symbol, however, differs greatly from the other wreaths encircling crosses on tombstones from the Upper Tembris Valley (contrast 38-40, 42-44, 46-49) but is similar to symbolic representations of the *panis quadratus* (cf. 3, 5-8; Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 33-35 no. 2 [pl. 2 no. 2]; *MAMA* 10.378 [pl. 41]; Mitchell [1993: 38 and n.227]). That the symbol here represents communion bread appears to be supported by the fact that the vertical mouldings at either side of the inscription are decorated with vessels ("chalices" rather than "urns"?) which have grape vines descending into them (rather than "growing out of them"?); but for cautionary notes on interpreting vine-tendrils, bunches of grapes and wine chalices as anything other than symbols of viticulture, see *MAMA* 7 [1956]: pp. xl-xlii and M. Waelkens (1977: 281). A eucharistic meaning, however, need not be excluded here; see Calder "Philadelphia," 350 and cf. Anderson "Paganism/Christianity," 219-220 no. 18. Unlike in 3, 5-8, the "communion bread" in this tombstone is not carved as being on an altar or communion table. Hence, there is no suggestion here that the deceased was authorized to celebrate the Eucharist. For the Christian use of

palm leaves, cf. 9. Rosettes were used in the Christian art of Asia Minor as ornate representations of the Christogram (see Ramsay "Book" [1905]: 220) and of the stars mentioned in Rev 1-2 (see *ad* 71).

A civil magistrate?

J.G.C. Anderson (224) and Calder (340-341) deem the phrase ἄρχοντα πατρίδος λαοῦ (II.10-11) to designate a leadership role in the Christian community. Hence, H. Leclercq ("Phrygie," col. 803) considers the deceased to have been a Christian bishop; cf. Klawiter (188 n.2) and Rigsby (94) who also raises the possibility of him having been a presbyter. However, if the deceased had been either a bishop or a presbyter, one would have expected his title to have been recorded alongside this phrase as the two designations were not synonymous (cf. 60 II.16-18a). It is, of course, possible that such a reference, like the omission of the person's name from the final text, also fell victim to the revision of the text, but this is unlikely as the title would have been carved near the phrase ἄρχοντα πατρίδος λαοῦ (II.10-11). There is no sign of erasure and revision of the text at or near II.10-11. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that the deceased was a bishop or a presbyter. If the phrase does refer to a *Christian* office, it is best to translate it with Gibson (*IPhyrgChr*, p. 73) as "leader of the congregation of the people." If so, perhaps there is some parallel here with the Jewish office of ἀρχισυνάγωγος. The word πατρίδος, however, points not to a Christian, but to a civil office. Literally, the whole phrase means "ruler of the people of (the) fatherland," i.e., of one's own native region or country; cf. the use of ἀλλωπατριωτῶν in I.21 to designate strangers or foreigners, i.e., people from another "fatherland." Consequently, it is prudent to assume that the deceased was a civil magistrate of some sort; cf. the discussion on a parallel phrase *ad* 60.

Workshop, date and Montanist(?) nature

As the original epitaph uses phrases similar to those in 59, 60, and 62, it appears to have been composed in the same workshop (see *ad* 60) at approximately the same time, i.e., mid IV; see *BE* [1907]: p. 86 and Mitchell (1980: 202; 1993: 40 n.240). The revisions of and additions to the text must have been completed a little later.

Although like 59, 60, 62, this inscription is taken to be Montanist by Calder (317-321) and others (e.g., Klawiter, 188 n.2), the post-Constantinian date and the absence of any clearly identifiable indicators of Montanism, other than the Χρ.-Χρ. formula as an alleged indicator, make this identification both unlikely and unnecessary.

62. For "fellow-parents"

Aykırıkcı

Now in Bursa Museum, inv. no. 25

IV²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Mirbeau "Épigraphes" [1904]: 329-331 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy.

Rectangular funerary altar of bluish marble, damaged at top and broken away at right (including right front surface). Height: 1.29m.; width: 0.52m. (base), 0.48m. (top); thickness: 0.26m. Discovered in 1898. Upper front face decorated with geometric designs representing triangular pediment containing wreath. The letters ΓΗ were, at first, inadvertently omitted from l.1, necessitating their addition above the line. The engraver also omitted ΓΕ from l.3 and, presumably, μνήμης from l.23 but did not attempt to insert them later. Mason's guide lines visible. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Letter height: 0.018m. Figure 70. Plate 25.

- Ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει Σωσθέ-
νην ἄνδρα ποθητὸν
καὶ κάλλι καὶ με<γέ>θι καὶ σω-
φροσύνη δὲ μάλιστα, τὸ-
5 ν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἔν
ἄνδρεσι κῦδος ἔχοντ-
α. Τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔ-
θανον, λύπησα δὲ πᾶ-
ντας, καὶ πενθεροὺς [λύ-]
10 πησα, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐμάρα[v-]
α γυνηκὸς μετὰ ἧς τ[ρί-]
α ἔτη συνέζησα, ἀπὸ
ἧς ἔν τέκνον ἔσχον. Ο[ἱ]
δὲ γονῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐν-
15 θάδε κίνη. Ἀλέξανδ-
ρος πρεσβύτερος μετὰ
τῆς συνβίου Αππης κα[ὶ]

- τῆς θυγατρὸς Κυρίλλης
καὶ τῆς ἐγγόνης Δόμ[v-]
20 ης τοῖς συτέκνοις Σω-
σθᾶ καὶ Δόμνη καὶ Σωσ-
θένη γανβρῶ γλυκυτά-
τῳ ἐποίαισαν χάριν. Χ-
ρηστianoὶ Χρηστianoῖ[ς].
25 Τὸν Θεόν σοι ἀναγγ[o-]
ὺς μὴ ἀδικαίσεις.

Here earth covers Sosthenes, a man missed
for his beauty and greatness and especially for his

- 5 | the one possessed of all virtue and having fame among
sobermindedness,
humankind.

- 10 "I died at thirty years of age, and I caused grief for all,
and I caused grief for my parents-in-law, | and I caused to
wither the soul of my wife,
with whom I lived together three years, (and) from whom I
had one child.
15 My parents | lie here before me."

- 20 Alexandros, a presbyter, with his wife Appe and their daughter
Kyrilla and their granddaughter Domna | for the fellow-
parents Sosthas and Domna and for Sosthenes, sweetest son-in-
law, constructed (this monument) in remembrance. Christians
for Christians.

- 25 | By God, having read (this inscription), do not violate (the
tomb)!

Other *edd.*: Pargoire "Bennisoa I" [1905]: 334 does not reprint whole text but does suggest emendations to *ed. pr.*; Anderson "Paganism/Christianity" [1906]: 221-222 no. 20 with facsimile of majuscule copy; Mendel *Catalogue* [1908]: 172-174 no. 427 (= Mendel "Catalogue" [1909]: 420-422 no. 427) with photograph [Mendel cites inv. no. as being 35 rather than 25]; **IPhrygChr* [1978a]: 28 with trans. and photographs.



Fig. 70: Tombstone of
Sosthenes and his parents

Text reprinted and discussed: Leclercq "Chrétien" [1913a]: cols. 1475-1476 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy; id., "Dents de loup" [1920]: cols. 643-645 with French trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 339-341 no. 8; Wilhelm "Grabinschriften" [1932]: 852 (*ad* no. 8; ll.25-26 only); Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 803 no. 50; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 663-667 no. 29 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph; G.J. Johnson (1994: 365 no. 18 [l.1a only] with partial trans.); id., *Anatolia* [1995]: 50-53 no. 2.7 with trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1 κατέχ[ε]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 ll.1-2 Σωσθέ|νην: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); Σωσθ[έ]νην: Anderson (Calder [Tabbernee]; Leclercq "Phrygie") prints lines according to meter rather than inscription. Σωσθ[έ]νην: Mendel also prints lines according to meter but adds inscription line division; Σωσθ[έ]νην: *IPhygChr* and previous *edd.* do not mark the partially illegible letters here or elsewhere, apart from *IPhygChr* which marks the final *alpha* in l.16, the final *iota* in l.24 and the final *nu* in l.25.
 l.3 κάλλ[ε]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); με[γέ]θ[ε]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.4 ἡδὲ: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 ll.4-5 τ[ὸ]ν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.6 ἔχοντα.: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien") although his majuscule copy shows *alpha* located at beginning of l.7.
 ll.9-10 [έ]π[α]σα: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.11 γυν[α]ικός: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.12 ἀπ[ὸ]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.14 γον[ε]ίς: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.15 κ[ε]ῖν[ε]ι: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.16 μετ[ὰ]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"), Mendel (Calder [Tabbernee]).
 l.23 ἐποί[η]σαν: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").
 l.24 χρηστιανοί[ς]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"), Anderson.
 l.25 σ[ὺ]: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"); σοί (i.e., σὺ): Anderson (Leclercq "Phrygie"); σοί: Mendel (Wilhelm; Calder [Tabbernee]).
 ll.25-26 ἀναγ[ν]οίς: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien"), Mendel (Wilhelm).
 l.26 ἀδικ[η]σ[η]ς: Mirbeau (Leclercq "Chrétien").

Further references: Anderson, 202, 204; *BE* [1910]: p. 323; Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 681; id., *Epigraphik* [1917]: 62 with partial German trans.; Calder "Philadelphia," 317-318; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 62 and n.2; Mansel "Istanbul" [1933]: col. 136; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2532 no. 8; id., "Phrygie," cols. 787, 800; Gibson "Montanism," 84, 93 n.20, 96-99; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 188 n.2); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 and n.100); *IPhygChr*, pp. 4, 7, 85-98; Tabbernee "Montanism," 495; S. Mitchell (1980: 202); W.H. Pleket (1980: 198); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 105, 110-111 no. 14 with partial German trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 169, 170-171); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 504 no. 126; D. Feissel (1981: 371); K.J.

Rigsby (1981: 94); *SEG* 28 [1982]: 1078 (*ad no.* 28); Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 128, 129, 132, 134, 136; A. Davids (1984: 228-229); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 201; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: p. xxxii n.28; Mitchell (1993: 40 n.240, 107 and n.451); J. Evans Grubbs (1994: 411 and n.205); Johnson (1994: 354, 355, 356, 362); *id.*, *Anatolia*, 40, 113, 115; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 131 and n.97, 194-195 and n.67).

Photographs: Mendel *Catalogue*, 173 fig. 89 [= "Catalogue," 421 fig. 89; as in the case of 38 and 60, this photograph shows two letters, presumably identification symbols not part of the original monument; see *ad* 38. These letters (alphabetic numerals) do not show up on any other photographs, although they are included in Leclercq's line drawing (see below)] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 7 no. 29); *IPhyrChr*, plate 23 (front and side).

Line drawing/facsimile: Leclercq "Dents de loup," col. 644 fig. 3707 (Tabbernee, 664).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 329 (Leclercq "Chrétien," col. 1475 [misprints N for H as second letter of l.10]); Anderson, 221.

Metrical epitaph

This inscription follows the pattern of similar epitaphs from the Upper Tembris Valley (cf. 59-61). It is composed in five distinct parts. It commences with a statement, in three elegiac hexameters, by a narrator in praise of Sosthenes (ll.1-7a). Next Sosthenes himself "speaks" about his life, death, the effect of his death on the dedicators (cf. ll.15b-20a), and reports that his parents (cf. ll.21b-22a) had predeceased him and were buried in the same tomb (ll.7b-15a). Sosthenes' statement commences in verse, adding three more hexameters, but the meter breaks down after ἦς in l.11; see Mirbeau, 330 and *IPhyrChr*, p. 79. There can be no doubt that Kyrilla (l.18b) was Sosthenes' wife and that Domna (ll.19b-20a) was his daughter. Thirdly, the narrator lists the dedicators and names Sosthenes' deceased parents (ll.15b-23a). Fourthly, both dedicators and deceased are identified as Christians by means of the Xp.-Xp. formula. Finally, the tomb is protected by a sepulchral curse common in N. Phrygia; e.g., cf. 59-60, 65-66 and see *ad* 59. On the workshop which produced this tombstone, see *ad* 60.

Christian relatives

This epitaph commemorates part of the extended family of Alexandros, one of three sons of Domnos "the great soldier" (60). This Alexandros is referred to explicitly as a Christian presbyter in ll.15-16, 23 of 60, confirming that the title in l.16 of Sosthenes' epitaph is to be taken as Christian.

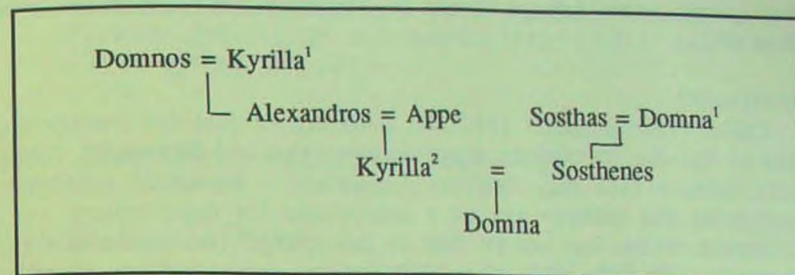


Fig. 71: Stemma showing likely relationship between the families of Kyrilla and Sosthenes

In the inscription under discussion, Alexandros is providing a tombstone for his son-in-law Sosthenes, who had been married to his daughter Kyrilla, and for Sosthenes' parents, Sosthas and Domna. The word σύντεκνοι (l.20) carries here the sense of "co-parents," i.e., people who have children in common. In patristic usage, σύντεκνοι often expressed the joint relationship of natural parents and godparents to the same children; see Mirbeau, 330-311 and cf. *LPGL*, s.v. σύντεκνος. In the present instance, the term expresses the relationship between Sosthenes' natural parents (ll.13b-15a), who are already buried in the tomb, and his parents-in-law (πενθεροί [l.9]) who commissioned the new tombstone (ll.15-23). The granddaughter Domna, undoubtedly the daughter of the deceased Sosthenes and the still living Kyrilla, was probably named after Sosthenes' mother—although the name Domna was popular on both sides of the family; cf. 60 ll.23, 26. On the name Sosthas, see E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr*, p. 145). Gibson, however (*ibid.*, p. 79), translates σύντεκνοι as (Alexandros') "foster siblings."

For the practice of "age-rounding," cf. 60, 72, 95 and see *ad* 53.

Orthography and date

On the orthography of this inscription, cf. 60. In this particular case, -αι- and -ι- are substitutes for -η- respectively (ll.23, 26). Each of these, like the contraction of -ει- to -ι- (ll.1, 3, 14, 15, 26) and the substitution of -η- for -αι- (ll.11, 15) or -αι- for -η- (l.26) is common and the "missing" letters should not be restored. Nor should the *nu* be restored in σύντεκνοις (l.20) as its absence is also due to orthography. The substitution of -ν- for -μ- in σύμβιος (l.17) and in γαμβρός (l.22) is not unusual; cf. 60 and 46. For reasons similar to those advanced for 59-60,

this epitaph clearly belongs to mid IV. Presumably it is somewhat later than 60.

Montanist?

Calder "Philadelphia," (317-321, 340) argued that this inscription, like all Xp.-Xp. inscriptions, is pre-Constantinian and Montanist. Similarly, Klawiter (188 n.2) considers Alexandros a Montanist presbyter, postulating that celibacy was not a requirement for third-century (sic) Montanist clerics. The mid-IV date of this epitaph (see above and cf. Mitchell [1980: 202; 1993: 40 n.240]) and the absence of any identifiable indicators of Montanism on this or any other Xp.-Xp. inscription suggest that Alexandros was a presbyter of a non-Montanist church.

Dorylaeion

Map 9:A1 (N. Phrygia). The ruins of Dorylaeion at Şarhüyük, approx. 3.5km. N. of Eskişehir, are now encompassed by the latter. Built near ancient hot springs within a short distance of the Tembris River, Dorylaeion was a natural resting place for travelers on the main road from Ankyra (5:B4) to Constantinople (Istanbul; 5:B1) via Nikaia (modern İzmit; 5:B2), Nikomedia (modern İzmit; 5:B2), and Chalcedon (Kadıköy; 5:B2). It was also situated at the junction of three major roads S. to Kotiaieion (7:E4), Eumeneia (8:E5), and Philomelion (9:I5) respectively. Dorylaeion, a member of the conventus of Synnada (A.H.M. Jones [1971a: 66]), became the most significant city in N.-Phrygia. The northern border of its territory marked the boundary between the Roman provinces of Asia (including Phrygia) and Bithynia. In the E. and S.E., its territory bordered those of Midaieion (9:A3) and Nakoleia (9:C2). In the N.W., its huge territory encompassed the Hermos Valley perhaps as far as modern Bozüyük (7:B5). In the S.W., Dorylaeion's territory stretched almost to Kotiaieion. See Ramsay "Cities II" [1887]: 503-504 (ad no. LXXVIII); G. Radet (1895: 493-494, 497-500); W. Ruge (1905b: cols. 1577-1578); MAMA 5 [1937]: pp. xi-xiv, xxii-xxiii; D. Magie (1950: vol. 1, 42; vol. 2, 800-802 n.21, 1000 n.36); L. Robert (1962: 360); Th. Drew-Bear and

W. Eck (1976: 305-307 and n.12); Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 131-133; H. von Aulock (1987: 17-21); and TIB 7 [1990]: 238-242.

63. Πνευματικὸς Πνευματικῇ

Eskişehir, in wall of house

IV³⁻⁴

Ed. pr. — "Funde," in *MDAI(A)* 22 [1897]: 352 (ad no. 1) with facsimile of majuscule text, based on copy made by Eudoxia Sepheriadou.

Stone slab. Height: 0.50m. (*ed. pr.*), 0.60m. (Pargoire "Dorylée I" [1901/2]: 148); width: 0.45m. (*ed. pr.*), 0.40m. (Pargoire [sic]); thickness: not provided. Slab consists of central, almost square, field (height: 0.40m; width: 0.41m.) surrounded by frame, above which traces of various sculptures could still be discerned when inscription was copied. No details of artwork provided, however. Inscription copied independently by E. Sepheradiou (prior to 1897), A. Besset and L. Massault (both prior to 1901). Inscription, including Latin cross flanked on each side by the letter *pi* above epitaph, carved within the central field. Height of Latin cross: 0.10m. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. *Upsilon*s have cross bar in tail (cf. 3). "Bull's horn" *omegas*. Ligatures at II.2, 4. Letter height: 0.03m. **Figure 72.**

Π † Π
2 Λουπικῖνος Μουντάνη
συνβίῳ Χριστιανῇ
πνευματικῇ μνήμης
5 χάριν.

A *p(neumatikos?)* † (to a) *p(neumatikē?)*

5 Loupikinos (prepared this tomb) for Mountane, his wife, a Christian (and) a *pneumatikē*, in | memory.

Other edd.: Pargoire "Dorylée I" [1901/2]: 148-149 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy, based on two transcriptions made independently of each other by Andreal Besset and Louis Massault.

Text reprinted and discussed: Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: col. 1440 (partial text only); Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 708; Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: cols. 659-660 text given in facsimile of majuscule copy only; W. Schepeleern (1929: 81-82); Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 266-267; Leclercq "Montanist (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2539-2541 no. 16 with French trans. and facsimile; Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 222-223 and 223 n.2 with Italian trans.; Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 220-221 (majuscule text only) with line drawing/facsimile; Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 99 and n.3; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 9-10, 106; *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: pp. 132-133, 133 n.2; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 686-687 no. 39 with trans. and facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 93-95 with facsimile; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 199 with trans.); S. Mitchell (1993: 104 and n.429 with partial trans.); C. Trevett (1996: 172 with partial translation, 204).

Π + Π
 Λ Ο Ψ Π Ι Κ Ι Ν Ο Σ Μ Ο Ψ Ν Τ Α Ν Η
 Σ Ψ Ν Β Ι Ω Χ Ρ Ε Ι Σ Τ Ι Α Ν Η
 Π Ν Ε Ψ Μ Α Τ Ι Κ Η Μ Ν - Μ - Ι Σ
 Χ Α Ρ Ι Ν

Fig. 72: Facsimile of Mountane's epitaph, as published in 1897

Further references: Pargoire "Dorylée II" [1903]: 61-62; id., "Dorylée III" [1904]: 53-54; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. II" [1925]: 161; Grégoire "Hiérarchie" [1925]: 329-330; *SEG* 6 [1932]: 108; *AE* 1937 [1938]: ad 70; *MAMA* 5 [1937]: pp. xxxii-xxxiii, 122; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 218; H. Grégoire et al. (1951: 18); Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 27; *BE* [1956]: 360; E. Testa (1962: 276); Grégoire et al. (1964: 16); R. MacMullen (1966: 332 n.27); A.T. Kraabel (1968: 151 and n.2); C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.289); *IPhyrHaspels* I [1971]: p. 216; Gibson "Montanism," 19, 22, 24, 49 n.56, 53 n.93; F.C. Klawiter (1975: 188 n.1 with trans.); *IPhyrChr*, p. 138; Tabbernee "Montanism," 342, 343, 345 with trans. and facsimile; A.R.R. Sheppard (1979: 171); Mitchell (1980: 203); Strobel, 104, 106-107; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168-169); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 467, 505 no. 129a; *BE* [1984]: 341; Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [1990]: 106; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 127, 240-242; A. Jensen (1992: 343 n.334 with German trans.); Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.234, 60-62 n.52); *SEG* 40 [1993]: ad 882; Trevett, 269 n.84.

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 352; Pargoire "Dorylée I," 148 (Leclercq, col. 2539 fig. 8403; Jalabert and Mouterde, col. 659 fig. 5872; Cecchelli, 221; Testa, 276 fig. 122(4); Tabbernee "Montanism," 686; Strobel, 93).

Mountane

The deceased's name was Μουντάνη, the spelling -ου- being a frequent Phrygian variant based on pronunciation; cf. Μουνδάνη (21) and the spelling of Λουπικῖνος with -ου- for Lupikinos in her husband's name. The name Mo(u)ntane and its masculine equivalent Mo(u)ntanos [Montanus] was not uncommon in Phrygia or elsewhere, especially among non-Christians; see *ad* 21 and cf. 77. In post-II Phrygian Christian circles, the name may be taken as a possible, but not infallible, indicator of a family's adherence to Montanism. In this instance, other indicators leave little doubt that Mountane came from a Montanist family and that she married a Montanist.

Χριστιανὴ πνευματικὴ

Mountane is designated not only as a Christian (I.2) but as a πνευματικὴ (I.4). Elsewhere I have translated Χριστιανὴ πνευματικὴ (II.3-4) as "to a spiritual Christian" (Tabbernee "Montanism," 687; cf. id. [1989a: 199]). While not grammatically incorrect, this fails to take into account that in some inscriptions which may, with a high degree of probability, be identified as Montanist (e.g., 72, 93, 95), the word πνευματικός/-ή is used as a noun, not an adjective. Although not exclusively Montanist, the designation πνευματικός/-ή was popular among adherents of the New Prophecy—especially as a self-designation in contrast with other Christians whom they labeled ψυχικοί/-αί (e.g., Tert., *mon.* 1.1). The coincidence of the designation with the name Mountane here strengthens the case for this being a Montanist inscription.

Puzzling abbreviations

That a *pi* was carved at either side of a Latin cross above the main inscription has puzzled many commentators. G. Weber, quoted in the *ed. pr.*, for example, lamented: "Das doppelte Π zu Anfang weiss ich nicht zu erklären" (352). Pargoire, in his first article on this inscription, pointed to the importance which Π had in the history of Montanism as the initial letter of words such as Πρίσκιλλα, Πέπουζα, Πρόκλος, Πνευματικοί, Προφήται, Παράκλητος, and cognates ("Dorylée I," 149). He suggested that the double *pi* could perhaps stand for the word πνευματικός repeated twice, or perhaps for the phrase Παράκλητον Πνεῦμα (ibid.). Of the two suggestions, the former is the more likely. However, the double *pi* probably stood for πνευματικός and πνευματικὴ, the abbreviated form helping to overcome the necessity of inscribing the different endings. For other possibly Montanist examples of the use of the abbreviation Π (= πνευματικός/-ή), see 54, 55.

A Christianized tetragram?

Not satisfied with his earlier explanation of the double *pi*, Pargoire, in a subsequent article ("Dorylée III," 53-54), raised the possibility that the symbols above Mountane's epitaph could have been a unit, representing a Christian variant of the Hebrew tetragram יהוה. This tetragram, expressing the holy name of God, was sometimes written stylistically as ΠΠΠΠ (see Pargoire "Dorylée III," 54), lending itself easily to Latin (e.g., Hier., *ep.* 35) or to transliteration into Greek letters (e.g., [Ps.-?] Evagr. Pont., *schol.* [PL 23.1276]; see also Testa, 275-278; E.R. Goode-nough (1953: 220); P. Vielhauer (1965: 571); M. Philonenko (1979: 297-303); *New Docs* 2 [1982]: 112; and *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 232. If the double *pi* flanking the Latin cross on Mountane's tombstone is indeed a variant of the tetragram and if Mountane's name and the description of her as a πνευματική identifies her as a Montanist, the symbol above her epitaph would lend support to J. Massyngberde Ford's contention that Montanism was a Jewish-Christian sect; see p. 23 n.34 above.

Although a number of scholars have found the explanation of the double *pi* in this inscription as a Christian version of the tetragram plausible (e.g., *IPhrygChr*, p. 133 n.2) or convincing (e.g., Wischmeyer, 168), there are sound reasons for rejecting it. Firstly, as Pargoire himself pointed out when first suggesting the possibility ("Dorylée III," 54) the Hebrew tetragram is theocentric, not Christocentric. It is theoretically possible that the centrally-located Latin cross was an intentional substitute for the Greek -I- which, in turn, had been substituted for the Hebrew -I- and that, in this way, the focus of the tetragram had shifted from God to Christ, but, if so, this is the only extant example. Secondly, if the whole symbol is indeed a Christian representation of the tetragram, the cross having taken the place of the central *iota*, what has happened to the final *iota*? It could not have been simply omitted without seriously distorting the symbol, making it unintelligible. Gibson (*IPhrygChr*, p. 133 n.2) suggests that it is possible that the letters are not Π Π but the complete tetragram (at either side of the cross) pointing out that no photograph of this inscription has ever been published. Again, it is theoretically possible that those who copied the inscription mistakenly read Π Π, but the three people who copied the text independently of each other all report that the text has a double *pi* separated by a Latin cross. It is unlikely that all three would make the same mistake. Thirdly, a number of other tombstones (e.g., 55 and see Testa, 276-277) have carved on them indisputable representations of a large (single) *pi*. While these have also been interpreted as extant examples of a Jewish symbol by some, it is clear that the letter *pi* in these instances had a symbolic meaning which could not

have been linked to the tetragram, as a double *pi* is required to form the tetragram. Even allowing for the hypothetical possibility that certain Jewish-Christians in Phrygia may have had a Christian version of the tetragram carved on their tombstones, it is impossible to reconstruct a completed tetragram above Mountane's epitaph. Consequently, it is best to concur with the three epigraphers who copied the text that we have here a double Greek *pi* separated by a Latin cross. It also seems best to concur with earlier scholars that the *pi* was an abbreviation for πνευματικός/-ή. The double *pi*, however, may have functioned as the abbreviation of a formula rather than merely of two single words.

A distinctive formula?

Henri Grégoire suggested that the abbreviations Π. Π. should be resolved as Πνευματικός Πνευματική ("a *pneumatikos* for a *pneumatike*"): a variant of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula, claiming that the designation Χριστιανή/πνευματική (II.3-4) was employed provocatively to express Christianity openly during the reign of Julian, c.361-363; ("Épigraphie chrétienne," 708). Grégoire, at that stage, still believed, that the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions were Montanist. He argued (*ibid.*) that Mountane's Πν.-Πν. inscription confirmed this. A. Strobel (94-95) rightly points out, however, that the probably accurate classification of the Πν.-Πν. formula as Montanist, does not automatically prove the Montanist nature of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula. Grégoire himself, later, ended up parting company with Calder on the Montanist nature of the Χρ.-Χρ. formula, designating the inscriptions containing this formula as orthodox Christian; see Grégoire et al. (1951: 18); cf. Calder "Epitaphs," 27; and Grégoire et al. (1964: 16). Grégoire, nevertheless, always remained convinced that Mountane's epitaph with its Πν.-Πν. formula was Montanist; see Grégoire et al. (1964: 16).

Earlier, W. Schepeleyn (82) had argued that the abbreviated Πν.-Πν. formula was devised in deliberate contrast to, rather than in parallel with, the Χρ.-Χρ. formula. He claimed that Mountane's Πν.-Πν. inscription proved that the Χρ.-Χρ. formula was *orthodox* but that the Πν.-Πν. formula was *heterodox*, most likely Montanist. Strobel (94-95), however, also takes issue with Schepeleyn. He argues that Schepeleyn's dichotomy between an "orthodox" Χρ.-Χρ. formula and a "Montanist" Πν.-Πν. formula oversimplifies the matter. He proposes instead the view that the primary Χρ.-Χρ. formula was a general anti-pagan open profession of Christianity, not restricted exclusively to one ecclesiastical group. He also proposes that the subsequent Πν.-Πν. formula portrays an elite Christian consciousness, directed not only against paganism but also against the

orthodox church (ibid.). The use of πνευματικός/-ή reveals this elitism to be Montanism. Hence, according to Strobel, while the Πν.-Πν. formula is *exclusively* Montanist, the Χρ.-Χρ. formula is not—although Montanists, like other Christians, may have used this more general formula. Specific instances of its use by Montanists need to be identified by further evidence whereas, according to Strobel, the use of the Πν.-Πν. formula and/or the addition of the word πνευματικός/-ή to the designation Χριστιανός/-ή in an inscription almost certainly indicates that it is Montanist; see ibid., 94-97 and cf. 72, 75, 93, 95.

Montanist nature and date

Strobel is undoubtedly correct in arguing for the likelihood of a very high degree of success in identifying inscriptions as Montanist by means of their utilization of the Πν.-Πν. formula and/or the designation πνευματικός/-ή. This is especially so for inscriptions from IV or later when Gnosticism, the other main movement enamored with the term πνευματικοί was no longer a vital force. The probability of accuracy is even greater when additional data also suggest that the inscription is Montanist. In this particular instance, the name Mountane and the use of both the term Χριστιανή πνευματική and the double *pi* abbreviation combine to provide as close to absolute proof as is ever likely to exist for the Montanist nature of an inscription. Moreover, whereas the Phrygian provenance of the inscription, by itself, could not support the Montanist allegiance of the dedicator and the deceased, the possibility that there were Montanists in Dorylaeion (as well as Christians belonging to the official church) should not come as a surprise given the Phrygian origin of the movement (cf. TIB 7, 240). If, as seems likely, Mountane was born into a Montanist family, there may have been a Montanist congregation at Dorylaeion from at least as early as IV²⁻³. Mountane's own tombstone appears to have been dated (approximately) accurately by Grégoire to IV³, although any connection with the reign of Julian the Apostate is speculative. It is also possible that the tombstone comes from IV⁴, as the earliest extant Montanist epitaph employing the term πνευματικός (72) comes from that quarter of the century.

Kotiaaeion

Map 11:B2 (N. Phrygia). Modern Kütahya, see p. 322 above. The (not yet identified) ancient settlement at modern Akoluk (11:D7), on the western edge of the Makas

Alan (7:F7), an upland plain in the Phrygian Highlands, 31km. S.E. of Kütahya probably belonged to the territory of Kotiaaeion, which was certainly the closest and most accessible major city. It is possible, however, that, for at least some period in its history, Akoluk belonged to Nakoleia (9:C2). See also Drew-Bear/Naour "Divinités" [1990]: 2011-2012 and n.405; and TIB 7, 176-177.

64. An unheeded threat

Kütahya, in Armenian cemetery

late IV¹(?)-IV²(?)

Ed. pr. — Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. II" [1925]: 162-163 no. 153 with line drawing/facsimile.

Stele with Type E arched pediment (see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: plate 107), broken below. Height: 1.90m.; width: 0.81m.; thickness not provided. Lower half of stone and border of upper half defaced. Heads and trunks of male and female figures on either side of trefoil within niche. Stone seen by W.M. Ramsay in 1883. Partially extant inscription on border of arch within niche and at top of field, copied by W.M. Calder in June, 1924. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Ligatures at l.1. Letter height not provided. Figure 73.

On border of arch:

[Αὐρ. 'Ε]πι[τόνχ]ανος καὶ τὰ τέκνα Πρόκλος καὶ
Κύριλλος καὶ Μάρκος Κ[ύρι]λη συνβίω.

In niche:

2 Τὸν θεόν
σοι μὴ ἀδική-
σις.

Aurelios Epitynchanos and the children Proklos and Kyrillos and Markos (prepared this tomb) for Kyrila his spouse.

By God, do not violate (the tomb)!

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 111; Wilhelm "Grabinschriften" [1932]: 850 (*ad* no. 3); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 713-714 no. 60 with line drawing/facsimile.



Fig. 73: Line drawing/facsimile of tombstone with curse-formula in niche, as published in 1925

Variant readings:

l.1 τα [about 10-12 letters]ς κ- Κυριλ [about 8 letters]ος; Calder in Buckler/Calder/Cox; τὰ^{c.11}ς κὲ Κύριλ^{c.8}ς; *SEG*. Calder does not restore missing names in his text but does suggest τὰ [τέκνα]ς κ- Κύριλ[λος κ- . . .]ος in his commentary.

l.3 σοὶ; Calder (*SEG*; Wilhelm; Tabbernee).

Further references: Ramsay "Monuments I" [1888]: 255-259 no. 9 (cf. Wilhelm "Grabinschriften," 850 who identifies Ramsay's second example [i.e., no. 9] as the inscription under discussion here); Ramsay "Book" [1905]: 209-210; M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 296 n.33); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 314, 316.

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 162 fig. 85 (Tabbernee, 714).

A reused stone

Despite the formula τὸν θεὸν σοὶ μὴ ἀδικήσεις (on which, see *ad* 59), carved prominently between the heads of the two figures, the stele was defaced to convert it into an Armenian gravestone. The threat implied by

the sepulchral formula obviously went unheeded. Given the popularity of the formula in N. Phrygia in mid IV, the monument is likely to belong to IV. The presence of the *praenomen* Αὐρ. suggests a date perhaps in the latter part of IV¹ or the very early part of IV².

Orthography

This fragmentary inscription is typical of those in the region. For the use of -ι- for -ει- (l.5), cf. 59-62 and for other examples of the substitution of -v- for -μ- (l.2), cf. 23, 62. The restoration of the name Ἐπιτύγχανος seems secure (cf. 41). The other names given in the transcription above are used by way of example only in that they fit the required number of letters.

Human figures

The male and female figures are presumably meant to portray Aurelios Epitynchanos and his wife Kyrila, but as in the case of other funerary portraiture (cf. 53-54, 65-66), there is no need to presume even an approximate likeness.

Montanist?

Because the warning carved on this monument is also found on tombstones with the Χρ.-Χρ. formula (60, 62), Calder designated this epitaph "Christian, and probably Montanist" (136). The Χρ.-Χρ. formula does not prove the Montanist character of an inscription (see *ad* 27), and this particular sepulchral threat is not exclusively Christian; see *ad* 59 and cf. 65. Consequently, the monument may not even be Christian.

65. A non-Christian(?) monument

Kütahya

late IV¹(?)-IV²(?)

Ed. pr. — Miltner "Nachlese" [1937]: cols. 57-58 no. 61 with photograph.

White marble "Bogenfeldstele": Type C; see below. Severely weathered and crumbled away at top right. Tenon missing. Height: 1.68m.; width 0.80m.; thickness: 0.22m. Stone is carved to represent niche with semicircular "ceiling." Base below niche is decorated with two pairs of oxen with plough in a style reminiscent of other stones from the Upper Tembris Valley (e.g., 39 and see *ad* 38). Pilasters, decorated with vine-

tendrils and grapes, with capitals are carved at either side of niche. Border of arch presumably contained main inscription (cf. 64, 66), but this has been worn away. Two full-length (male and female) figures stand in the niche. A "Heliobüste" is carved between their heads, below which is the only extant lettering. Quadratic *epsilon*. Lunate *mu*. Cursive *sigma*. Letter height: 0.018m. Figure 74. Plate 26.

On border of arch:

[-----]

In niche:

2 Τὸν θεόν
 σοι μὴ ἀδι-
 4 κήσεις.

By God, do not violate (the tomb)!

Text reprinted and discussed: Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs I* [1977]: 173 no. 580 with photograph.

Further references: F. Drexl (1937: 270); *BE* [1939]: 420; *BE* [1978]: 19; *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 62 and n.6; Gibson "Koç Collection" [1978b]: 8-9; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 160 n.402; Koch "Grabreliefs" [1990b]: 125 (*ad IV* no. 1) with photograph.

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, col. 58 fig. 35; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Inst. Neg. DAI Istanbul 3470 [M. Schede] (Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 92 [top left]); Koch, 128 fig. 23.

Workshop and date

Although similar in style to the "Bogenfeldstelen" produced in the workshop at Soa which also produced the Type C Altıntaş 1 panel-steles (see *ad 37* and cf. 53), E. Gibson ("Koç Collection," 7-8) argues, on the basis of style, that this monument was manufactured in a different workshop located at or near modern Aykırıncı. Gibson's judgment is probably accurate, as the vine and grape pattern and the oxen carved on this monument differ from those on 53 and the Χρ.-Χρ. panel-steles. However, these differences also may be explained by the slightly later date of this "Bogenfeldstele," which, like 64, appears to belong to the latter part of IV¹ or to early IV².



Fig. 74: Tombstone of anonymous couple

Montanist?

Because of its use of the τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσεις formula (on which, see *ad 59*), Miltner (col. 58 *ad* no. 62), followed by Drexl (270), considers this and 66 to be further evidence for the presence of Montanists at Kotiaecion. The symbol carved between the heads of the two figures, which Miltner (col. 57) identified as a bust of Helios with radiating halo, probably points to this being a non-Christian rather than Christian, let alone Montanist, inscription. Miltner's explanation that a Christian family bought a prefabricated stele with a prominent non-Christian symbol is possible, but not necessary. Similarly, a certain de-

gree of syncretism could explain the presence of the "Heliobüste" on a Christian gravestone (e.g., as in *CIG* 3 [1853]: 3872b = LBW 3,5 [1870]: 734; see also S. Mitchell [1993: 47-48 and n.279]), but, as the formula is not exclusively Christian (see *ad* 59), it seems best to conclude that this is a non-Christian monument; cf. 64, 66, and the similar monument from Upper Tembris Valley considered by W.M. Calder ("Eumeneian Formula" [1939b]: 26 and n.1; *MAMA* 6 [1939]: p. xviii) to be "pagan."

66. Τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσεις (yet again)

Kütahya

late IV¹(?)-IV²(?)

Ed. pr. — Miltner "Nachlese" [1937]: col. 58 no. 62 with photograph.

White marble gravestone with rounded top, severely weather-worn, broken at bottom left, tenon missing. Height: 1.07m.; width: 0.64m., thickness: 0.20m. Stone is carved to form two niches, separated by a horizontal moulding. Upper niche with semicircular "ceiling" contains male and female busts (cf. 54); above their heads is a garland made of leaves. Lower niche is square and contains two full-length (male and female) figures (cf. 65). Pilasters at either side of lower niche are decorated with incised geometric design reminiscent of fish scales (cf. 54). The edges of the horizontal moulding form "capitals" for the vertical pilasters. Face of stone above capitals and around upper niche is decorated with stylized vine pattern. The border of the arch contained the main inscription but is too worn to restore. The horizontal moulding contains the last two lines which are (mostly) visible. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. Letter height: 0.015m. **Figure 75. Plate 12.**

On border of arch:

[-----]

On horizontal moulding:

- 2 ἐτίμη[σαν], μνήμης χάριν.
Τὸν [θεόν] σοι [μὴ] ἀδικήσεις.

... they have honored, in memory.
By God, do not violate (the tomb)!



Fig. 75: Tombstone honoring anonymous deceased

Other ed.: Pfuhl/Möbius *Grabreliefs* I [1977]: 175 no. 598 with photograph.

Variant readings:

- l.2 ἐτίμη[σαν?],: Miltner.
l.3 [θεόν σοι μὴ] ἀδικήσεις: Miltner.

Further references: F. Drexl (1937: 270); *BE* [1939]: 420; Pfuhl/Möbius, 175 no. 597 [pl. 94] (wrongly identified as the monument under discussion here); *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 62 and n.6; M. Waelkens and C.P. Jones (1985: 25).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, cols. 59-60 fig. 36; Pfuhl/Möbius, plate 95 no. 598.

Montanist?

Despite claims to the contrary (e.g., Miltner, col. 58; Drexl, 270) there is nothing to identify this inscription as Montanist other than the dubious criterion of the τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσεις formula (on which, see *ad* 59); cf. 65. Like 64, this inscription is as likely to be non-Christian as Christian. The date of this stele appears to be approximately the same as 64-65.

67. "Baptism for the dead"?

Kütahya, in wall of wash house in Greek quarter

IV²⁻³

Ed. pr. — Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet *Exploration I* [1862]: 118-119 no. 79 with French trans. and facsimile of majuscule copy.

Rectangular marble slab. Height: 1.05m.; width: 2.40m.; thickness unobtainable. Original size and exact shape unknown. Leaf carved at conclusion of inscription. Mason's guide lines visible. Quadratic *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. *Rho* has short diagonal hasta at end of loop. *Upsilon* has cross bar in tail (cf. 3). Erasure after second *sigma* in l.4. Ligatures at ll.2-5 (in ll.3-4, vertical hasta of *phi* doubles as *iota*). Letter height: 0.07m. **Figure 76. Plate 33.**

Τὸν κλυτὸν ἐν ζωῇσι, τὸν ἔξοχον
[ἐ]ν μερόπεσσι, τὸν πρῶτιστον βουλῆς
ἡδὲ πόλῃος ὅλης, τὸν πτωχοὺς φιλέοντα
[ἐ]ῖνεκεν εὐσεβίης, (vac.) Εὐστοχίου φίλον υἱά
5 τὸν ἀθάνατοι φιλέεσκον (vac.) τοῦνεκα καὶ πηγαῖς
λούσαμεν ἀθανάτοις (vac.) καὶ μακάρων νήσσοις
ἐνβάλον ἀθανάτων Δόμνον, ζήσαντα
τρίς ἑτέων δεκάδας. (leaf)

[Here lies]

the one who was

renowned among the living, prominent among humanity,
foremost in the council and the whole city loving the poor on
account of his piety:

- 5 Eutochios' beloved son, | he whom the immortals loved and
whom, therefore, we also washed in immortal fountains and
deposited on the isles of the blessed immortals:
Domnos, having lived three times ten years.

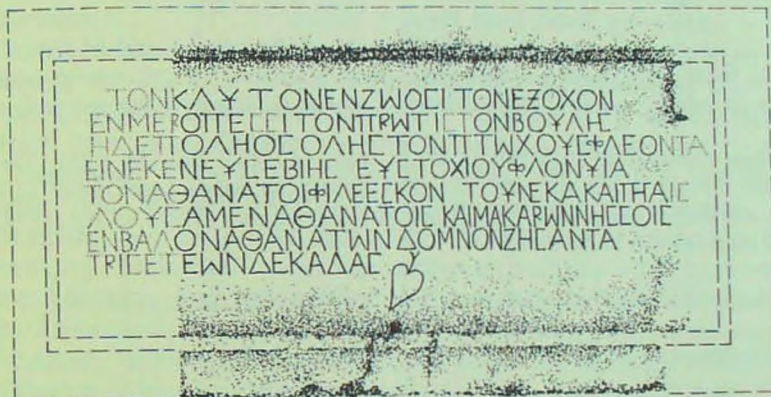


Fig. 76: The epitaph of Domnos, son of Eustochios

Other edd.: Kaibel *Epigrammata* [1878]: 142-143 no. 366 (based on *ed. pr.* and a copy made by A.D. Mordtmann); Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924. II" [1925]: 142-144 no. 125 with trans. and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 269-271 with trans.; *SEG* 6 [1932]: 119; *Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59-61; *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 87 (ll.1-4a only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 711-713 no. 59 with trans. and photograph.

Variant readings:

l.1 Τὸν: Perrot in Perrot/Guillaume/Delbet; [T]ὸν: Kaibel nor any other previous *edd.* marks letters once visible nor partially illegible letters here or elsewhere; Calder "Notebook" print lines according to meter; ζώουσιν.: Perrot; ζωῇσι: Kaibel does not suggest punctuation here and prints lines according to meter; *SEG* prints lines according to meter, but also shows line divisions.

l.3 [ἡ]δὲ: Kaibel; φιλέ[οντα]: Perrot.

11.3-4 φιλέ[ονθ] | εἵ]νεκεν: Kaibel.

1.4 [έν]εκεν: Perrot; εὐσεβίης: Perrot nor any other previous *edd.* prints *vac.*, here or elsewhere, although Calder/Cox in Buckler/Calder/Cox (Tabbernee), print the text with spaces in the middle of 11.2-7; Φιλόμνιαι: Perrot.

1.5 δν ἀθάνατοι: Perrot; καὶ [blank]: Perrot (although facsimile shows Π following *iota*); π[ηγαίς]: Kaibel.

11.5-6 (τοῦνεκα καὶ πηγαίς | λούσαμεν ἀθανάτοις): Calder/ Cox (Grégoire; Tabbernee), Calder; —τοῦνεκα καὶ πηγαίς | λούσαμεν ἀθανάτοις—: *SEG*.

1.6 ἀθανάτοις: Perrot; λούσα[ν]: Kaibel; μακαρίων: Perrot; νήσ[ους]: Kaibel.

11.6-7 ἐσβάλλοντα: Perrot.

1.7 βάλλον [ές]: Kaibel; δόμον: Perrot.

1.8 ἐτείων: Perrot; [πέντ] ἐτέων: Kaibel; τρεῖς: Mordtmann as cited in Kaibel's notes; Perrot adds s. [noting leaf] ἐν τῇ σὸρὸς κεύθει. to conclude 1.8 although facsimile does not indicate presence of additional letters; Kaibel, *SEG*, Grégoire do not note leaf.

Further references: *BE* [1928]: p. 282; M. Waelkens (1977: 280, 296 n.33); Tabbernee, 485-486; S. Mitchell (1980: 202, 204); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 245-246 with partial German trans.; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 314, 316; Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.234, 104 and n.419 with partial trans.).

Photograph: Buckler/Calder/Cox, plate 19 no. 125 (Tabbernee, plate 26 no. 59).

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 118-119.

Orthography

Εὐσεβίη (1.4) is a poetic variant of εὐσεβία = εὐσεβεία (cf. 61). The doubling of the consonant in 1.6 (νήσσους), like the contraction of -ει- to -ε- in 1.8 (ἐτέων) is common. Note also the use of ἐνβαλον for ἔβαλον in 1.7.

Juxtaposed metaphors

This metrical epitaph employs a number of elegiac phrases similar to those used by the masons in the workshop in the Upper Tembris Valley which, during mid IV, produced a series of panel-steles and funerary altars, often with the Χρ.-Χρ. formula included in their texts (e.g., 59-62). The elegiacs in this epitaph are arranged into seven hexameters. Like 61, but unlike 59, 60-62, the fact that the deceased "lies here" is taken as understood.

The epitaph plays with contrasting as well as parallel images. Not only is Eustochios' beloved (φίλον [1.4]) son described as loving (φιλέοντα [1.3]) the poor, but he himself is loved (φιλέεσκον [1.5]) by the "immortals." These "immortals" (ἀθάνατοι [1.5]), i.e., those who are

dead but who are not *really* dead because they are undying, may well be synonymous with the "living ones" of 1.1 (ζωοῖσι) as they are contrasted with "human beings" (μερόπεσσι [1.2]) who are definitely still alive, but who may not be the really alive ones, as only the immortals can truly be designated as such. Domnos, having been suitably prepared by ritual washing in immortal waters, such as waters from springs or fountains (πηγαίς [1.5]) is set on the "isles of the Blessed." Having lived "thrice ten years" as a mortal, he will now live forever as an "immortal."

Christian?

Despite the absence of overtly open profession of Christianity, there is little doubt that this epitaph is Christian. The name Domnos was extremely popular in Christian circles (cf. 60 and see *ad* 34), and the metaphors may have Christian as well as classical allusions; see Calder "Notebook," 270-271; Grégoire, 60; W.M. Calder, in Buckler/Calder/Cox, 142; Mitchell (1980: 204). For example, the reference to "washing" (cf. 1 Cor 6:11; Just., *1 apol.* 61-66) may be a synonym for baptism. "Immortal" water from springs or fountains would have been deemed better than "still water" for baptizing, although not quite as good as actually baptizing in running water (cf. *Did.* 7.2). For the use of "fountain," a metaphor for baptism, see Just., *dial.* 14; cf. the epitaph of Pectorios (Autun, ancient Augustodunum, Gaul, c.350): *CIG* 4 [1877]: 9890 (= *EG* 4 [1978]: 487-494 no. 1 with Italian trans. and photograph), 1.2 [but note restoration].

"Baptism for the dead"?

Calder (in Buckler/Calder/Cox, 142-143; cf. "Notebook," 269-270) claimed that Domnos had been baptized by the leaders of his particular Christian community and that the monument was set up by them. H. Grégoire accepted Calder's hypothesis but argued (60-61) that in Domnos' epitaph baptism is presented as a supreme reward for a virtuous life and that it is described as a funeral rite. He concluded that this is probably the first epigraphic attestation of "baptism for the dead."

"Baptism for the dead" had been practiced by various Christian groups since the time of St. Paul (1 Cor 15:29), but the exact nature of this practice was rarely described. Epiphanius, who attributed it to the Cerinthians, knew of two explanations: vicarious baptism (*haer.* 28.6.4) and clinical baptism (*ibid.*, 28.6.5). The former refers to the baptism of a substitute on behalf of the deceased; the latter to "death-bed" baptism. Of the two, only the latter can possibly apply to Domnos. There is no

hint that someone else was baptized on his behalf. If the verb λούσαμεν (l.6) does indeed refer to a baptism combined with a funerary lustral rite, it may be describing clinical baptism. Such a baptism was conducted not only for the sake of the deceased, but also for the sake of the *previously* deceased, i.e., so that the most recently deceased may be united with them in the "communion of saints." This understanding of what occurred in clinical baptism may, in fact, be the original meaning of the term "baptism for the (sake of the) dead," vicarious baptism resulting from a misinterpretation of 1 Cor 15:29; see M. Raeder (1955: 258-260); J. Jeremias (1955: 151-159). That "baptism for the dead" is indicated intentionally by the use of λούσαμεν in l.6 of this inscription is, however, by no means certain; see also Mitchell (1993: 104 n.419).

Montanist?

Calder (Buckler/Calder/Cox, 142-143; "Notebook," 269-270), postulated that the use of λούσαμεν may well have been a Montanist trait. He based this hypothesis on the view that Montanists had a unique baptismal formula, emphasized the priesthood of all believers, and that Kotiaecion was "not a very orthodox city" in close proximity to a district in which Montanism was strong from late III onwards. None of these alleged criteria, however, guarantees Domnos' epitaph to be Montanist. That Montanists actually baptized "in the name of the Father, Son and Montanus" is questionable (see *ad* 71) and their "emphasis on the priesthood of all believers" is really an emphasis on including women into the ranks of the clergy; see *ad* 5 and cf. 87. There is no evidence that Montanism, any more or less than mainstream Christianity, permitted the laity to perform baptisms other than in extremis. That there was a Montanist community in Kotiaecion is theoretically possible, as there is evidence of Montanists in nearby Dorylaecion (63) and, probably, Nakoleia (55), but *not* in the Plain of Altıntaş unless the Χρ.-Χρ. inscriptions are indeed Montanist. The only other alleged epigraphic evidence for Montanism in the city of Kotiaecion itself (54, 64-66) is based on the mistaken interpretation of a comb as the letter *pi* (58) and on the *a priori* assumption that all inscriptions with the formula τὸν θεὸν σοὶ μὴ ἄδικήσεις are Montanist; see *ad* 59. It is likely, however, that a Montanist prophetess lived in the Phrygian highlands within the *territory* of Kotiaecion (68).

Grégoire's view that Domnos' epitaph contains a reference to "baptism for the dead" hypothetically provides a more plausible criterion for judging this epitaph to be Montanist, as Montanists were accused of the practice (Filast., *haer.* 49). As Filaster charged Montanists with a

practice which differed from official Christianity, Filaster could not have been referring to clinical baptism. Domnos' epitaph, however, if it alludes to baptism for the dead at all, must be referring to clinical, not vicarious, baptism, the latter of which must have been the charge leveled at Montanism. Even if that charge were accurate, which is unlikely (see Tabbernee, 483-385; but contrast Strobel, 245), it cannot be used to point to Montanism here in that it is not the same kind of baptism for the dead.

Novatian?

Unlike the case for a Montanist presence in Kotiaecion, there is indisputable evidence for Novatianists there and in the Upper Tembris Valley as a whole; see pp. 347-349 above. Calder ("Notebook," 271) and Grégoire (61) considered the possibility of this inscription being Novatian and did not reject this option altogether. If accurate, there could be an indirect connection with Montanism, should it ever be proved that Montanism merged with Novatianism in N. Phrygia; see pp. 356-357 above. Mitchell cites this inscription as "a possible Montanist text" (1980: 202; cf. 1993: 39 n.234) but also points out that Domnos may have been a Novatianist (104).

68. Nanas, a Montanist(?) prophetess

Akoluk, in courtyard of house

IV^{2,3}

Ed pr. — *IPhyrgHaspels* I [1971]: 107 with photographs in *IPhyrgHaspels* II [1971].

Stele of bluish marble, broken at top and bottom (including tenon), edges and lower right surface worn. Height: 0.90m.; width: 0.31m. (top), 0.47m. (bottom). Triangular pediment presumably with wreath above horizontal moulding. Recessed trapezoidal field (height: 0.46m.; width: 0.36m. (top), 0.44m. (bottom). Simple geometric design at top of field. Traces of erased letters at lower right pediment and right moulding. Ll.1-2 carved unevenly above and on moulding. Remainder of inscription is in field. Mason's guide lines visible, but letters are not always carved within lines. Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas* in main text, but both cursive and quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas* in ll.1-2. In l.4, *epsilon* is carved erroneously for *kappa*. Quadratic *omikron* near end of l.7, probably a correction from *omega*, although note quadratic *thetas* in ll.8, 16, 17.

Lambda in l.3 corrected from delta. Sigma in l.13 corrected from eta.
Letter height: 0.015m.-0.03m. Figure 77. Plate 13.

In pediment:

προφήτισα

On horizontal moulding:

Νανας Ἑρμογένου.

Within field:

- Εὐχῆς καὶ λιτανίης [τὸν]
προσ«κ»υνητὸν ἄνακτα·
5 ὕμνοις καὶ κολακίης
τὸν ἀθάνατον ἐδυσώπι·
εὐχομένη πανήμερον
παγνύχιον Θεοῦ φόβον
εἶχεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (vac.)
10 ἀγγελικὴν ἐπισκοπὴν
καὶ φωνὴν εἶχε μέγιστον
Νανας ὑύλλογημένη
ῆς κημητήριον [---c.6---]
ΜΑΕΙΤΟΛΠΗ [---c.8---] σύ-
15 νευνον πολὺ φίλτατον ἄν-
δραν ἦλθε μετὰ [---c.8---]
ἐπὶ χθονὶ πον[λυβοτείρη]
νοῦς ἔργον [---c.11---]
ἀντεποίησε [---c.9---]
20 ποθέοντες [---c.5--- ἐτιμ]ήσ-
αντο μέγιστον [---c.8---]
εἰς ὑπόμνημα. (vac.)

[Here lies] a prophetess:

Nanas daughter of Hermogenes.

With prayers and intercessions [she besought?] the

- 5 praiseworthy master; | with hymns and adulations she implored
10 the immortal one; praying all day and night long she possessed
15 the fear of God from the beginning. | Angelic visitations and
speech she had in greatest measure: Nanas, the blessed one,
whose "sleeping-place" . . . a | "sleeping-companion," a much-
loved husband, has gone together with [her] . . . into the all-
nourishing earth, a matter [calling for a sad] mind . . . he
20 [she?], in turn, prepared. . . | Those who long after her have
honored her greatly . . . (erecting this stele) as a memorial.



Fig. 77: Nanas' memorial

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1972]: 473 (ll.1-12 only); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 694-696 no. 47 with photograph; S. Mitchell (1993: 47 n.274 [ll.1-13 only]).

Variant readings:

- l.3 λιτανίης: *IPhrygHaspels* (*BE*; Tabbernee) does not suggest restoration of τόν.
 l.6 ἐδυσώπει: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 l.8 παννυχίον: *IPhrygHaspels* (*BE*; Tabbernee); φόβον: *IPhrygHaspels* (*BE*; Tabbernee).
 l.12 ηύλλογημένη: *IPhrygHaspels* (*BE*; Tabbernee).
 l.13 *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee) does not suggest approximate number of missing letters here or elsewhere.
 l.14 ΜΑΕΙΤΟ: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 l.15 φίλτατον: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 ll.15-16 ἀνδραν: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 l.16 μετ[ᾱ: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 l.17 πο[υλοβοτήρη: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 ll.20-21 [--- ἐπιμ]ήσιατο: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).
 l.21 μέγιστον: *IPhrygHaspels* (Tabbernee).

Further references: *IPhrygHaspels* I, 215-216 with summary and partial trans.; C.J. Ruijgh (1971: 339); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 66 n.11, 72 n.35, 98-101, 277 with German trans.; R. Lane Fox (1987: 406-407 and esp. 747 n.11); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 176-177; Mitchell, 39 and n.234, 105 and n.431; S. Elm (1994: 133 with partial trans.); C. Trevett (1996: 171, 196-198, 205).

Photographs: *IPhrygHaspels* II [1971]: 630 no. 107 [of stone] (Tabbernee, plate 19), 631 no. 107 [of squeeze].

By another hand?

According to *Haspels* (*IPhrygHaspels* I, 215, 339; cf. Strobel, 100), ll.1-2 were carved by another hand. Certainly the letters of ll.1-2 appear to have been carved less carefully than those of the rest of the inscription in that they contain a mixture of cursive and quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. This mixture, however, may also be explained by an attempt to utilize letters from the original text which was erased in order to make room for the new ll.1-2. In either case, the purpose of ll.1-2 was to state, more clearly than her metrical epitaph did, that Nanas was a prophetess and to provide additional prosopographic information. It is not clear, though, whether Nanas was the daughter or the wife of Hermogenes (*IPhrygHaspels* I, 215). Strobel (99) assumes Hermogenes to have been the husband. If so, perhaps the word γύνη was omitted from l.2 because of lack of space. The text as it stands, however, makes it somewhat more

likely that Hermogenes was Nanas' father, the simple genitive signifying a patronymic (cf. 34, 44). For the use of Πρωφήτιλα as a name, see 11. Νανας may be masculine (cf. 59) or, as in this case, feminine; see L. Zgusta (1964: §1013-6; cf. §1013-10) and *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 145.

Nanas' epitaph

Unlike the metrical epitaphs of the Upper Tembris Valley, which typically employ hexameters, Nanas' epitaph utilizes lines of varying lengths; see C.J. Ruijgh, 339. The missing letters in the latter part of Nanas' epitaph make it impossible to be precise about the identity of the dedicators. Perhaps they were, as *ed. pr.* suggests, "disciples or [the] faithful" (*IPhrygHaspels* I, 216).

In l.6, -ει is contracted to -ι, and in l.9, -ι = -η-. Similarly, -η- represents -αι- in ll.3, 5 and = -οι- in l.13. The word κοιμητήριον (l.13) indicates Nanas' epitaph to be Christian. On the Christian use of κοιμητήριον in the sense of "sleeping place" for the deceased, see *EG* 4 [1978]: 306; Tabbernee "Christian Inscriptions" [1983]: 138; J. Kramer (1990: 269-272); and *BE* [1993]: 771.

68². Further Christians from Akoluk

That there was a Christian community in the ancient village now occupied by Akoluk is confirmed by *IPhrygHaspels* II.108:

Ὀνίσι-	ος υἱός
μος ἀνα-	Ἑρμῆος
γνώσ-	ἐνθα κα-
της καὶ Σ-	τάκιται.
5 ὠφρόνι-	

5 Onisimos, *anagnōstes*, and | Sophronios, son of Hermeos, lie here.

This sepulchral inscription is decorated with two Latin crosses (on which, see *ad* 14) and (probably) an anchor. The anchor, because of its cross-like shape, was a popular Christian symbol in funerary art; see P. Stumpf (1950: cols. 440-443). It also appears to have been a symbol of hope (M.P. McHugh [1990: 463]) and of security in an alien environment

(Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 15, 18). Onisimos' title also presupposes the gathering of the faithful for formal worship and the existence of at least some other clergy. For the substitution of -ι- for -ε- (l.1) and -ι- for -ει- (l.9), cf. 60. In l.7, -ε- is used as a substitute for -αι-; the name borne by Sophronios' father is normally spelled Hermaios, not Hermeos. Onisimos, of course, is normally spelled Onesimos. Haspels does not date this inscription which appears to belong to at least the fifth century, whereas Nanas' epitaph is not much later than mid IV; see *IPhyrgHaspels* I, 216.

Montanist?

There is nothing in the epitaph commemorating Onisimos and Sophronios to suggest that they were anything other than Christians belonging to the official church. Conversely, Nanas' epitaph provides some strong indicators of Montanism. The first and foremost of these is the title prophetess, displayed prominently at the head of the inscription. Although in earlier centuries mainstream Christianity numbered not a few prophetesses, the rejection of the New Prophecy by official ecclesiastical and imperial authorities resulted, not surprisingly, in an almost universal suspicion of prophecy, particularly as practiced by women prophets. The designation "prophetess," therefore, on a Christian tombstone in post-Montanist Phrygia, like the use of the name Montanus/-a in the same location, is highly suggestive of Montanism. The term "prophet[ess]" is, of course, not an infallible criterion. For example, the inscription of a prophet belonging to the cult of Apollo at Laodikeia ad Lycum (*ILaodikeia* [1969]: 6), is decorated with Christian symbols—presumably the result of syncretism; see *BE* [1970]: 575. A certain amount of syncretism with Phrygian non-Christian religion may also have influenced the wording of Nanas' epitaph; see Mitchell, 47.

Although ecstasy was closely linked with all types of prophecy, including that of prophets belonging to the various non-Christian cults popular in Phrygia, the emphasis in Nanas' epitaph on her particular type of ecstatic experiences tends to confirm the view that she was a Montanist prophetess. *LI*.10-11 relate that Nanas, on numerous occasions, had visions of angels who communicated with her and that, as a result, she, in turn, could speak in an angel-like voice. The description of Nanas' ecstatic experiences certainly parallels that of other Montanist (or "pro-Montanist") prophetesses; for example, see Anon., *ap.* Eus., *h.e.* 5.16.9; Tert., *cast.* 10.5; id., *anim.* 9.4; Epiph., *haer.* 49.1.3. The substitution of -γγ- for -γγ- in ἀγγελικήν (l.10) is due to pronunciation. On the phenomenon of angelic visitation, especially as emphasized in Phry-

gia, see *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 432 and n.1; *CMRDM* 1 [1971]: 69 and E. Lane (1981: 201 [*ad* no. 5]). On the importance attributed to angels in Anatolia, see Mitchell, 46. For the use of the term in another allegedly Montanist inscription, see 75.

Despite the cautionary note by Lane Fox (747 n.11), there is no reason to doubt that *ed. pr.* (p. 216; cf. Tabbermee, 695), Strobel (98-101), Mitchell (46), and Trevett (171) are correct in concluding that Nanas was a Montanist prophetess. Hermogenes, whether Nanas' father or husband, was presumably also a Montanist; cf. 21. Perhaps Onisimos and Sophronios also belonged to the same community of which Nanas was a member, but this is not certain. There may well have been more than one Christian church at this as yet unidentified ancient settlement, or these men may have lived at a time when there was no Montanist presence there.

J. and L. Robert (*BE* [1972]: 470) wondered whether there might be a trace of Montanism in another of Haspel's inscriptions; see also *IPhyrgChr*, p. 138 and Mitchell, 50-51 and n.291. This inscription (*IPhyrgHaspels* I.40) from Yapıldak (see *TIB* 7 [1990]: 415), approx. 35km. S.E. of Akoluk, contains the phrase πνευματικαῖς γραφαῖς (l.3). The adjectival use of "spiritual" here, however, is far too general to identify the inscription as Montanist and, hence, this inscription has not been treated in a separate entry. If anything, the inscription may be evidence for the syncretism facilitated by the cult of Theos Hypsistos among Christians, Jews, and people whose primary allegiance was to classical culture, as the text commemorates a high-born man named Zosimos, who belonged to "the most high people," and used both "spiritual writings" and Homeric verses to furnish written, prophetic responses to questions put to him; see Lane Fox, 404 and Mitchell, 50-51. For epitaphs which use the noun πνευματικός/-ή to designate Montanist Christians, see 63, 72, 93, 95.

Laodikeia Katakekaumene

Map 10:H4 (S.E. Phrygia). The modern town occupying the site of ancient Laodikeia Katakekaumene is Halıcı (formerly also known as Lâdik); see pp. 329-330 above. Pithoi (modern Kadınhanı) lay approx. 15km. W. of Laodikeia (10:H3) and 49km. N.W. of Ikonion; see *MAMA* 7 [1956]: pp. xiv, xvii; Waelkens Tüsterne [1986]: 254; and *TIB* 7 [1990]: 362-363.

69. "Keeping the faith"

Halıcı, half buried in a field S. of the cemetery

c.340

Ed. pr. — Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" [1908]: 385-408 with trans.

Sarcophagus of bluish marble, broken in two pieces, but able to be joined together. Height: 1.32m.; length: 2.63m.; width: 1.26m. (top), 1.38m. (bottom); height of lid: 0.06m.; width of lid: 0.95m.; width of interior cavity: 0.82m.; length of interior cavity: 2.05m. Interior cavity is divided by raised stone bar into two cubicles. Depth of cubicles: 0.46m. (at left), 0.50m. (at right). *Tabula ansata* with rectangular frame and ornamental support "handles" (cf. 56, 70, and see *ad* 9) on main face of sarcophagus. Parts of frame broken at bottom. Curved moulding at top below lid and at bottom below frame of *tabula ansata*. Inscription, first seen by an anonymous traveler in XVIII (or earlier) who apparently copied it from memory. This incomplete copy, included in G. Marini's unpublished collection of inscriptions (*CodVatLat* 9072, fol. 391), was transcribed and accented by M.J. Laurent and published by W.M. Ramsay in *CB* 2, tentatively assigned to Laodikeia ad Lycum. It was rediscovered by W.M. Calder and the whole text copied by him for the first time in June 1908 and again in July 1908. Details were checked by W.M. Calder, in the company of W.M. Ramsay and A.M. Ramsay in 1909, and again by Calder in 1911. Inscription, badly worn, engraved in sunken field of *tabula ansata* (height: 0.57m.; width: 0.92m.), commences at left side of panel but continues on raised frame at right in order to complete ll.4-14, 16. Ll.17-18 commence on lower left "handle" of the *tabula ansata* and extend across lower frame to the right "handle." L.19 also commences on the lower left "handle," but the first eight or nine letters are no longer extant. The rest of this line (partly extant) is carved on the side of the sarcophagus, between the *tabula ansata* and the lower moulding. The main fracture in the sarcophagus traverses the inscription from top to bottom after the eighth or ninth letter in ll.1-16, requiring the restoration of some letters while others are still partially visible. Two cracks in the extant right fragment of the field of the *tabula* do not obscure the reading, but some letters are partially illegible while a few need to be restored. Cursive *epsilons*, *omegas*, and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. Ligature at l.12. Letter height: 0.035m.-0.02m. (ll.1-16), 0.015m.-0.025m. (ll.17-19). **Figure 78. Plate 28.**

Within field:

- M(ἄρκος) Ἰού(λιος) Εὐ[γέ]γιος Κυρίλλου Κέλερος
 Κουησσέως βουλ(ευτοῦ),
 στρατευσ[ά]μενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν ἡγεμονικῇ τάξει
 καὶ γήμα[ς] θυγατέρα Γαῖου Νεστοριανοῦ
 συνκλητικοῦ
 Φλ(αουίαν) Ἰουλ(ίαν) Φλαουιανὴν καὶ μετ' ἐπιτεμίας
 στρατευσάμενο<ς>,
 5 ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ κελεύσεως φοιτησάσης ἐπὶ
 Μαξιμίνου
 τοὺς Χρ[ε]ιστιανοὺς θύειν καὶ μὴ ἀπα[λ]λάσσεσθαι τῆς
 στρατείας, πλείστας δὲ ὅσας βασάνου[ς] ὑπομείνας
 ἐπὶ Διογένους ἡγεμόνος, σπουδάσας τε ἀπαλλαγῆναι
 τῆς στρατείας τὴν τῶν Χρειστιανῶν πίστιν φυλάσσω,
 10 χρόνον τ[ε] βραχὺν διατρεῖψας ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων πόλει
 καὶ βουλήσῃ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος
 κατασταθ[ε]ῖς, καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν
 ἐπισκοπὴν
 μετὰ πολ[λ]ῆς ἐπιτεμίας διοικήσας, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν
 ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων καὶ σύνπαντα τὸν περὶ
 αὐτὴν
 15 κόσμον, τρυτέστιν στοῶν τε καὶ τετραστόων καὶ
 ζωγραφιστῶν καὶ κεντήσεων κὲ ὑδρείου καὶ προπύλου
 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς

On lower horizontal moulding:

- 17 λιθοξοϊκοῖς ἔργοις καὶ πᾶ[σι] ἀπ[α]ξαπλῶς
 κατασκευά[σας, λειψόμε]νός τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 βίον ἐποίησα ἐμαυτῷ πέ[λ]τα τ[ε] καὶ σορὸν ἐν ἧ τὰ
 προ[γεγραμμένα] ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ[α]φῆναι
 19 [εἰς κόσμ]ον τῆς τε ἐκ[κ]λησίας κ[αὶ] τοῦ γένους μου.

- I, Markos Ioulios Eugenios son of Kyrillos Keleros a native of Kouessa a city-councilor, having been stationed as a soldier at the headquarters of the governor of Pisidia and having married Flaovia Ioulia Flaoviana, daughter of Gaios Nestorianos, a senator, and having served as a soldier with distinction | and, meanwhile, when an order had been issued in the time of Maximinos that the Christians were to sacrifice and were not to be released from military service and having endured, repeatedly, very many tortures when Diogenes was governor, I hastened to leave the service, keeping the faith of the Christians, | and having stayed a brief time in the city of the Laodikeians and having been appointed bishop by the will of almighty God, and having held the episcopal office for twenty-five whole years with great distinction, and having rebuilt the entire church from its foundations, and having provided the | adornment of the whole including the surroundings, i.e., cloisters, antechambers, murals, mosaics, water-fountain, an entrance porch with all the attendant masonry work, and everything else, and when I was about to leave human life, I made for myself a supporting base and sarcophagus on which I commissioned the above to be engraved for the adornment of the church and of my family.

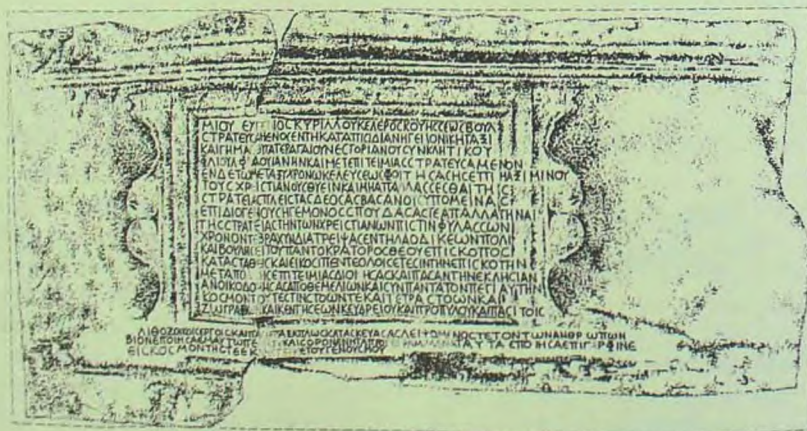


Fig. 78a: Markos Ioulios Eugenios' sarcophagus

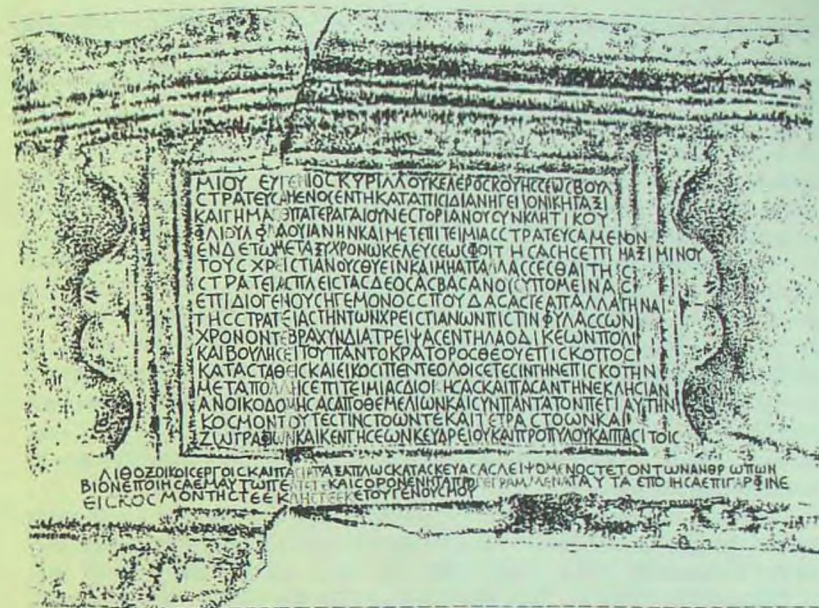


Fig. 78b: Markos Ioulios Eugenios' epitaph

Other *edd.*: CB 2 [1897]: 410 bis; Ramsay Luke [1908c]: 339-351 with trans.; Calder "Journey" [1910]: 232-234 no. 1 with line drawing/facsimile; id., "Epigraphy" [1920]: 42-47 with trans. and photograph; MAMA 1 [1928]: 170 with photographs and line drawing; *EG 4 [1978]: 394-398 no. 6 with Italian trans.; IGLEcl [1982]: 4 = W. Wischmeyer (1990: 226-227 with German trans.).

Text reprinted and discussed: Franchi de' Cavalieri "Eugenio" [1909a]: 56-73; A. [von] Harnack (1909: col. 165 [II.4b-13a only]); E. Preuschen (1909: 149-150); Scaglia *Epigraphia* [1909]: 270-272 with Latin trans.; Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: cols. 1439-1440 (II.5-8a only); Ramsay "Eugenius" [1910a]: 51-55 (does not reprint text but suggests a number of emendations based on his examination of the sarcophagus in 1909); AE 1910 [1911]: 165 (majuscule copy with miniscule restorations); Batiffol "Eugène" [1911]: 25-34 with French trans.; Wilhelm "Eugenios" [1911]: 388-390 (II.11-19 only); Aigrain *Manuel* [1913]: 81-85 no. 111 with French trans.; Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 704-705 with line drawing/facsimile; ILS 3,2 [1916]: 9480; Kaufmann *Epigraphik* [1917]: 249-251 with German trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Leclercq "Eugène" [1922]: cols. 694-702 with French trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Buonaiuti "Massimino" [1923a]: 220-229 (II.2, 5-8a only); Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 695-696 (II.1, 2b, 6-7a, 8b-9, 11b-12a only); Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"

[1932]: 835-838, 846 [II.1-12a only]; W.M. Calder (1934: 503-504 [II.5-9 only]); *Hel-lenica* 11-12 [1960]: 34 and n.7 (II.13b-17a only); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 509-510 no. 176 with French trans.; L.M. White (1982: 180-183 no. 49 with trans.); Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 88-91 no. 3.5 with trans.

Variant readings:

1.1 Εὐ[γέν]ιος: previous *edd.* do not indicate that *nu* is partially illegible; Κο[υ]ησέως: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen).

1.2 στ[ρ]ατευσ[άμ]ενος: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Buonaïuti; Kaufmann *Archäologie*); στρατευσ[άμ]ενος: Kaufmann *Epigraphik*.

1.3 γήμας: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," *ILS*, Wilhelm "Grabinschriften," *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); γήμα[ς] θ[υ]γ[α]τέρα: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann); θυγατέρα: Calder "Journey" (Preuschen; AE; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," *ILS*, *MAMA* (Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; White; Johnson), *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer) do not mark partially illegible *theta*; [Γ]αίου: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); συγλητικοῦ: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen; Scaglia).

1.4 Γα. Ιουλ. Φ[λ]αουιανήν: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); Γα. Ιουλ. Φ[λ]αουιανήν; Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann); Φλ(αουίαν) Ιουλ(αν) Φ[λ]αουιανήν: Calder "Journey" (Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," Wilhelm "Grabinschriften," *EG*; Φλ. Ιουλ. Φλαουιανήν; *ILS*; Φλ. Ι[ο]υλ. Φ[λ]αουιανήν: *MAMA* (Johnson); Φλ. Ιουλ. Φλαουιανήν: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); Ι[ο]υλ(αν): White; ἐπιτε[μ]ίας: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann), Calder "Journey" (Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," *MAMA* (Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; White; Johnson); στατευσάμενος: Preuschen; στρατευσάμενον; Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann); *ILS*; Batiffol, Leclercq, *MAMA* (White); Johnson, Wilhelm "Grabinschriften," *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer).

1.5 [μ]εταξὺν: Calder (Preuschen; Batiffol; Leclercq), Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; μεταξὺν: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann; Buonaïuti), *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); φ[ο]ιτησάσης: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen; Jalabert), Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann); [φ]οιτησάσης: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq); [φ]οιτησάσης: Calder "Epigraphy," *MAMA* (Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; White; Johnson); φοιτησάσης: *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); [Μ]αξιμίον: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Jalabert; Kaufmann *Archäologie*; Buonaïuti).

1.6 Χριστιανούς: *ILS*; Χρηστιανοῦς: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); ἀπα[λ]λάσσεσθαι: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann; Buonaïuti), Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy" (Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne"), *ILS*, *MAMA* (Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; White; Johnson), *EG*; ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer).

1.7 στρατείας: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen; Jalabert); στρατε[ί]ας: Calder "Journey" (all *edd.* prior to *MAMA*; Wilhelm); στρατε[ί]ας: *MAMA* (White); στρατείας: *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer), Johnson; βασάνους: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); βασάνου[ς]: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann; Buonaïuti), *ILS*, *EG*, Johnson;

βασάνου[ς]: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; ὑπομείνας: previous *edd.* do not mark the partially illegible *upsilon*.

1.8 Διογένο[υ]ς: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann; Buonaïuti), *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer), Johnson do not mark the partially illegible *nu*; Διογέ[ν]ους: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; σπουδάσας τε: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), *EG*; σπουδάσας δέ: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann); σπουδάσας [τε]: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy" (Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne"), *ILS*, *MAMA* (Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; White; Johnson).

1.9 στρατ[ε]ίας: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); στρατείας: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann), Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy" (Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne"), *ILS*, Wilhelm "Grabinschriften," *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer; Johnson), White; στρατείας: *MAMA*.

1.10 [χ]ρόνον: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); τε: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); βραχύν: previous *edd.* do not mark the partially illegible *beta*.

1.11 βουλή[σ]ει: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); βουλήσει: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Kaufmann), Wilhelm "Eugenios," *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer), Johnson do not mark the partially illegible *sigma* and *epsilon*; βουλή[σ]ει: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol), id., "Epigraphy," Wilhelm "Grabinschriften"; πανκράτορος: Scaglia inadvertently omits *omikron*.

1.12 κατασταθ[ε]ίς: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), *MAMA* (White; Johnson); κατασταθείς: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Wilhelm "Eugenios"; Kaufmann); κατασταθείς: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); ἐπισκοπήν: previous *edd.* do not mark ligature.

1.13 πολ[λ]ής: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), id., "Epigraphy," *ILS*, *MAMA* (White; Johnson), *EG*; πολλής: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; [von] Harnack; Wilhelm "Eugenios"; Kaufmann); πολ[λ]ής: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq); πολλής: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); διοικ[η]σας: Calder (Preuschen; Batiffol; Leclercq), *MAMA* (White; Johnson); διοικήσας: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann), *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); διοικήσας: [von] Harnack (Wilhelm "Eugenios").

1.14 ἀνοικοδομήσας: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Wilhelm "Eugenios"; Kaufmann); ἀνοικοδομήσας: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer).

1.15 κόσμον: previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible *nu*; κόσμον—[τ]ηοντέστιν [στοῦν]: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann); [τ]οῦτ' ἐστίν: Calder (Preuschen; Leclercq); [τ]οῦτ' ἐστίν: Batiffol; τοῦτ' ἐστίν: Wilhelm "Eugenios", Johnson; τοῦτ' ἐστίν: *MAMA* (White); τουτέστιν: *ILS*, *EG*, *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); τετραστών: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Wilhelm "Eugenios"; Kaufmann), *ILS*, *EG*; τετ[ε]τραστών: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq), id., "Epigraphy," *MAMA* (White; Johnson).

1.16 ζωγραφίων: Wilhelm "Eugenios"; ζωγραφίων: *IGLEcl* (Wischmeyer); ζωγραφιῶ[ν]: White; προπύλου (σύν) καὶ: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia).

l.17 λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia); λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις: Kaufmann; λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις: Johnson; καὶ π[άν]τας ἀπλῶ (sic): Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I"; καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶ(!): Preuschen; καὶ π[αν]τα(ς) ἀπλῶ(ς): Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann); καὶ π[άν]τας (sic) ἀπλῶ (sic): Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq); καὶ π[άν]τα ἀπ[ο] ἀξ[α]πλῶ(ς): Wilhelm "Eugenios"; καὶ π[άν]τα ἀπ[ο] ἀξ[α]πλῶ(ς): ILS; καὶ π[άν]τα ἀπ[ο] ἀξ[α]πλῶ(ς): Calder "Epigraphy"; π[άν]τα ἀπ[ο] ἀξ[α]πλῶ(ς): EG, IGL^Ecl (Wischmeyer) and Johnson do not mark the partially illegible first *alpha*; π[άν]τα ἀπ[ο] ἀξ[α]πλῶ(ς): White; κατασκευ[ά]σας: Preuschen; κατασκευ[ά]σας, ἀρνούμενος: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann *Epigraphik*); κατασκευ[ά]σας, ἀρνούμενος: Kaufmann *Archäologie* inadvertently omits second *sigma* in κατασκευ[ά]σας; [λι]ψόμενος: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); [λι]ψόμενος: Calder "Journey" (AE; Batiffol; Leclercq); Wilhelm "Eugenios"; [λι]γισάμενος: Franchi de' Cavalieri [alternative reading] (ILS).

l.18 πέ[λα]τα καὶ: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia; Kaufmann); [τ]ε: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen), id., "Epigraphy", EG, IGL^Ecl (Wischmeyer) and Johnson do not mark the partially illegible *epsilon*; [τ]ε: Calder "Journey" (Batiffol; Wilhelm "Eugenios"), ILS; [π]ρο[γε]γραμμένα: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Kaufmann), id., "Eugenios"; [π]ρο[γε]γραμμένα: Calder "Journey" (Batiffol; Wilhelm "Eugenios"); Leclercq, ἐπιγρ[ά]φ(ε)ιν: AE (p. 42); ἐπιγρ[α]φῆνε: Wilhelm "Eugenios" [alternative reading] (ILS; Kaufmann). Preuschen numbers ll.18-19 as ll.20-23.

ll.18-19 ἐπιγρ[ά]φ(ε)ιν ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς: Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I" (Preuschen); ἐπιγρ[ά]φ(ε)ιν ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς: Ramsay *Luke* (Franchi de' Cavalieri; Scaglia), Ramsay "Eugenios"; ἐπιγρ[ά]φ(ε)ιν ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ γένους μου.: Calder "Journey" (Batiffol; Leclercq).

l.19 τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ: AE (p. 42); [τ]ε ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς: Kaufmann *Archäologie*; [τ]ε ἐμὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δο]χῆς: Kaufmann *Epigraphik*; ἐκ[δο]χῆς καὶ: Wilhelm "Eugenios."

Further references: W.M. Ramsay (1908a: 409-419; 1908b: 546-557); Calder "Lycaonian Bishop II" [1909]: 307-322; Ramsay "Martyr" [1910b]: 482 n.2; BE [1912]: pp. 64-65; Calder (1912a: 51-52); Marucchi *Epigrafia* [1910]: 318 no. 379 (Italian trans. only) = id., *Epigraphy* [1912]: 322 no. 379 (English trans. only); Kaufmann *Epigraphik*, 114; Calder "Epigraphy," 47-59; AE 1922 [1922]: p. 19; Calder "Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 352, 353 n.1; id., "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 70-72; id., "New Monument" [1923c]: 85; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 298-299, 300; SEG 1 [1923]: ad 448; id., "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 354-355, 360; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924, II" [1925]: 144; Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: cols. 659-660; H. Grégoire (1927/8a: 695); APH 2 [1928]: p. 349; Buckler/Calder/Cox "Asia Minor, 1924, V" [1928]: 34; Franchi de' Cavalieri (1928: 133-140); Leclercq "Laodicée" [1928]: cols. 1321-1323; W. Peek (1931: 527, 528, 529); A. Cameron (1933: 139); C.W.M. Cox (1933: 225, 227); Grégoire "Gennadios" [1933c]: 67-69; BE [1934]: p. 216; BE [1936]: p. 352; G. Rodenwaldt (1943: 21-22 with photographs); F. Halkin (1949: 90); BE [1951]: 19; W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 447, 514); J. Helgeland (1973: 128-130; 1974: 161); R.M. Grant (1975: 148); E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering (1977: 67 and n.78); F. Miller (1977: 576 n.58); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.102); J.-M. Hornus (1980: 120-121

with partial trans.); Blanchetière, 326-327, 375-376; T.D. Barnes (1982: 156 n.45); Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 110; id., "Maximinus" [1988]: 105 n.4, 118; BE [1990]: 907; TIB 7 [1990]: 129, 327-328; Wischmeyer (1990: 230-246); APH 61 [1992]: 8039; S. Mitchell (1993: 65, 82 and n.254, 102 and n.408, 103, 107 and n.453); Johnson, 77-78, 113, 115; Frend (1996: 134).

Photographs: Calder "Epigraphy," plate 1; MAMA 1, p. 90(a) [extant left front of sarcophagus (Rodenwaldt, 22 fig. 9)], (b) [cropped photo of extant right front of sarcophagus showing detail of inscription in *tabula ansata* (Rodenwaldt, 22 fig. 9)], (c) [extant right part of sarcophagus].

Line drawings/facsimiles: Calder "Journey" [between pp. 232 and 233] (Kaufmann *Archäologie*, 704 fig. 288; id., *Epigraphik*, 251 fig. 173; Leclercq "Eugène," cols. 697-698 fig. 4209).

Line drawing: MAMA 1, p. 90(d) [line drawing of cross section of sarcophagus].

Markos Ioulios Eugenios

The fourth-century bishop commemorated by this inscription was a man with important connections in Roman society; see PLRE I [1971]: 293. His father, Kyrillos Keleros [Cyrillus Celer] (ibid., 238), came originally from Kouessa, probably a village within the territory of Laodikeia Katakekaumene; see MAMA 1, p. xv n.2 and TIB 7, 318, but contrast Ramsay (1908b: 550-552). Kyrillos appears to have been a βουλευτής (*curialis*), presumably of the city council at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (see Calder "Lycaonian Bishop I," 392; Wischmeyer, 231-232). Eugenios' father-in-law, Gaios Nestorianos [Gaius Julius Nestorianus], was a Roman senator; see PLRE I, 625. On Eugenios' wife, Flaovia Ioulia Flaoviane [Flavia Julia Flaviana], see ibid., 343. It is possible that the Gaios Ioulios Patrikios, who is the dedicator of a double tombstone discovered at Pithoi, may also have been a relative of Eugenios; see Calder "Anatolian Heresies," 87 no. 9. Other relatives may be commemorated by MAMA 1.156.

I am grateful to L. Michael White for allowing me to see the manuscript of his forthcoming book on the social origins of Christian architecture. Entry 49 of that book is titled "The Epitaph of M. Julius Eugenios" and includes text, translation and commentary. White correctly points out that the term βουλ(ευτοῦ) in l.1 is Calder's resolution of the abbreviation βουλ- given in the text and that the abbreviation, if resolved in the nominative rather than in the genitive, would indicate that Eugenios himself (rather than or as well as his father) was a βουλευτής. If

Eugenios did indeed hold that office in Laodikeia, this would have been consistent with his role as a decurion who was following the *cursus honorum* (see below), and not have been excluded by his role as bishop; see also Johnson, 88.

A Christian soldier

Eugenios' personal history is summarized in the epitaph engraved on his sarcophagus. It is clear that Eugenios' early career was that of one commencing the *cursus honorum* for provincial aristocracy. Of special interest is that, as a young man, he had been attached to the *officium* of the *praeses* of Pisidia (l.2) at Antiocheia. Wischmeyer (235) takes Eugenios' duties to have been performed in the civil, rather than in the military, division of the imperial *militia*. It is clear, however, that Eugenios had no hesitation in calling himself a στρατευσάμενος (ll.2, 4). Eugenios does not state his rank, but, given his family's social status and his own apparent desire to use military service as a means of upward social mobility (see also Wischmeyer, 234-235), he was probably an officer. Whether he purposely omitted his rank so as not to draw attention to the fact that, as an officer, he would have had to have performed ceremonial sacrifices, as argued by Calder ("Lyconian Bishop I," 394-400); cf. Ramsay (*Luke*, 341-342) and Helgeland (1974: 161 and n.81) is doubtful. Junior officers below the rank of *centurio ordinarius* would not normally have been involved in such activity and could have avoided it relatively easily. In light of Eugenios', later, strong refusal to sacrifice, it may be best to assume that he had merely been a junior officer and that he did not believe this warranted a mention on his tombstone. It is not clear when he commenced his service in Antiocheia, but it concluded under Diogenes (l.8); i.e., Valerius Diogenes, governor of Pisidia in c.311-313; see *CIL* 3, suppl. 1 [1889]: 6807; *CIL* 3, suppl. 2 [1902]: 13661 (= *ILS* 3,2.8932); *PRLE* I, 257; and Barnes, 156.

Maximin Daia's order that Christian soldiers ought not to be discharged from the military but that they should prove their loyalty through sacrifice to the gods (ll.5-7) cannot be dated precisely. It may have been a "follow-up" to earlier edicts commanding universal sacrifice (Eus., *m.P.* 9.2) in which case it must have been issued *before* December 311 when Maximin repromulgated Galerius' edict of toleration; see Grant, 149; cf. Miller, 576 n.58 and Barnes, 156 n.45. However, the order in question could also have been issued a few months *after* December 311 as, on 6 April 312, Maximin embarked on a new attempt to revive classical Roman religion—partly as a response to petitions from

provinces and cities in Asia Minor, including Antiocheia; see Eus., *h.e.* 9.7.1-16; *TAM* 2, 3 [1944]: 785 (cf. *CIL* 3, suppl. 2.12132, 13625b; Leclercq "Arikanda" [1907c]: cols. 2835-2843 and fig. 953); *IAsMinChr* [1922]: 282; Mitchell "Maximinus," 105-124 [pl. 16]; cf. *New Docs* 5 [1989]: 142; *BE* [1990]: 920; and *AE* 1988 [1991]: 1046. On Maximin's religious policy and his persecution of Christians, see Grant, 143-166, Mitchell "Theodotus," 108-110 and Mitchell "Maximinus," 113-124. Perhaps Eugenios' social status enabled him to leave the army despite the general prohibition, but not before being repeatedly tortured (ll.7-9), presumably in an attempt to make him sacrifice. By not succumbing, Eugenios had "kept the Christian faith" and could be honored as a "confessor."

Bishop of the Laodikeian church

"Confessors," at least in Rome, were automatically granted the status of a presbyter (Hipp., *trad. ap.* 10.1; *haer.* 9.12.1-13). This may have become the practice also in Phrygia; see F.C. Klawiter (1975: 222 n.3). Perhaps Eugenios' reputation as a "living witness," along with his social status, led to his appointment as bishop within a relatively brief time at Laodikeia (ll.10-12a). If the identification of Markos Ioulios Eugenios with the Eugenios of 70 is accurate (see *ad* 70), Eugenios must have succeeded Severos, who apparently was martyred during the Great Persecution, presumably as the direct consequence of Maximin's final attempt to restore classical religion; see also p. 440 below. Eugenios, therefore, was probably consecrated sometime between 313 and 315. He administered his see for more than twenty-five years. His bishopric seems to have incorporated more than the church in the city of Laodikeia; see *ad* 70. Towards the end of his life (ll.17-18), he commissioned his own sarcophagus in order to adorn the church at Laodikeia which he had had restored from its foundations, primarily at his own expense (l.13). Perhaps this restoration was necessary because of damage the church had incurred during the Great Persecution (Ramsay *Luke*, 345-346; M. Guarducci in *EG* 4, 397). More likely, it was simply motivated by a desire to beautify the building. Eugenios' final resting place was a memorial chapel, presumably in or around the church, where his sarcophagus was placed in a position of honor near the remains of his martyr-bishop predecessor (70). Whether this occurred soon after his death or later in IV, or even in V¹, is debatable; see *ad* 70. H. Leclercq ("Laodicée," cols. 1321-1323), following *CB* 2.410 *bis*, mistakenly assumed Eugenios to have been bishop of a church in Laodikeia ad Lycum.

Montanist?

Although there is a great deal of evidence that, during IV, Laodikeia Katakekaumene was a center for heretical and schismatic groups, Eugenios is usually considered an orthodox bishop (e.g., *TIB* 7, 327). There is nothing in the text of Eugenios' epitaph to identify him as a Montanist. Hypothetically, Montanist sentiments (see *ad* 60) may have influenced Eugenios' decision to seek a discharge from the military, but this is not stated and, in any case, the immediate occasion leading to his discharge was his refusal to sacrifice as demanded by imperial decree (*Il.5-9*).

Another inscription almost certainly honoring a Eugenios along with his predecessor Severos (70) contains strong indications that both men had been regional bishops of a church other than the officially recognized one. The language of that inscription suggests that this church was Montanist (see *ad* 70). Eugenios, therefore, may have been a Montanist regional bishop (on which, see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 249-280) or perhaps a regional bishop of the "Montanist-Novatian" type (see pp. 347-349 above). If so, this would mean that, at least, his wife Flaovia Ioulia Flaoviana and children should also be classified as Montanist, but it is impossible to determine how many others of his extended family (τοῦ γένους μου) referred to in *l.19* should be designated as such.

It is, of course, theoretically possible that the Eugenios mentioned on the Severos inscription was a person other than Markos Ioulios Eugenios—as argued by Franchi de' Cavalieri (1928: 133-141) and by White in his forthcoming book. It is also assumed by *TIB* 7, 129, 327. If so, neither Markos Ioulios Eugenios nor any members of his family can be counted among the Montanists. The arguments against the identification of the Eugenios of 70 with the Eugenios of the epitaph under discussion here, however, are not conclusive. For example, the absence on this epitaph of "Montanist" terminology, such as that on 70, and the lack of reference to Severos on Markos Ioulios Eugenios' epitaph may be explained by the simple fact that the two memorials and their inscriptions are quite different in kind and purpose; see *ad* 70. Equating the two men named Eugenios does not prove that Markos Ioulios Eugenios was a Montanist, but it does exclude ruling out his potential Montanist allegiance too quickly by presuming the (possibly) Montanist Eugenios of 70 to have been a different person.

70. Two Montanist(?) regional bishops

Halıcı, in the cemetery
Now in the Konya Museum

IV²(?)-V¹(?)

Ed. pr. — Calder "Epigraphy" [1920]: 47-59 with trans. and photograph.

Fragment of rectangular limestone slab, broken at left and below. Height: 0.45m.; width: 1.25m.; thickness: 0.30m. Front face, sides, and edges tooled, but not back—indicating that slab was mounted against another surface. Top edge has groove. Face contains *tabula ansata* with sunken field ([extant] height: 0.33m.; width: 0.84m.), frame and ornamental support "handles" (cf. 69). Discovered by W.M. Calder and W.M. Ramsay in 1911. Inscription carved in sunken field of *tabula ansata*. Lettering of *ll.1-2* extends across frame to surface of right "handle." Lettering of *ll.3-6* is kept within field by extensive use of ligatures. It is likely that ligatures were also used to contain the length of subsequent lines, although *l.7* must have extended onto the right "handle." At least two (but perhaps three) lines of text are lost. *Nomina sacra* in *ll.1, 5*. Quadratic *epsilons* and *omegas*. Cursive *sigmas* in *ll.1-5*, but the engraver changed to using *quadratic* sigmas in *ll.6-9* to facilitate ligatures. *Upsilon* in *l.5* has cross bar in tail (cf. 3). Ligatures at *ll.2-8*. Letter height: 0.025m.-0.04m. Figure 79. Plate 29.

Τὸν Χ(ριστο)ῦ σοφίης ὑποφήτορα, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα,
οὐρανίου Γενέτου κύδιμον ἀθλοφόρον,
[Σ]εβήτρον πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον ἡγητήρα
[λ]αοῦ σακκοφόρου μνήμα κέκευθε τόδε·
5 [λεί]ψανον Εὐγενίου τε θε(ε)οῦ υἱόδεος ὃν κατέλιπεν
[ποιμ]νῆς πνευματικῆς ἀξίον ἡνίοχον.
[Ἀγνὸν] καὶ ζῶντες ἑαῖς π[ληγαῖς] ὄνομ' ἔσχον,
[νῦν τ' εὐ]άσκητον μνή[μ]ῃ ἔχει ἀμφοτέρους]

[---c.11---] Π [---c.16---]
 10 [---c.28---]
 [---c.28---]

This monument conceals the interpreter of the wisdom of Christ, the wise man, winning the glorious prize of the heavenly Father—Severos, the all-overseeing leader of cities of sackcloth-wearing people; | and the remains of God-fearing Eugenios, whom he left behind, a worthy holder of the reins of the spiritual flock. During their lifetime they held a hallowed name because of their stripes, now a well-constructed monument holds [the sarcophagi] of both

Other *edd.*: Calder "Anatolian Heresies" [1923b]: 71-74 no. 1 with trans. and photograph; Grégoire "Épigraphie chrétienne" [1924]: 696-699 (based on Ramsay's unpublished copy); *MAMA 1 [1928]: 171 with photographs and line drawing; Wilhelm "Grabinschriften" [1932]: 838-846.

Text reprinted and discussed: SEG 1 [1923]: 448; P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1928: 127-133; SEG 6 [1932]: ad 298 (ll.6-8 only); Blanchetière *Christianisme asiatique* [1981]: 509 no. 175 with partial French trans.; Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 110 and n.96 (ll.1-6 only).

Variant readings:

- l.2 Γενέτον: previous *edd.* do not mark ligature here or elsewhere.
 l.5 Λειψανον: previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere, apart from MAMA (*ed.* also by Calder) which marks the partially illegible Π in l.9.
 l.6 Ζώνης: Calder "Epigraphy" (Franchi de' Cavalieri); Φωνής: Calder "Epigraphy" [alternate restoration]; γέννης: SEG 1.
 l.7 Οὔτοι: Calder "Epigraphy" (SEG 1; Franchi de' Cavalieri, Wilhelm); [ἦν μὲν] καὶ: Grégoire (SEG 6); [Τὴν μὲν] καὶ: Grégoire [alternate restoration]; εἰς π[α]ρὰ Λαοδικεῶν: Calder "Epigraphy" (SEG 1; Franchi de' Cavalieri); εἰς π[α]λ[α]ιὰ νῦν ἔσαν: Grégoire (SEG 6); εἰς π[α]λ[α]μαῖσιν ἔτευσαν: Wilhelm.
 l.8 Τοῦτ' εὐ[α]σκητον: Calder "Epigraphy" (SEG 1; Franchi de' Cavalieri); [νῦν δὲ τόδ'] ἀσκητὸν μνη[μα] φάος πόλεως: Grégoire; [αὐτοῖς] ἀσκητὸν μνη[μα] τόδ' ἀέναον: Wilhelm; μνη[μα] ἔθεσαν δαπάναις: SEG 1; μνη[μα] ἐπέθεντο σοφοῖς: Calder "Epigraphy" (Franchi de' Cavalieri).

ll.9-10(11) ----- π -----: SEG 1; ----- π -----: MAMA; Calder "Anatolian Heresies" (Franchi de' Cavalieri) simply indicates that two lines are lost; Grégoire, Wilhelm and Mitchell do not refer to the missing lines; MAMA suggests that the inscription may have consisted of more than ten lines; Blanchetière indicates some missing letters.

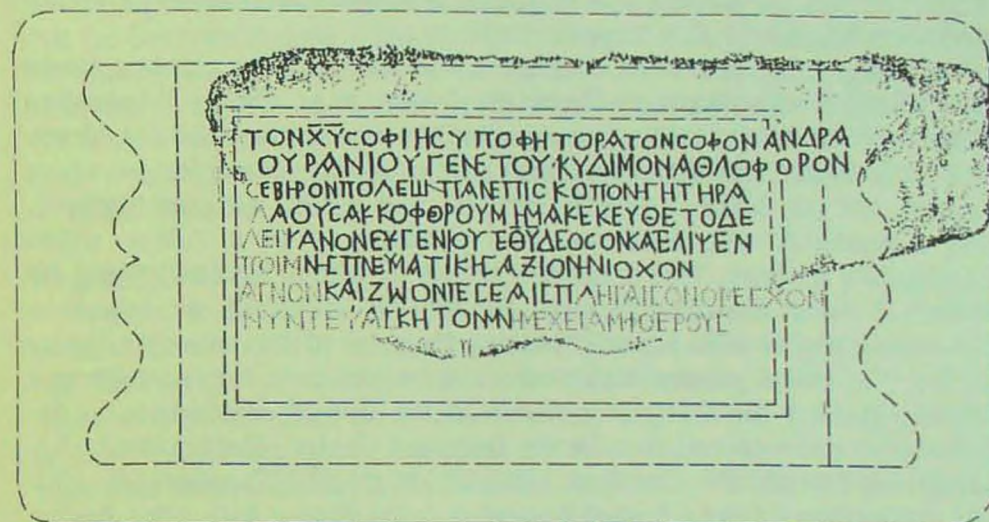


Fig. 79: Memorial plaque honoring Severos and Eugenios

Further references: AE 1922 [1922]: p. 19; Calder "New Monument" [1923c]: 85; id., "Martyrs" [1923d]: 298-299; id., "Great Persecution" [1924a]: 355-364; H. Grégoire (1927/8a: 695); W. Peek (1931: 527, 529); C.W.M. Cox (1933: 225, 227); W.M. Calder (1934: 503); H. Delehay (1932: 381); Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 99 n.3; BE [1956]: 360; C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.289); J. Helgeland (1973: 128 n.4); Blanchetière, 326-327, 376, 406; L.M. White (1982: 183); TIB 4 [1984]: 85; TIB 7 [1990]: 129, 327-328; R. Giordani (1992: 376); S. Mitchell (1993: 65 and n.81, 102-103 and n.407, 107 and n.453) with partial trans.; W.H.C. Frend (1996: 173 n.111); C. Trevett (1996: 275 n.7).

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, 47 fig. 3; Calder "Anatolian Heresies," plate 7 (1); MAMA 1, p. 91 fig. (a) [of squeeze], p. 92 fig. (b) [of slab].

Line drawing: MAMA 1, p. 91 fig. (c) [of cross section, showing groove along top edge].

A memorial dedication

Calder ("Epigraphy," 52-59; cf. "Anatolian Heresies," 71; *MAMA* 1, p. xviii) has argued convincingly that this inscription is the dedication stone of a *martyrium* in which the relics of a martyr-bishop, Severos, were deposited, along with those of Severos' successor Eugenios. Despite Franchi de' Cavalieri's view to the contrary (1928: 133-141; cf. *TIB* 7, 129, 327, and see *ad* 69), this Eugenios is almost certainly to be identified with Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69).

Although Eugenios was a common name and there are extant epitaphs of Christians with that name from the region (e.g., Calder "Anatolian Heresies," 76-81 no. 4 with photographs and trans.), they are not identified as bishops. The other Eugenios just cited, for example, on whose epitaph see also Mitchell (1993: 100-102 and n.406 with photograph), was a presbyter who lived and died prematurely in a village within Laodikeia's territory. This is not the person to whom Severos passed his episcopal reins (see also below). Severos is described as οὐρανίου Γενέτου κύδιμον ἀθλοφόρον ("winning the prize of the heavenly Father [or Son]"), which, presumably, means that he had died for the faith as a μάρτυς, gaining the martyrs' crown. On the use of ἀθλοφόρος to describe someone who had died for the faith, see Calder "Epigraphy," 52-53, 57-59; Franchi de' Cavalieri, 129-130; Mitchell "Theodotus," 100-101. Assuming Markos Ioulios Eugenios (who died c.340, after having been bishop for more than twenty-five years) to be the Eugenios mentioned on Severos' tombstone as the latter's successor, Severos must have been martyred toward the end of the persecution under Maximin Daia (c.305-313), probably sometime between April 312, when Maximin renewed his efforts at reviving classical Roman religion, and August 313 when Maximin died (see *ad* 69).

Eugenios was a confessor, having endured tortures for refusing to sacrifice, but, strictly speaking, he was not a martyr. His sarcophagus, nevertheless, was placed in the same memorial chapel which housed the earthly remains of Severos, presumably also in a sarcophagus; see Calder "Epigraphy," 52. The privilege of being buried in the same chapel as that which honored Severos was probably granted Eugenios not only because he was revered as a "living witness" but also because he was greatly esteemed as the bishop who, like a charioteer, had held the reins (l.6) for more than a quarter of a century and who, out of his own funds, had restored the church buildings to their present splendor; see *ad* 69. Perhaps Eugenios himself may have arranged for the construction, or renovation, of a chapel to contain his own remains and those of his predecessor, in which case this memorial dedication would have been en-

graved soon after c.340. Mitchell (1993: 65), probably correctly, assumes the dedication to have been erected before 345. Calder ("Epigraphy," 51-57), on the other hand, suggested that the decision to honor both bishops was made by a subsequent generation of Laodikeian church leaders and that the inscription was commissioned during late IV or early V. Calder based his suggestion on stylistic differences between the inscriptions. These differences, however, are easily accounted for in that the Severos/Eugenios inscription is in verse (cf. 59-62, 67), whereas the epitaph of Markos Ioulios Eugenios is not. In any case, the commemorative dedication is unlikely to have been engraved much later than 428 when the sectarian use of the word σακκοφόρος on a public monument would have been avoided; see Justn., *cod.* I.1.5.5. For another memorial dedication, see 14.

Regional bishops

Severos is described as πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον ἡγητήρα | [λ]αοῦ σακκοφόρου ("all-overseeing leader of cities of sackcloth-wearing people" [ll.3b-4a]). Irrespective of whether elsewhere in the Empire *Saccophori* were members of an actual, clearly distinguishable, sect, this cannot be the implication here. Although the term σακκοφόροι is often used somewhat indiscriminately by hostile sources to refer to groups considered heretics or schismatics with ascetic or rigoristic tendencies (see *LPGL*, s.v. Σακκοφόροι), the term here is a self-designation and, hence, cannot be pejorative. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that Severos was the bishop of actual *Saccophori* at Laodikeia (as did Mitchell in "Theodotus," 110; cf. Giordani, 376) although this possibility should not be ruled out (see below). The reference to "sackcloth-wearing people" in ll.3-4 must have a much less precise and more symbolic or poetic meaning. It appears to be the case, nevertheless, that Severos was not a bishop of the official church but was the bishop of a particular group of Christians who prided themselves on their rigoristic lifestyle. It is also clear that Severos' jurisdiction encompassed a number of congregations of such Christians, not only those in Laodikeia itself but in surrounding cities (and not merely villages!). Hence Severos and, by implication, the Eugenios mentioned on Severos' memorial dedication must have been regional bishops located at Laodikeia, but responsible for the well-being of the members of their particular brand of Christianity even beyond Laodikeia's territory. Norbert Mersich (*TIB* 7, 129, 327) considers both Severos and Eugenios to have been bishops of a non-orthodox sect although makes the, as already mentioned, assumption that this Eugenios must have been someone other than the Markos Ioulios Eugenios of 69.

Montanists?

Could the type of Christianity for which Severos and Eugenios were responsible have been Montanism? It is certainly the case that the Montanist ecclesiastical hierarchy included regional bishops (i.e., *κοινωνοί*; see 80, 84, 85). Jerome (*ep.* 41.3), in IV³ (at approximately the same time as this inscription was set up) claimed that there was no such rank in the hierarchy of the official church; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 254. Some of the phrases in this inscription, moreover, contain echoes of Montanism. Severos is described as τὸν Χ(ριστο)ῦ σοφίης ὑποφήτορα, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα ("the one who is interpreter of the wisdom of Christ, the wise man" [1.1]). One of the features of Montanism was its claim that the teachings of Christ needed to be interpreted so that their ethical implications could be understood fully. The role of the original Montanist prophet[esse]s was to be the voice of the Paraclete in the process of interpreting the full meaning of what Christ had intended by his teachings. Consequently, the voice of the prophet[ess] was the voice of the Spirit/Paraclete which was also the voice of Christ.

Montanist *κοινωνοί*, as associates and successors of the original prophets, appear to have inherited the founders' mantle of being the associates of the Holy Spirit and guardians of the genuineness of the New Prophecy; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257-268. This may explain the phrase in 1.6, the first word of which has had to be restored. Calder, in the *ed. pr.*, gives [ζώ]νης (47) but also suggests φωνῆς (48). If the latter is correct, the whole phrase: [φω]νῆς πνευματικῆς ἄξιον ἡνίοχον ("a worthy director of the spiritual voice [or 'of the voice of the Spirit']") would praise Eugenios' role as a worthy vehicle for the Paraclete in the process of interpreting the wisdom of Christ. Calder ("Epigraphy," 49) points out, however, that the restoration of an *omega* as the second letter of the first word of 1.6 (ζώνης or φωνῆς) is not consistent with an upright stroke partially visible on the stone at the place where the second letter needs to be restored, as *omega* is carved elsewhere as quadratic. Consequently, in "Anatolian Heresies," Calder (71) restored the word as [ποιμ]νῆς, suggested to him by C.H. Turner but points out that, if accurate, the four restored letters must have been very crowded (71 n.1). This restoration, nevertheless, is attractive in that the phrase ποιμνὴ πνευματικὴ is reminiscent of the distinction which Montanists, at least in Carthage, made between themselves as πνευματικοί and the ψυχικοί, who refused to become adherents of the New Prophecy; e.g., see Tert., *Marc.* IV.22.5; *Prax.* 1.7; *mon.* 1.1; *jejun.* 1.1, 3.1, 11.1, 16.8. Either restoration, however, contains likely hints of Montanism.

A Montanist interpretation of the Severos/Eugenios inscription also adds a further reason why Eugenios' bones would have been honored along with those of a martyr. If Eugenios, like Severos, was a Montanist *κοινωνός*, it would have been natural to venerate him as well as Severos, especially if Eugenios had a reputation for being the "voice of the Spirit." See *ad* 2 for a discussion regarding the possible burial of the bones of one of the earliest *κοινωνοί* alongside those of Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla in a shrine at Pepouza. See also 80 where a martyr is interred alongside a *κοινωνός*. Moreover, Eugenios' Montanism would also explain why he was not present at the Council of Nikaia (325), an absence which has puzzled some commentators; e.g., M. Guarducci (*EG* 4 [1978]: 398), who tries to solve the problem by suggesting that Eugenios' name was not recorded because he did not make a speech at the council. Earlier, Ramsay (*Luke* [1908c]: 349) had suggested that Eugenios must have been too preoccupied with supervising the (re)construction of the church buildings to attend the council.

Calder, in the *ed. pr.* (48-49, 49 n.1) and in "Anatolian Heresies" (71 n.1) considered some of the language of this inscription probably to have been influenced by Montanism. In "Anatolian Heresies," he also published a number of clearly Novatian inscriptions and some possibly Encratite ones from the territory of Laodikeia (75-91 nos. 2-11; see also pp. 347-349 above), arguing that the church at Laodikeia was Novatian with Encratite tendencies (*ibid.*, 85). Earlier, in the same article, he had claimed that in many places, Montanism had fused with Novatianism and during IV appeared "in a Novatian guise" (*ibid.*, 64). That Calder assumed the Novatian church in Laodikeia to have been one which, at some stage, merged with Montanism is clear from his comments on this inscription, and his discussion of Eugenios' sarcophagus (69) and Genadeios' tombstone (56), in a subsequent article, during which he states that Laodikeia was a city "deeply affected by the sectarianism of the Montanist-Novatian type in the later fourth century" ("Great Persecution," 362). On the possible relationship between Montanism and Novatianism in Phrygia, see pp. 349, 356-357 above. The clearly Novatian inscriptions published by Calder, such as that of the presbyter named Eugenios referred to above, are themselves not extant examples of the fusion of Montanism and Novatianism, but attest the (continued?) presence of Novatianism in the region. Consequently, these inscriptions have not been treated as separate entries in this corpus.

Mitchell (1993: 102-103), like Calder, claims that Severos (and Eugenios) were Novatian bishops. Reversing his own earlier position ("Theodotus," 110) that Severos had died as a martyr, Mitchell explains

the reference to "sackcloth-wearing people" by hypothesizing that Severos stepped down from the episcopate to make way for Eugenios, becoming the leader of a "sackcloth-wearing" monastic community made up predominantly of retired clergy such as he. According to Mitchell (1993: 102), these uniquely Laodikeian σακκοφόροι, while maintaining close relationships with the Novatian mother church, formed a community sufficiently distinct to cause Basil the Great (*ep.* 199) to list them (and the probably identical *hydroparastatae*) separately, although in the same category as the Novatianists.

Irrespective of whether Mitchell's hypothesis about the local use of the term σακκοφόροι is accurate, there seems little doubt that Severos and Eugenios were regional bishops of a schismatic church. Whether this prominent church was "Montanist-Novatian" cannot be established conclusively, but, judging by the language employed on the memorial dedication honoring Severos and Eugenios, seems highly probable. If so, the term σακκοφόροι could be a general one referring loosely to all "Montanist-Novatianists" on account of their lifestyle, or, more specifically, to an even more rigoristic subgroup. It can also not be established conclusively that the Eugenios of this inscription is the Markos Ioulios Eugenios of 69, but that they are one and the same is at least highly likely; see also Mitchell (1993: 102).

Numidia

Macula

Map 3:E2 (S. Numidia). On the southern route from Theveste (modern Tebessa [also spelled Tbessa]; 3:E3) to Thaumugadi (Timgad; 3:D1), Macula (Khenchela) lay approx. 40km. W. of Vegesela (Ksar El Kelb; 3:E3). By late IV, Vegesela was an exclusively Donatist stronghold with its own Donatist bishop, whereas at Theveste and Thaumugadi there were two bishops: Donatist and catholic. Macula also had both a catholic and Donatist church, with the Donatist church being the stronger. Whether there were also Montanist churches in the region depends upon the interpretation of a number of relevant inscriptions (71, 90-91). On Christianity in the region, see W.H.C. Frend (1940: 38-40).

71. "Do<mi>ni Muntani"

Khenchela

IV³⁻⁴

Ed. pr. — Héron de Villefosse "Rapport" [1875]: 458 no. 143 with line drawing and facsimile of majuscule text.

Rectangular marble slab, broken into three pieces. Length: 0.96m.; width: 0.75m.; thickness not provided. No details given about circumstances of discovery. S. Gsell ("Notes" [1901b]: 310) saw the stone at the officers' club in Khenchela and P. Monceaux ("Enquête IV" [1908a]: 233) states that it was kept there but, according to Y. Duval (*Africae* I [1982]: p. 167), it was no longer there in 1970. The artwork on the stone is contained within a centrally-located rectangular field, framed with a double undecorated border. The most dominant feature is a large Christogram, carefully carved in the center of the field (and of the whole slab). The vertical bar of the *rho* visually divides the field (and slab) into two halves. The two hastas of the *chi* visually divide the field (and slab) diagonally. Within the triangular space created by this latter division are carved an *alpha* (at left) and an *omega* (at right), each flanked by a six-pointed rosette carved within a triple circle. Two additional symbols are carved at either side of the loop of the *rho*. The bottom of the stems of these symbols are joined to the *chi-rho* at the point where the *chi* and *rho* intersect. A *graffito* is carved carelessly and unevenly on the stone, commencing on the horizontal frame immediately above the field and continuing on the left vertical frame and the upper part of the field among the carved decorations, once straying onto the right vertical frame. Surface of stone is worn at top right corner of field and frame causing some letters to be only partially legible. Haplography in l.2 and quasi-haplography in l.3. Lettering in late classical style. Tail of F is angled obliquely; bar of L is angled obtusely; S is elongated. Letter height: 0.025m.-0.05m. **Figure 80.**

Flabius Abuş domē-

- 2 sticus i<n> nomine Patris et Filii
do<mi>ni Muntani quod promi-
4 sit complevit.

α ρ ω

Flavius Avus, *domesticus*, has fulfilled what he promised in the name of the Father and of the Son (and) of *dominus* Muntanus.

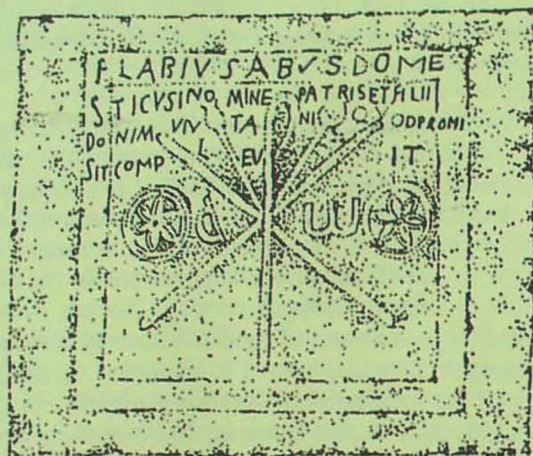


Fig. 80: Graffito recording fulfillment of vow

Other edd: *CIL* 8,1 [1881]: 2272 (Wilmanns) with line drawing/facsimile; *ibid.*, 8,2 [1881]: ad 2272 (De Rossi); Gsell/Graillot "Ruines" [1894]: 42; Gsell "Notes" [1901b]: 310-311 no. 7; Duval *Africae* I [1982]: 167-169 no. 80 with French trans. and line drawing/facsimile.

Text reprinted and discussed: Pargoire "Dorylée II" [1903]: 62 (based on communication by C. Clermont-Gannau); Monceaux "Enquête IV" [1908a]: 232-233 no. 270 with line drawing/facsimile; Jalabert "Épigraphie" [1910]: col. 1440 (partial text only); P. de Labriolle (1913a: 472; 1913b: 195 no. 152 with French trans.); F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 455 [II.1-3a only]); *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 1636; W. Schepeleyn (1929: 42-43); Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: cols. 2541-2542 no. 19 with line drawing/facsimile; A. Pincherle (1934: 722 [II.2b, 3a only]); Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 221-222 with Italian trans.; Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 214; J. Pelikan (1956: 103-104; 1965: 42-43 with trans.); K. Aland (1960b: 107); *IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 137; *Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 715-716 no. 61 with trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 232; R.E. Heine (1989b: 164-165 no. 131 with trans.); C. Trevett (1996: 219 [majuscule text]).

Variant readings:

l.1 FLABUS: Grossi Gondi; *Flavius Abus*; Gsell; Clermont-Gennau in Pargoire; *Flavius Auus*: de Labriolle [1913a] (Pelikan). Previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.

l.2 *Patris* [et] *Filii* et: Gsell; *Patris et Filii* [et]: Monceaux (Jalabert [does not mark line divisions]; de Labriolle [1913a, b] (Pelikan; *IPhyrChr*); Grossi Gondi; *ILCV*; Leclercq; Pincherle; Ferrua; Trevett); *Filii* [et?]: Clermont-Gennau in Pargoire, Duval.

ll.2-3 et *doni* *Muntani*: Aland.

l.3 *Donimun* (sic) *tam*: Héron de Villefosse; *Doni Muntani*; Wilmanns in *CIL* 8, 1 (Schepeleyn; Heine); *domum* [c]un[c]tam: De Rossi in *CIL* 8, 2 (Gsell/Graillot); *domini*: de Labriolle (Pincherle; Pelikan; *IPhyrChr*; Strobel); *Do[m]ni* (?): Duval.

Further references: *AE* 1889 [1890]: p. 29; *CIL* 8, suppl. 2 [1894]: p. 1677 ad 2272; H. Achelis (1912: vol. 2, 51 [German trans.]); Grégoire "Hiérarchie" [1925]: 330 and n.1; *AE* 1937 [1938]: ad no. 70; F.E. Vokes (1938: 162); Aland (1960a: 159); J. Pelikan (1971: 103-104 with trans.); Tabbernee "Montanism," 512-514; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168); W. Tabbernee (1989a: 198 and n.16); A. Jensen (1992: 274 with partial German trans.).

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 458; *CIL* 8,1, p. 252 [based on *ed. pr.*] (Monceaux, 233 [Leclercq, col. 2542 fig. 8404 (omits *l.2b*)]; Tabbernee "Montanism," 715; Duval, 167 fig. 114).

Domesticus

From mid IV, the title *domesticus* was given to members of an elite corps of the imperial guard, earlier known as *protectores*; see Ferrua, 221 and Duval *Africae* I, 168. Other epigraphic attestations include 74 and *IKilikiaHW* [1896]: 168, 213. Although the title was also used for a variety of other civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries (see *LPGL*, s.v. *δομέστικος*), there is little doubt that Flavius Avus belonged to this corps. To translate *domesticus* simply as "a domestic" (Heine, 165) or "*Auus domesticus*" as "grandsire of the household" (Pelikan [1965: 42; 1971: 103]), fails to take into account the existence of this distinguished guard. The *gentilicium* Flavius was held in honor of the Constantinian dynasty, i.e., the second series of Flavian emperors. It was used in the period c.330-400 but was less common than the *quasi-praenomen/gentilicium* Aurelius used earlier; see Ramsay Luke [1908c]: 338. On the rare *cognomen* Avus, see I. Kajanto (1982: 304) and Duval *Africae* I, 168.

Fulfilling a promise

While stationed in Numidia, Flavius Avus made and fulfilled a vow. The phrase *quod promissit complevit* (II.3-4) is widely attested both in Christian and non-Christian inscriptions not only in Numidia and Africa

Proconsularis (see Monceaux, 234) but also as far away as Durobrivae, near modern Water Newton, in Britannia; e.g., C. Thomas (1981: 116-117 no. 12 [fig. 1]): *Iamcilla votum quod I promisit conplevit* ("Iamcilla has fulfilled the vow that she promised"). Although in the *graffito* carved by or for Flavius Avus there is no explicit mention of a vow, the sense is clear. De Rossi's unlikely restoration, although deemed correct by Wischmeyer (168), is not necessary.

In the name of . . .

The vow was made in the "name of the Father and of the Son" Familiarity with liturgical formulae leads us to expect the addition of the words "and of the Holy Spirit." The absence of this phrase and the presence of the words *domini Muntani* (l.3) caused Gsell (310-311) to propose that the formula is Montanist, the direct reference to the Holy Spirit being substituted by naming Montanus, the Spirit's new voice. The Montanist nature of this inscription has found almost universal acceptance (e.g., Trevett, 219). If accurate, it could provide some credibility to the charges that Montanists equated Montanus with the Holy Spirit and that they baptized "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of Montanus" (Bas., *ep.* 188.1; cf. Aug., *ep.* 237.2; Thphyl., *Lk.* 24).

As this inscription is a votive and not a liturgical pronouncement, an alternative explanation may be required. In North Africa it was common practice to honor martyrs with the appellation *dominus* ("Lord"); e.g., *ap.* Cypr., *ep.* 21.3; see also W.H.C. Frend (1940: 37-38). In the very region where the Flavius Avus inscription was found, there is ample epigraphic attestation of the contemporary utilization of this practice; e.g., a fourth-century lintel, probably from the doorway of a chapel, discovered at Henchir Magroun, S. of Vegesela, contains the inscription *memoria domni Petri et Pauli* (CIL 8,2.10693 = ILCV 1.2065). At Vegesela itself, the famous Donatist martyr Marcullus (on whom, see Duval *Africae* II, 705-706) is honored with a memorial church containing the inscription *memoria domni Marchuli* (P. Cayrel [1934: 133] = Duval *Africae* I, 158-160 no. 75). The use of *domni* in both instances may reflect local orthography, suggesting that Duval's reading: *do[m]ni* (?), in l.3 of the *graffito*, may indeed be correct. It was also common North-African practice for vows to be made in the name of a martyr, or for the name of a martyr to be added to the wording of a promise made to God. For example, note the double invocation *in nomen Dei et nomen marturorum* in the dedication of a porch at Dougga (Duval *Africae* I, 39-41 no. 17 with photograph; cf. *ibid.*, 91-93 no. 41). It is possible, therefore, that the reference to *Muntanus* in our inscription refers not to the founder of

Montanism but to a martyr whose name is invoked along with God the Father and God the Son. The absence of *et Spiritu sancti* may be explained by the fact that the inscription is a *graffito* carved by a layman. The poor quality of the engraving may also explain the absence of the word *et* which, irrespective of whether the Holy Spirit or Montanus was invoked, should have been carved at the end of l.2, although it is also possible that Gsell (311 n.2), who saw the stone in the officers' club at Khenchela, is correct in suggesting that the word may indeed have been carved at the end of l.2 but that it is now illegible because the stone is badly worn at that precise spot.

Muntanus

If the person whose name is invoked in this vow was a martyr, can he be identified? The most likely candidate is the Montanus who was martyred along with Lucius and others at Carthage on the 23rd of May 259; see p. 142 above. As Montanus and his companions were the subjects of a *passio* (P. Franchi de' Cavalieri [1898: 71-86; 1909b: 3-31]; H. Musurillo [1972: 214-239]) and given the strong links between Numidia and Carthage, it is not to be doubted that the cult of this Montanus spread to southern Numidia. The spelling *Muntanus* may be explained by local pronunciation. Support for the presence of the cult of a Montanus in the region comes from two further inscriptions from Khenchela (90-91) to be dated only slightly later than the Flavius Avus *graffito* and a sixth-century inscription discovered near Henchir El Begueur, approx. 100km. S.S.W. of Tebessa (CIL 8,2.10665; cf. CIL 8 suppl. 2.17607 = Duval *Africae* I, 130-131 no. 59 [fig. 91]): *Memoria I sa[n]cti Mon[tani]*. The latter is carved on the edge of a marble slab which was probably the top of an altar, as it contains a cavity in the middle for depositing a relic; see Leclercq "Afrique" [1907a]: col. 709). However, as Montanus was not an uncommon name (see *ad* 21 and 77), it is not absolutely certain that all of these inscriptions refer to the Carthaginian martyr. Perhaps they refer to an otherwise unknown local Numidian martyr, a possibility suggested by Duval (*Africae* II, 705). Alternatively they may refer to more than one martyr. Nor can the possibility that the Khenchela inscriptions do, indeed, refer to the founder of Montanism be ruled out altogether—although, in light of the connection of the word *domini* with martyrs (cf. 91), this is less likely than once appeared to be the case.

Flavius Avus' vow

What did Flavius Avus promise? The completion of a vow is often linked to the provision of funds for church buildings or ecclesiastical

furniture, the donor's name being carved on the item donated (cf. 82, 89 and perhaps 58 and 73) or on plaques or medallions attached to the item donated (e.g., *New Docs* 3 [1983]: 65 no. 30). Consequently, Flavius Avus may have promised to pay for the intricately carved slab, but if so, why did he spoil the beauty of a newly carved stone by adding a poorly inscribed *graffito*? Moreover, if the slab was intended to serve as the top of an altar or communion table, wouldn't the *graffito* be inappropriate? Given the absence of any *loculus* in this slab which could have contained relics, normally an integral part of altar tops at this time, it is probably best to assume that, unlike the marble slab discovered near Henchir El Begueur, the Khenchela slab is not an altar top but, as suggested as a possibility by Duval (*Africae* I, 168; II, 537), a *mensa martyrum*, i.e., the table top shaped base of an altar dedicated to a martyr. It is also possible, however, that this slab was the top of a funerary *mensa*. These *mensae* were tables set up in *martyria*, or other cemeteries, enabling people to have meals (*refrigeria*) with, or at least in the presence of the remains of, the deceased; see Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 87-92; *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 261-262. It was extremely common for visitors to a *martyrium* who shared such meals to record their presence by carving *graffiti* on the walls and other stone surfaces, often over or around existing decorations. For examples, see Snyder, 141-145. Perhaps Flavius Avus' inscription is not a dedication, as normally assumed, but a spontaneous *graffito* carved on an already existing funerary *mensa* recording the fulfillment of a now unknown vow unrelated to the object on which the *graffito* is inscribed.

Christogram and rosettes

The use of the first two letters of the word Χριστός as a symbol for Christ was very popular in the time after Constantine; see *ad* 33. Christograms were often carved at the beginning (cf. 92) or conclusion (cf. 76) of an inscription. Occasionally they were carved in the middle (cf. 33) or end of a line (cf. 84). In this particular case, however, the Christogram appears to have been originally unrelated to the inscription. It is unique in that a pair of additional symbols are joined to the Christogram, flanking the top of the *rho*. They are probably λυχνίαι (candlesticks or lampstands) and, together with the α and ω which flank the middle of the *chi-rho*, portray Christ as the "Alpha and Omega" who, in the Book of Revelation, speaks to the churches from the midst of golden lampstands (Rev 1:8, 12, 17-20; 2:1, 8). The six-pointed rosettes which, in turn, flank the α and ω may portray two of the stars which the Book of Revelation describes as being in the Alpha and Omega's right hand (1:16, 20; 2:1), as, in early Christian art, rosettes often represented stars; see Calder

"Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 350. For an example of the α and ω flanking a staurogram, see 83. Rosettes also decorate 61, 88, 91, and (probably) 76.

Montanists, Tertullianists or Donatists?

Irrespective of the exact nature of the slab, the date is fixed by the decorations to mid IV and by the title *domesticus* to a little later. Even if Flavius Avus carved the *graffito* well after the slab was originally crafted, his *gentilicium* suggests a date not later than the end of IV. This time frame presents some further difficulties for the view that this is a Montanist inscription. Apart, perhaps, from this inscription there is no evidence for Montanism in Numidia. It can, of course, be argued that Montanism spread to Numidia from Africa Proconsularis where, at the beginning of III, there were adherents of the New Prophecy at Carthage. But, as already noted (pp. 142, 352-353 above), these adherents themselves probably never formally separated from the church. Nor is there any evidence for a separatist Montanist church at Carthage later. It is difficult to imagine, therefore, how Montanism, in its traditional form, could have spread to Numidia. Of course, if the inscription under discussion here is indeed Montanist, then we have evidence of traditional Montanism in Numidia even if we cannot explain exactly how it arrived there.

Perhaps, if the inscription is Montanist, it is Montanism of a different sort. During Augustine's time there was a sect called the Tertullianists in Carthage (*haer.* 86). This sect, while probably not founded by Tertullian himself, must have taken Tertullian as its mentor. This presumably included adopting his allegiance to Montanist beliefs and practices—perhaps adapted by the Tertullianists' own interpretations; see also pp. 475-476 below. The Tertullianists may even have had a particular attachment to the Carthaginian martyr Montanus, because, whether accurate or not, his name and age suggests that at least his parents could have belonged to the Montanist circle at Carthage of which Tertullian was a member; see also Strobel, 233. Perhaps there were Tertullianists in Numidia, contemporaries of the Tertullianists of Africa Proconsularis, who helped to spread the popularity of the cult of Montanus there. Consequently, while the name *Muntanus* in this inscription may not be a reference to the founder of Montanism, there may still be a (very indirect) link to Montanism via the Tertullianists. All this speculation, however, is extremely tentative.

It is possible that the cult of Montanus in Numidia may have been exclusively catholic, although the fact that names popular among Donatists are recorded on another inscription from Khenchela in connection with *Muntanus* (91), also suggests that, if the cult was not part of the official

church, it was Donatist rather than Tertullianist. Donatists could have adopted the Carthaginian martyr as readily as Tertullianists. There is ample evidence that Donatists were not only present but were dominant in the area around Khenchela; see Frend, 39-40. Duval's corpus of North-African Christian inscriptions (*Africae I*), however, does not support Frend's contention (41) that the Donatists placed a greater emphasis on martyrs than their catholic contemporaries. Allegiance to the various martyr cults in North Africa appears to have crossed catholic/Donatist boundaries. In this particular instance, however, the location suggests that the *martyrium* was Donatist—even if elsewhere the cult of Montanus was also popular among catholics. For another inscription which has traditionally been claimed as Montanist but which is almost certainly Donatist, see 92 and cf. 90, 91.

Italia

Rome

Map 4:E3 (West-Central Italia). See p. 124 above.

72. Ablabes: πνευματικός

Ancient cemetery on the Via Aurelia Antica
No longer extant

IV⁴

Ed. pr. — Boldetti *Osservazioni* II [1720]: 412 (majuscule text only) with Latin trans. and line drawing/facsimile.

Rectangular grave slab. Discovered by M.A. Boldetti in 1714. No measurements or other details provided. A dove with olive branch (cf. 75) was carved at left of inscription. Boldetti's facsimile shows flying dove, holding branch with its feet, facing away from inscription (see fig. 81) whereas *MEL* I, 1 [1900/2]: "Reliquiae epigraphicae," p. 66 shows dove resting on branch, with an olive branch in its beak, facing inscription. In the absence of a photograph of this (now lost) tombstone, it is impossible to be specific about the details of the dove with olive branch symbol. Earlier reproductions appear to have been dependent upon the symbols provided by the typesetters. This is also largely so in respect of the shape of the letters and the extent to which, if any, interpuncts were

utilized by the engraver. Boldetti's printed text shows commas, separating words within each line, which probably reflect original interpuncts. Hand-drawn Greek letters are interspersed with "English" type in Boldetti's text. If accurate, the original inscription utilized both cursive and quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. *Omegas* are given in cursive form. The *rho* in l.2 is in miniscule, whereas all other *rhos* are printed utilizing an English P. The first *alpha* in l.2 does not have horizontal cross bar. *Lambdas* have the shape of miniscules but are probably meant to represent majuscules. Letter height not provided. Figure 81.

- | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| (dove | 'Ενθάδε κατάκειται 'Αβλάβης, |
| 2 with | Γαλάτης χωρίου Μουλίκου[υ, ὕ]ιός |
| olive | Φωτινοῦ, ζήσας ἔτη τριάκοντα, |
| 4 branch) | πνευματικός, χαλύπτει γῆ. Εἰρήνη σοι. |

Here lies Ablabes, a Galatian from the district of Moulikos, son of Photinos, having lived thirty years, a *pneumatikos*, earth covers (him). Peace to you.

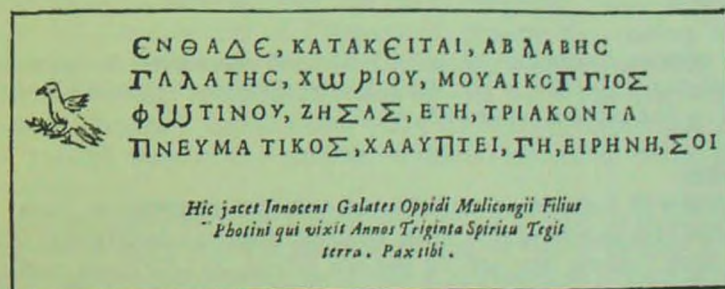


Fig. 81: Ablabes' epitaph,
as published in 1720

Other edd.: *CIG 4 [1877]: 9578 with Latin trans. and line drawing/facsimile *ICUR*² 2 [1935]: 4437 (facsimile of majuscule text only); *IGOccidChr* [1989]: 400.

Text reprinted and discussed: *MEL* I, 1 [1900/2]: 3291 with Latin trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Marucchi *Epigrafia* [1910]: 230 no. 281 (majuscule text only = *Epigraphy* [1912]: 235 no. 281); Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: cols. 626-627; Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 216-220 (majuscule text) with Italian trans.; Cecchelli *Aureli* [1928]: 71 (Greek text transliterated); *AE* 1937 [1938]: 70; Cecchelli

Monumenti [1944]: 208-209 (majuscule text only) with line drawings/facsimiles; Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 99-100 (partial text); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 691-692 no. 44 with line drawing/facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 95-97 (partial text) with German trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Feissel "Contributions" [1982]: 371 (partial text); C. Trevett (1996: 225-226 [partial majuscule text]).

Variant readings:

I.1 CIG, AE, ICUR² and IGOccidChr do not show dove.

I.2 ΜΟΥΛΙΚΟΠΤΙΟΥ: Boldetti; ΜΟΥΛΙΚΟΠΤΙΟC: ICUR², MEL [majuscule copy], Marucchi; ΜΟΥΛΙΚΟΠΤΙΟC: ICUR² (Ferrua "Comunita montanista"); Μουλικο<υ>, <υ>ιδς: IGOccidChr.

I.4 Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" inadvertently omits χαλύπτει γῆ; χαλύπει (sic) γῆ: AE; ΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΙ: Boldetti [majuscule text] (Marucchi; ICUR²); EIPENE: Boldetti (majuscule text) inadvertently prints E instead of H.

Further references: MEL I.1, p. CLV; O. Marucchi (1907: 221); Aigrain *Manuel* [1913]: 119-120 n.2; F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 455); Cecchelli *Monumenti*, 218-224; Ferrua "Epigrafi eretiche" [1945]: 210-213; BE [1956]: 360; C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.289); *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 138; J. Stevenson (1978: 123); Tabbernee "Montanism," 343; *IGOccidChr*, ad no. 143; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 199-200); Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [1990]: 106; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 127 and n.28; *SEG* 39 [1992]: ad no. 1036; *SEG* 40 [1993]: ad no. 882; Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 276; Trevett, 204, 275 n.5, 277 n.51.

Line drawings/facsimiles: ed. pr., 412 (Cecchelli *Monumenti*, facing p. 208 [Strobel, 96 fig. 4]); CIG 4, p. 528; MEL I, 1, p. 66 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 692); ICUR², p. 80; Cecchelli *Monumenti*, 209.

Ablabes

Ablabes (= Latin *Innocens*) bears not only the patronymic "son of Photinos" but also the double ethnic Γαλάτης χωρίου Μουλικο[υ] (I.2). The word Γαλάτης, here (cf. 74 and see Feissel, 371-377), is perhaps used somewhat loosely to include parts of Phrygia or Lydia (see BE [1983]: 487 for epigraphic attestation of Γαλατίας for towns in Pontus and Paphlagonia). If so, Ablabes probably originated from the district which, only a little later, was the location of the Montanist (regional bishop?) named Praÿlios (84), although it is possible that the χωρίου Μουλίκου intended here is the χωρίου Μουλάκων located in Pisidia; see Feissel, 371 n.76. Originally from Asia Minor, the provenance of Ablabes' epitaph indicates that he belonged to a group of Greek-speaking immigrants resident in Rome. Unlike in the case of some related inscriptions, the word Χριστιανός does not appear on Ablabes' epitaph (contrast 73, 93-95). The dove/olive-branch symbol testifies to Ablabes'

Christianity. For the practice of age-rounding (I.3), cf. 60, 62, 95 and see ad 53. Read καλύπτει for χαλύπτει in I.4.

The Via Aurelia Antica

The exact provenance of Ablabes' epitaph is not absolutely certain. Boldetti cites it as the cemetery of Calepodius, which is normally taken to have been an incorrect reference to the cemetery of St. Pancras; see Ferrua "Comunita montanista" [1936]: 217. Both surface cemeteries, not to be confused with their respective underground catacombs, were situated along the ancient Via Aurelia, approx. 4km. apart, outside the Aurelian wall, west of the Aurelian gate. Interestingly, according to an early, but unreliable, Christian tradition, St. Pancras was a Phrygian by birth, martyred on the Via Aurelia during the Great Persecution; see P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1909b: 77-105). A number of further Greek inscriptions, some commemorating other immigrants from Asia Minor (e.g., 74), have been discovered in the vicinity, perhaps indicating a connection between this part of the Via Aurelia as the residential center of such immigrants and the popularity of St. Pancras' cult. Any direct link between Ablabes himself and the cult of St. Pancras, however, is dependent upon the accuracy of assuming his tombstone to have come from the cemetery of St. Pancras rather than that of Calepodius. Indeed, if Boldetti identified the cemetery of Calepodius incorrectly, the cemetery where Ablabes was buried may have been a cemetery other than that of St. Pancras, much closer to Calepodius' than the 4km. which separated the latter from St. Pancras'. Grossi Gondi (455), for example, argued that Ablabes' epitaph came from a separate, Montanist, *hypogaeum* located along the same road.

It is perhaps significant that the cemetery of St. Pancras is referred to in the medieval itineraries, prepared for pilgrims visiting the holy sites of Rome, as the *coemeterium Octavillae e S. Pancratii*. A fascinating, if somewhat garbled, account, written c.450 by an anonymous Roman author referred to as "Praedestinatus," mentions a well-to-do woman from Africa Proconsularis called Octaviana (sic?). According to Praedestinatus, Octaviana brought to Rome a Tertullianist presbyter who took over the *martyrium* of SS. Processus and Martinianus before being ejected by Theodosius I (Praedest., *haer.* 1.86). This *martyrium*, consisting of a catacomb and oratory, is situated on the Via Aurelia (now the Via Aurelia Antica) between St. Pancras' and Calepodius. Praedestinatus credits this presbyter's success to the connection of Octaviana's husband, Hesperius, with general Arbogast, who allegedly influenced the usurper Maximus to grant the Tertullianists permission to form a religious asso-

ciation outside the Aurelian walls (*ibid.*). Like much of the information supplied by Praedestinatus (see Tabbernee "Montanism," 372-373), this story is full of historical inaccuracies and chronological anachronisms. If the reference to Arbogast is to be trusted, the usurper must have been Eugenius rather than Maximus, and the events described must have occurred between 392 and 394; see Ferrua "Comunità montanista," 225 and n.4, 226. The story itself, however, may be based on an oral tradition still current in Rome at the time when Praedestinatus wrote. If so, we may believe the general veracity of the broad outline of the account, including the detail that the presbyter was able to lay claim to the martyrs Processus and Martinus by saying that, as they were Phrygians, they observed the same practices as Tertullian (Praedest., *haer.* 1.86). Presumably the tradition (and perhaps fact) that the two martyrs were Phrygians (by race) was well known in the district around that part of the Via Aurelia enabling the Tertullianist presbyter to mislead at least some willing listeners that they had also been Phrygians (i.e., Montanists) by religion. Even though, historically, Tertullianism may only have had an indirect connection with Montanism itself (see pp. 475-476 below), there was undoubtedly sufficient commonality for Roman Montanists to have welcomed this Tertullianist presbyter as one of their own.

A Montanist community

The use of the designation *πνευματικός* (I.4) in Ablabes' late-IV inscription may be taken as an unequivocal indication of Montanism; see Ferrua "Comunità montanista," 217-220; *IPhygChr*, p. 138; Strobel, 94-96; and Tabbernee (1989a: 199-200). Also cf. 55, 63, 70, 86, 93, 95. It appears, therefore, from both epigraphic and literary evidence, that Montanism survived in the Greek-speaking immigrant centers of the old capital long after it was rooted out of Rome's mainstream Christianity. Ablabes must have belonged to the Montanist community centered around the Via Aurelia, although we cannot tell for certain whether this coincided with the time of Octaviana and the unnamed Tertullianist presbyter. Likely further members of this community were Philippos (74), Alexandros (93), and perhaps Botrys (73). It is possible that other expatriates from Asia Minor residing in Rome were also Montanists (e.g., Sozomenos [94]), perhaps belonging to a Montanist community other than the one located in the Via Aurelia. Not all Roman Montanists, of course, were immigrants from Asia Minor. It is extremely unlikely, however, that a woman named Iouleia Evaresta (see 75) should be numbered among them.

An epitaph from the catacomb of Domitilla in Rome containing the words *Αὐρ. Ζωπύρω πνευματικῷ ἀδελφῷ* (Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista," 99 n.3; photograph: *CDFAC*, 2d ed. [1973]: 201 [Dom Tg 19]) is not Montanist. As Ferrua himself points out, the sense of the word *πνευματικός* here is adjectival referring to Zopyros as a "spiritual brother," in the same way as the phrase *πνευματικός υἱός* denotes a "spiritual son" in an inscription from Smyrna (*CIG* 4 [1877]: 8855). Moreover, the use of the *praenomen* suggests a date prior to when the word *πνευματικός* can be considered an exclusively Montanist designation.

It is interesting that the catacomb of Domitilla also contains unpublished inscriptions commemorating women named Montana (inv. no. 690) [no photograph] and Perpetua (inv. no. 874) [photograph of the latter: *CDFAC*, 2d ed., 196 (Dom TI 62)]—but this is undoubtedly coincidental. No connection with Montanism need be implied. Consequently, these inscriptions have not been treated in a separate entry.

73. Botrys: Χριστιανός

Catacomb of St. Pancras, beneath the basilica of
San Pancrazio on the Via San Pancrazio
Plaque appears to have been removed from
its original location elsewhere in the same catacomb

IV⁴

Ed. pr. — *ICUR*² 2 [1935]: 4432 (majuscule text only).

Square white marble memorial plaque, at one time broken at right bottom corner but now repaired. Discovered by E. Fusciardi in 1917. Height: 0.147m.; width: 0.147m.; thickness unobtainable. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Letter height: 0.022-0.024m. Figure 82. Plate 34.

Βότρυς,
2 Χριστιανό
ς, ἐνθάδε
4 κίτε.

Botrys, a Christian, lies here.



Fig. 82: Botrys' epitaph

Other ed.: Fusiardi S. Pancrazio [1929]: 195-214 (majuscule text only).

Text reprinted and discussed: Marucchi *Catacombe* [1932]: 70; Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 210-211 (majuscule text only) with line drawing/facsimile; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 212, 220; J. Stevenson (1978): 123 [majuscule text only] with line drawing/facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 97-98 (majuscule text only) with German trans. and line drawing/facsimile.

Further references: Cecchelli, 216-220; *BE* [1952]: 191; *CDFAC*, 2d ed. [1973]: 219.

Photograph: *CDFAC*, 219 (Ott Tg 2).

Line drawing/facsimile: Cecchelli, 211 (Stevenson, 123 fig. 98; Strobel, 97 fig. 5).

Date and orthography

The style and orthography suggest a late-IV date. There is no need to assume, as does C. Cecchelli (210-211), that the stone had been reused. For the substitution of -ι- for -ει- in *κείται* (l.4), cf. 60 ll.15, 38-39. In 60, however, -αι- is replaced by the more common substitute -η-, whereas here the substitute vowel is -ε-. For a Phrygian epigraphic example of the name Botrys, based on a nickname derived from a "bunch of grapes," see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 87 no. 214 (pl. 11).

Montanist?

According to Cecchelli (210-211, 216) the provenance of this inscription indicates that Botrys was probably a Montanist belonging to the same group of Montanist expatriates from Asia Minor, residing around the Via Aurelia, of which Ablabes (72) was a member. A. Strobel (97-98) accepts Cecchelli's classification, postulating that the *martyrium* of the originally Phrygian St. Pancras may have been the monastery to which, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, Roman Montanists were exiled in early V; see p. 473 below. While theoretically possible, there is no evidence to support this other than Ablabes' epitaph which may, or may not, have come from the exact same location; see pp. 455-456 above. Botrys' own epitaph merely records that he was a Christian. This designation does not rule out the possibility that he was a Montanist, but, by itself, it does not prove that he was.

74. Philippos: *δομestikός*

Ancient cemetery on the Via Aurelia Antica
No longer extant

IV⁴

Ed. pr. — Boldetti *Osservazioni* II [1720]: 412 (majuscule text only) with Latin trans. and line drawing/ facsimile.

Rectangular grave slab. Discovered by M.A. Boldetti in 1714. No measurements or other details provided. As in 72, hand-drawn Greek letters are interspersed with "English" type in Boldetti's text. This, presumably, means that the engraver of Philippos' epitaph utilized both cursive and quadratic *epsilons*. *Sigmas* are normally printed employing an English C, indicating a majuscule cursive, but are occasionally also printed as an English S, which may merely be an error. Presumably the S does not stand for a quadratic *sigma* as this is printed in 72 as Σ. Nor can the S here indicate ζ, as only the second of these letters (l.2) is a final *sigma* (contrast 93 l.2). *Omeas* are given in cursive form. Most *mus* are printed with an English M, but some in ll.3-5 are hand-drawn in lunate form. *Rhos* are given in miniscule form as are the *lambdas*, both of which are probably meant to represent majuscules (cf. 72). The letter *pi* is hand-drawn as a majuscule in ll.1, 3a but printed as a miniscule in ll.3b, 4, 5. Whether this signifies that these letters were engraved in a smaller size on the original stone is unclear. Similarly, whereas *upsilons*

are normally represented by an English Y, in *l.4* there is one instance of an *upsilon* as a Greek letter—printed slightly above the line. In *ll.3b, 4b* *upsilons* are represented by an English V rather than an English Y. This may mean that the originals had little or no tail, or it may simply be a typographical error. Typographical errors abound in Boldetti's text, the most frequent of these is A for Λ (*ll.1, 3-5*), but A is also printed instead of Δ in *l.2*. The second K in *l.3* is clearly a typographical error for X; the U in *l.4* was meant to be corrected to a Ω and the final E in *l.4* is a C incorrectly turned into an *epsilon*. None of these errors can be attributed to the original engraver and hence have not been marked as corrections in the text given below. Other mistakes in the text provided by Boldetti may, however, be attributed either to Boldetti's faulty reading or to original epigraphy and, therefore, have been marked in the restored text: T corrected to Π in *l.2*; ΠAC corrected to ΨA in *l.3*; dittography canceled in *l.4*; O corrected to Ω in *l.5*. Boldetti prints a period after the second *alpha* in *l.1* and the second *alpha* in *l.2*. These periods are not interpuncts, which are printed as commas in his text (cf. 72). As in the first instance there is clearly a letter missing, the period presumably indicates a gap in the text and has been marked as *vac.* in *l.2* even though the gap comes in the middle of a word (e.g., cf. 56). Letter height not provided. Figure 83.

- Ἐνθα πέλι τόδε σῆμα [δ]ομεστικοῦ Φιλίππου,
 2 ὅς ζήσας τριά(ν)α(ν) κοντα ἔτη. Ἐκ(π)ὰ τοῖσι δὲ τρία
 πληρώσας, κατέλι(ν)α(ν) σῶμα χθονὶ πολυβοτῖρη
 λέξω δὲ τύ(χ)ην ἐμὴν· πατρίς μοι Γαλατία(ν)ις
 5 κῶμη, υἱὸς δὲ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀλυπίου.

Here is the gravestone of Philippos, a *domesticus*, he who lived thirty years.

- “Upon having completed here three [decades] I left behind my
 body in the all-nourishing earth; I will declare my position in
 5 life: my homeland (was) a Galatian | village, and (I was the)
 son of Alypius, a presbyter.”

Other *edd.*: CIG 4 [1877]: 9579 with line drawing/facsimile; *ICUR² 2 [1935]: 4441 with facsimile of majuscule text; IGOccidChr [1989]: 122.

Text reprinted and discussed: Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: facing p. 208 with line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text only.

Variant readings:

- l.1* πέλι[ε]: ICUR²; SHMA.OMECTIKOY: Boldetti; δομεστικον: CIG (ICUR²; IGOccidChr); ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ: Boldetti.
l.2 ΤΡΙΑ.ΚΟΝΤΑ: Boldetti; τριάκοντα: CIG (ICUR²; IGOccidChr); ἐ[π]ι: CIG (ICUR²); ΤΟΙΣΙ Α ΕΤ ρΙΑ: Boldetti; τοῖσι [δ]ὲ τρία: CIG (ICUR²); τοῖσι «δ»ὲ τρία: IGOccidChr.
l.3 ΠΑΗΡΩCΑC: Boldetti; ΚΑΤΕΑΙΠΑC: Boldetti; κατέλι[ψα]: CIG (ICUR²); κατέλιπα: IGOccidChr; ΚΘΟΝΙ: Boldetti; [χ]θονί: CIG (ICUR²); κθονί: IGOccidChr; ΠΟΛΥΒΟΤΙΡΗ: Boldetti; πολυβοτῖρη: CIG; πολυβοτῖρη: IGOccidChr.
l.4 ΑΕΕΥ: Boldetti; ΤΥΗΝ: Boldetti; τύ[χ]ην: CIG (ICUR²); ΓΑΑΤΙΑΙΕ: Boldetti; Γαλατία[ς]: CIG (ICUR²); Γαλατταίε: IGOccidChr.
l.5 ΚΟΜΗ: Boldetti; κ[ώ]μη: CIG (ICUR²); κῶμη: IGOccidChr; πρεCβυτεpov: Boldetti; ΑΑΥΠΙΟΥ: Boldetti.

ΕΝΘΑ ΠΕΛΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ SHMA.OMECTIKOY ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ
 ΟCΖΗCΑCΤΡΙΑ. ΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΤΗΕΤΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ Α ΕΤ ΡΙΑ
 ΠΑΗΡΩCΑC ΚΑΤΕΑΙΠΑC CΩΜΑΚΘΟΝΙ ΠΟΛΥΒΟΤΙΡΗ
 ΑΕ ΞΥΔΕ ΤΥΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙC ΜΟΙ ΓΑΑΤΙΑΙΕ
 ΚΟΜΗ ΥΙΟC ΔΕ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΑΥΠΙΟΥ.

Fig. 83: Philippos' epitaph,
as published in 1720

Further references: O. Marucchi (1907: 221); Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 221 n.1; J. Stevenson (1978: 123); Feissel "Contributions" [1982]: 371-372; SEG 39 [1992]: ad 1036.

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 412 (Cecchelli, facing p. 208); CIG 4, p. 528; ICUR², p. 80.

Philippos' epitaph

As in the case of some fourth-century Phrygian metrical epitaphs (e.g., 59, 60, 62) the deceased is represented as speaking in the first person (*ll.2b-5*), after first having been introduced by a "commentator" (*ll.1-2a*). The practice of "age-rounding" (on which, see ad 53) is also common on such inscriptions. Like Flavius Avus, Philippos was a member of the elite corps of the imperial guard whose members bore the title

domesticus; see *ad* 71. Originally from Asia Minor, Philippos was stationed in Rome at the time of his death. For the use in a Montanist epitaph of a phrase similar to that in *l.3* describing the consignment of Philippos' body "to the all-nourishing earth," see 68. Read πέλει for πέλι in *l.1* and κατέλειψα for κατέλι<ψ>α{ς} in *l.3*. The latter reflects confusion with the second aorist (κατέλιπον). The engraver apparently carved KATEΛΙΠAC.

Provenance

Philippos' gravemarker was discovered in the same location as that of Ablabes (72) and at least in the general vicinity to that of Botrys (73). The three epitaphs appear to belong roughly to the same period. Unlike Botrys, however, Philippos is not specifically called a Christian, but his religious adherence is most likely the same as that of his father Alypius, a (Christian) presbyter. Nor is Philippos called a πνευματικός, as is Ablabes. The provenance of the epitaph, nevertheless, makes it possible that Philippos belonged to a Montanist community, centered around the Via Aurelia, made up of immigrants from Asia Minor; see *ad* 72. See also Stevenson, 123 and cf. 72, 93, and, perhaps, 73 and 95. Philippos does not give the name of the village in Galatia from which he came originally, but there is some evidence that Montanists may have existed in Galatia as late as V-VI; see 87-89. It is also possible that the term Γαλατίας (*l.4*) is used here somewhat loosely to refer to a region in central Asia Minor, including Phrygia; see *ad* 72. Perhaps Alypius was a Montanist presbyter in Asia Minor, but neither this nor his son's adherence to Montanism is assured.

75. "Renewed by the spirit of Christ"

Via Latina, near third mile post
No longer extant

IV⁴(?)-VI(?)

Ed. pr. — *ICUR* 1 [1861]: p. CXVI with line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text and Latin trans.

Marble slab, damaged slightly at top right corner and right side. No measurements provided. Dove with olive branch in its beak, carved at end of inscription, is the only decoration. *Nomina sacra* marked at *ll.5, 7*. The second *alpha* printed by *ICUR* in the word ΑΝΘΑΗΜΦΘΗ (*l.9*) is a clear copying error and need not be corrected in the text given below.

ICUR 1 prints dove at right bottom corner with its beak level with end of text. *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL* I,1) prints dove beneath inscription (cf. 72, 88, and 94). Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*. Lunate *mus*. Dittography in *l.4*. Abbreviations marked in *ll.5, 7*. *Epsilon* omitted in *l.7*. Letter height not provided. Figure 84.

Ἰουλείας Εὐαρέστας,
τῆς θεοφιλεστάτης,
ἡ σάρξ ἐνθάδε κεῖται
ψυχὴ δαὶ ἀνακαινι{ι}σθεῖσα
5 τῷ πν(εύματι) Χ(ριστο)ῦ
καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σῶμα
λαβοῦσα <ε>ἰς οὐράνιον Χ(ριστο)ῦ
βασίλειαν μετὰ τῶν
ἀγίων ἀνελήμφθη. (*dove with olive branch*)

5 The human body of Iouleia Evaresta, the most-divinely beloved one, lies here; but her soul, having been renewed | by the spirit of Christ and having received an angel-like body, has been taken up into Christ's heavenly realm—together with those of the saints.

Other ed.: *ICUR* 2,1 [1888]: pp. XXVIII-XXIX (*ll.2-9* only based on restoration of text by R. Garrucci) with line drawing/facsimile of (whole) majuscule text and Latin trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: P. Batiffol (1897: 114 [*ll.3-9* only]); *CB* 2 [1897]: p. 562 (partial text); *MEL* I,1 [1900/2]: 2881 (*ll.2-9* only) with line drawing/facsimile of whole text and Latin trans. (cf. *ibid.*, pp. CLIV-CLV [*ll.2-9* only] with facsimile of (whole) majuscule text and *ibid.*, p. CLVI [*ll.7b-9* only] with facsimile); Batiffol (1902: 112 [*ll.3-9* only]); Scaglia *Epigraphia* [1909]: 134 with facsimile of majuscule text and Latin trans.; Aigrain *Manuel* [1913]: 33-34 no. 46 with French trans.; Leclercq "Communion" [1914a]: cols. 2451-2453 with line drawing/facsimile; Kaufmann *Archäologie* [1913]: 721 and n.1 with German trans. and facsimile of majuscule text; *id.*, *Epigraphik* [1917]: 174-175 and 175 n.1 with German trans. and facsimile; F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 264 with Latin trans.); Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: cols. 642-643 (complete text), 658 (*ll.4-7a* only); Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59 (partial text); Peterson "Montanistische Inschriften" [1934]: 175-176; Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [1935]: 249-250; Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 146-149 with line drawing/facsimile and Latin trans.; Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 165-167, 174-175 with Italian trans.; Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 175-176; Guarducci

167, 174-175 with Italian trans.; Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 175-176; Guarducci "Valentiniani" [1973]: 186-187 with Italian trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 710-711 no. 58 with line drawing/facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 101-102 (line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text only) with German trans.

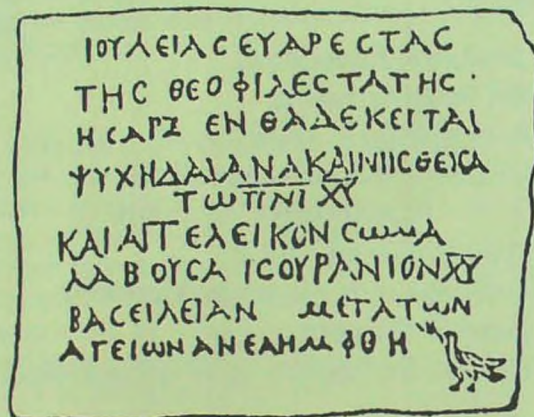


Fig. 84: Facsimile of Iouleia Evaresta's epitaph, as published in 1861

Variant readings:

- 1.1 Εὐάριστας: Leclercq (Jalabert and Mouterde), Kaufmann.
 11.2-3 θεοφιλεστάτης ἡ σὰρξ: *ICUR* 2,1; (*MEL*; Batiffol) prints text according to meter.
 1.3 σὰρ[ξ]: Aigrain (Jalabert and Mouterde).
 1.4 δὲ: *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*; Batiffol); δαὶ (sic): Grossi Gondi; δαι (δὲ): Cecchelli; ἀνακαινισθεῖσα: *ICUR* (Scaglia; Aigrain; Leclercq; Jalabert and Mouterde [col. 658]; Peterson [Tabbernee]; Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [Calder/Grégoire]), Batiffol do not mark dittography; δὲ ἀνακαινισθεῖσα: Kaufmann *Archäologie*; δὲ ἀνακαίνισθεῖσα: Kaufmann *Epigraphik*; ἀνακαινισθεῖσα: Jalabert and Mouterde [col. 642]; ἀνακαινισθεῖσα: Ferrua.
 1.5 τῷ πνεύματι Χριστοῦ: *ICUR* 1 (Scaglia; Leclercq; Kaufmann; Peterson [Tabbernee]); Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [Calder/Grégoire] does not mark resolved abbreviation here or elsewhere; πνεύματι Χριστοῦ: *ICUR* 2,1 (Batiffol) omits the word τῷ and does not mark resolved abbreviations here or elsewhere; τῷ ΠΝΙ (πνεύματι) ΧΥ (Χριστοῦ): Cecchelli.
 1.6 sic ΚΑΙ ΑΠΤΕΛΑΙΚΟΝ: *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*); Καὶ ἀγγελικόν (ἀγγελικόν): Cecchelli inadvertently omits breathing mark on alpha of uncorrected ἀγγελικόν; ἀγγελικόν: Aigrain; ἀγγελικόν: Grossi Gondi; ἀγγελικόν: Ferrua.
 11.6-7 ἀγγελικόν καὶ σῶμα λαβούσα: *ICUR* 2,1 (Batiffol; *MEL*).

1.7 εἰς: *ICUR* 1 (*CB* [Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes"]; Scaglia; Leclercq; Kaufmann; Peterson [Tabbernee]; Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [Calder/Grégoire]), *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*; Batiffol); εἰς: Aigrain (Jalabert and Mouterde [col. 642]), Grossi Gondi; εἰς: Ferrua; Χριστοῦ: Aigrain and Scaglia do not mark resolved abbreviation here; ΧΥ (Χριστοῦ): Cecchelli.

11.7-8 εἰς βασιλείαν | οὐράνιον μετὰ τῶν: *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*; Batiffol); οὐράνιον ΧΥ. βασιλείαν: *CB* does not resolve abbreviations here or elsewhere; οὐράνιον Χρ(ιστοῦ): Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes."

1.9 ἀγίων: *ICUR* 1 (*CB* [Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes"]; Batiffol; *MEL*; Scaglia; Leclercq; Peterson [Tabbernee]; Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [Calder/Grégoire]), *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*; Batiffol); ΑΝΕΑΗΜΦΘΗ: *ICUR* 1; ΑΝΕΑΗΜΦΘΗ (sic): *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*); ἀνελέμφη: *ICUR* 2,1 (*MEL*; Batiffol); ἀνεαημφθη (sic) (= ἀνελέμφη): Grossi Gondi; ἀνε(λ)ήμφη: Jalabert and Mouterde; ἀνεαημφθη: Ferrua, Batiffol, *CB*, Aigrain, Grossi Gondi, Jalabert and Mouterde, Grégoire, Peterson and Calder/Grégoire do not show or note dove.

Further references: *BE* [1936]: p. 352; S. Lieberman (1939/44: 439-441); Ferrua, 213-214; K. Aland (1960a: 159); A. Ferrua (1978: 588); *IPhygChr* [1978a]: 138; P.C. Finney (1980): 439 n.6; Strobel, 88, 91.

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, p. CXVI (Leclercq "Communion," col. 2452 fig. 3198; Cecchelli, 147 [inadvertently adds horizontal bar to lambda in 1.6 turning it into an alpha]; Guarducci, plate 49,1; Tabbernee, 711; Strobel, 101); *ICUR* 2,1, p. XXVIII; *MEL* 1,1, p. CLIV (repeated *ad MEL* 1,1.2881).

Facsimile: Scaglia, 134; Kaufmann *Archäologie*, 721; id., *Epigraphik*, 175.

Date and orthography

De Rossi, in his *ed. pr.*, designated this inscription *antiquissima*, i.e., "belonging to the third century" according to his system of indicating dates. The orthography (e.g., -ετ- for -ι-; -αι- for -ε-) is not incompatible with such a date, but does not guarantee it. A number of mid-IV metrical epitaphs in our corpus (e.g., 59-62) employ similar orthography as well as, in some cases, the phrase ἐνθάδε κεῖται, which became increasingly popular among Christians from c.340; cf. 60 and see *ad* 59. The *nomina sacra* (11.5, 7) indicate that this inscription is, at least, very late IV⁴. More likely it belongs to V but it may even be later (see below). On the name Evaresta, rather than Evarista, see Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica," 166. For the use of θεοφιλεστάτης (1.2), cf. 87 and for ἀγγελικόν (1.6), cf. 68.

Soul, spirit, body

I am grateful to G.H.R. Horsley for pointing out the similarity of the language of this epitaph and a magical papyrus from Egypt of unknown precise provenance dated V-VI. This papyrus (*P.Coll.Youtie* 91 = *New Docs* 1 [1981]: 102-103 no. 64) contains similar *nomina sacra*: $\overline{\text{XE}}$ (I.4) for $\chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau)\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\overline{\text{IN}}$ for $\pi\nu(\epsilon\delta\mu)[\alpha]$ (I.5). The latter, which, in its particular context, is a reference to a person's spirit, not the Holy Spirit, illustrates how familiarity with the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\text{INA}}$ (= [Holy] Spirit) meant that the same abbreviation was employed for the word even when it referred to the human spirit; see *New Docs* 1, 103. In Iouleia Evaresta's epitaph, the abbreviation $\overline{\text{INI}}$ (I.5) is used for the spirit of Christ, rather than the Holy Spirit, although the two may well have been confused in the popular theology of the time.

The papyrus referred to above appeals to Christ to protect the wearer of a special amulet $\kappa\alpha\iota \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\nu(\epsilon\delta\mu)[\alpha]$ (I.5) from all evil. This soul/body/spirit trichotomy, reminiscent of 1 Thess 5:23, also appears on two other Egyptian papyri; for details see *New Docs* 1, 103. The order of the Egyptian form of the trichotomy differs from that of 1 Thess 5:23 which has spirit/soul/body. The difference may be due to influence from Egyptian liturgies or simply because the 1 Thess. 5:23 text is not being quoted exactly; see *New Docs* 1, 103.

In Iouleia Evaresta's epitaph, the trichotomy follows an order which also differs from 1 Thess 5:23, having been adapted to apply to a deceased person: soul/renewed by Christ's spirit/angel-like body.

'Ανελήμφθη

H. Grégoire linked this inscription with our 81 and 84 in an attempt to show that the use of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$ is an unequivocal indicator of Montanism. This theory, adopted by Strobel (102), is based on the view that Montanists believed that the soul of the deceased was taken into heaven immediately upon death, rather than resting in some intermediary location such as paradise. Tertullian certainly taught that *martyrs* were taken straight to heaven (e.g., see *anim.* 55) and, on this, he may have been representative of other adherents of the New Prophecy. There is no indication, however, that Iouleia Evaresta was a martyr. Nor were the deceased commemorated by 81 and 84 martyrs. Perhaps Montanist theology taught that all Montanists, irrespective of whether they were martyrs, ascended immediately to heaven. Grégoire has drawn attention to the wording of the Anonymous' account of the report of the death of the early Montanist leader Theodotus: $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (*ap. Eus., h.e.* 5.16.14); see Grégoire in Calder/Grégoire, 177 and cf.

Lieberman, 439 n.22. Perhaps the rumor that Theodotus had died as the result of a fall during ecstatic levitation (see p. 21 above) may be explained by a misunderstanding, on the part of the opponents of the New Prophecy, of the way in which Montanists used the term $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$. All this, however, is extremely speculative and, in any case, a number of writers belonging to mainstream Christianity used $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$ to signify that the souls of Christians were taken up to heaven—without attaching a time sequence to such an ascent; see *LPGL*, s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, E. The word, therefore, seems simply to have been a metaphorical equivalent for "had died," just as $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ also signified having died; see *LPGL*, s.v. $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$. There is no epigraphic evidence that Montanists and mainstream Christians differed on the issue of whether deceased Christians went straight to heaven. The epitaphs of mainstream Christians do not indicate belief in an intermediary stay of the soul in paradise before the resurrection of the body; see I. Kajanto (1978: 27-53, esp. 37-53).

Montanist?

From Praylios' tombstone (84), it is evident that Montanists employed the word $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$. In light of the above discussion, however, it can no longer be claimed that the word was used exclusively by Montanists. See also *BE* [1936]: 352; *BE* [1952]: 191; Ferrua "Iscrizione Montanista" [1955]: 100. Hence, in the case of Iouleia Evaresta, data other than the presence of the word $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$ (I.9) on her epitaph is needed to identify her as an adherent of the New Prophecy. Grégoire, who considered her "sûrement montaniste" ("Inscriptions Montaniste," 59) pointed to the use of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (I.5) as supporting his contention that she was "une pneumatique" ("Épigraphie hérétique," 249). If accurate, she, theoretically, may have been part of a group, composed mainly of immigrants from Asia and Phrygia, who had formed a Montanist community in Rome (cf. 72-74, 93). The Montanist allegiance of some members of that group is revealed by the unambiguous use of the title $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (72, 93). The possible Montanism of two of the others (73-74) is based, in part, on the fact that they were buried in the same location as those with the title $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Neither of these indicators applies to Iouleia Evaresta. The use of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (I.5) refers to "the spirit of Christ" ($\tau\acute{\omega} \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$); she herself is not called a $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$. Nor was her epitaph discovered near those containing this designation. Strobel (102) considers the whole phrase describing the renewal of Iouleia Evaresta's soul through the spirit of Christ (II.4-5) as well as the reference to her receiving an "angel-like body" (II.6-7) convincing corroboration of her Montanism. However, as Peterson (175-176) has pointed out, Iouleia

Evaresta's epitaph describes the journey of the soul in a way which has numerous non-Montanist and, indeed, non-Christian parallels; cf. *New Docs* 2 [1982]: 51-52 (*ad* 5). See also M. Guarducci (186-187), who considers the epitaph to reveal a mixture of orthodox Christianity and Valentinian Gnosticism. This view is rejected by Finney (439 n.6). Consequently, although the possibility that Iouleia Evaresta belonged to a Montanist congregation should not be dismissed out of hand, it is highly unlikely that she was indeed a Montanist.

Part VI

Montanist and Allegedly Montanist Inscriptions

*c.*395-600 C.E.

Introduction

Anti-Montanist legislation (c.398-450)

Following the death of Theodosius I (379-395), the Roman Empire split permanently into East (Byzantine) and West, with separate emperors who, nevertheless, enacted most laws jointly—or, at least, issued these laws in both names. The first legislation since Constantine's edict¹ to mention Montanists specifically, was a mandate promulgated by Arcadius (395-408) in the East on March 4, 398 (Thds. Imp., *cod.* XVI.5.34). It contained the harshest penalties for Montanists (and Eunomians) prescribed thus far, including expulsion "from the society and intercourse of all communities and cities" (*ibid.*), indicating that Montanists presented a serious problem for Arcadius in Constantinople and other major cities. The mandate, addressed to Eutychian, praetorian prefect of the East (*ibid.*, *praeef.*), also declared that Montanist (and Eunomian) clergy—even if they lived outside of the cities—should be exiled for life if they were caught meeting with adherents. If, after the formal publication of the law contained in the mandate, they were seen in any city, or caught convening assemblies in the country, they were to suffer capital punishment and have their goods confiscated. The manager of an estate on which such an assembly had taken place was also to suffer capital punishment and the owner deprived of the property if the heretics had not been ejected immediately and reported (*ibid.*). Eutychian was also instructed to search for and burn Montanist and Eunomian books, capital punishment on a charge of sorcery being the prescribed punishment for anyone caught hiding or refusing to surrender such books (*ibid.*, XVI.5.34.1).

Honorius, emperor of the West (395-423), did not go as far as Arcadius in prescribing capital punishment for various crimes associated with Montanism, but he went further than his brother in applying economic and social sanctions against Montanists. In 407, in a mandate to

¹ On which, see pp. 343-345 above.

the urban prefect of Rome (ibid., XVI.5.40), he repeated an earlier law denying Manichaeans the right to have valid testamentary wills (ibid., XVI.7.1; cf. XVI.2-3; XVI.5.7) and applied it likewise to Phrygians (Montanists) and Priscillians. By this mandate, Honorius also ordered the property of all convicted Montanists, not only clergy, to be confiscated. Property could be ceded to certain next of kin, but only if these relatives were Catholics (ibid., XVI.5.40.2). Convicted Montanists were denied the capacity of donating, buying or selling, and of making contracts (ibid., XVI.5.40.3-4). Membership was declared a "public crime" (ibid., XVI.5.40.1) making Montanists open to any accusation.² Estates on which gatherings occurred were to be confiscated unless the owner had been ignorant of such assemblies. In that case, the manager should be chastised with a lead-tipped scourge and consigned to perpetual labor in the mines. The lease-holder was to be deported (Thds. Imp., *cod.* XVI.5.40.7). A fine of twenty gold pounds for governors and of ten gold pounds for lesser officials was prescribed for those negligent in implementing the measures contained in the mandate (ibid., XVI.5.40.8). In follow-up legislation, Honorius stressed that these measures were to be brought to the "fullest execution and effect" (ibid., XVI.5.43). To ensure that this would be done, he granted Catholic bishops "the faculty of ecclesiastical power to prohibit said [heretical] practices" (*Const. Sirmund.*, 12). He also put a number of secret service agents in charge of implementing the statutes and restated that heavy fines were payable by governors and other officials, including municipal senators, if "these things which we have ordained shall have been neglected by their carelessness" (ibid.).

In 410 Theodosius II (408-450), the new emperor of the East, banned Montanists from the civil service (Thds. Imp., *cod.* XVI.5.48). Five years later he issued the only known mandate dealing exclusively with Montanism (ibid., XVI.5.34), reiterating and extending earlier, but more general, antiheretical legislation. On the whole, however, Theodosius' attitude to Montanism was more lenient than that of some of his predecessors or western counterparts in that, like Honorius, he did not prescribe the death penalty. Governors seem to have been reluctant to enforce even this more lenient legislation, so much so that a further antiheretical mandate issued by Theodosius, in part against Montanists (ibid., XVI.5.65), concluded with the threat that governors who ordered lesser penalties than the law

² See P.R. Coleman-Norton (1966: 503 n.5).

prescribed would have the prescribed penalty applied to them (ibid., XVI.5.65.5).³

Rome

Honorius' insistence that certain groups, including Montanists, be dealt with severely and his granting of special powers to bishops toward this end, caused Pope Innocent I (401-407) to expel Montanists from Rome, relegating them to "exile in a monastery" (*Lib. pontif.* 57.1-2).⁴ Presumably, Montanists living within the city itself, which was divided into seven ecclesiastical districts under the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop, were forced to live outside the Aurelian walls. Perhaps some moved no further than the area W. of the city around the Via Aurelia, which appears already to have been a center of Montanism.⁵ The reference to "a monastery" may be to a residential community connected to one of the *martyria*/catacombs along the Via Aurelia.⁶ Some of the Montanists exiled from Rome c.407 may, of course, have settled far away from the city.⁷

Constantinople

In the new capital, as in the old, antiheretical legislation took its toll on Montanism. Although provincial governors did not always carry out imperial directives as stringently as the emperors required, Montanists in Constantinople were undoubtedly the first to feel the effect of the laws which deprived them of the right to assemble, of their property, and of their civil rights—including the right to live in the city. Even in Constantinople, however, Montanism was not eradicated completely, as witnessed by the frequent repromulgation of anti-Montanist legislation. A lengthy letter written by Theodosius II on the 31st of January, 438, instructed Florentius, the praetorian prefect of the East, to implement speedily all previous anti-Montanist (and other antiheretical) constitutions in order to appease the wrath of God, thereby averting further severe hot summers and cold winters (*Novell. Theod.*, III.1.8-9). Theodosius' desire to rid

³ For additional details about the anti-Montanist legislation during this period, see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 426-437 and A. Jensen (1992: 327-330).

⁴ Despite the dubious nature of the information supplied about the various bishops of Rome by the *Liber pontificalis*, in this instance, there is no need to doubt that there is some historical substance to the report; see P. de Labriolle (1913a: 477) but contrast K. Aland (1960a: 151-152).

⁵ See *ad* 72.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ See *ad* 95.

Constantinople (and the Empire) of Montanists, however, was not realized in his lifetime. Almost a century later, Justinian enacted further legislation against the Montanists.

Justinian I

More than any of his predecessors, the Eastern Emperor Justinian I (527-565) conscripted bishops to become important instruments in ensuring uniformity of faith and practice. His earliest law mentioning Montanists (Justn., *cod.* I.5.18), promulgated in c.529, not only applied the contents of previous laws to Montanists (*ibid.*, I.5.18.3) and penalized ex-Montanists who still had Montanist relatives (*ibid.*, I.5.18.5-7), but also instructed bishops to bring to the attention of the governor of the province any people contravening the antiheretical measures contained in the law (*ibid.*, I.5.18.12). Bishops were also to inform the emperor of any laxity on the part of the governor in enforcing the legislation (*ibid.*). The bishops themselves were warned that if they did not cooperate, they would be expelled from their episcopates.

Despite Justinian's legislation, Montanists continued to assemble, baptize, and appoint clergy—even in Constantinople itself (*ibid.*, I.5.20 *praef.*). Hence, on the 22nd of November, 530, Justinian addressed a mandate to the count of the private estates, instructing him to take steps to eradicate Montanism from the Eastern capital:

With regard to the unholy Montanists we ordain that none of their so-called patriarchs, *koinōnoi*, bishops, presbyters, deacons, or other clergy—if indeed it is quite proper to call them by these names—should be permitted to reside in this fortunate city (*ibid.*, I.5.20.3).

Justinian's desire to preserve the purity of catholic worship motivated him to place a new prohibition on Montanist laity:

We do not permit them, in general, to transact business within the sacred boundaries, so that the orthodox faith's pure mysteries may not be heard by people who are both polluted and unworthy to hear every clean and pure sound (*ibid.*, I.5.20.4).

The privilege of trading within earshot of the orthodox mysteries should belong only to "those honoring the right faith" (*ibid.*, I.5.20 *praef.*, 1-2): orthodox pearls were not to be cast before Montanist swine. In fact,

Montanism should be stamped out altogether by forbidding Montanists to hold *agape* meals (*ibid.*, I.5.20.5), to trade in slaves so as to avoid having slaves tainted with Montanist beliefs serving non-Montanists (*ibid.*, I.5.20.6), to receive poor-relief from civil and catholic authorities (*ibid.*, I.5.20.7), and to be witnesses in lawsuits (*ibid.*, I.5.21).

Justinian's anti-Montanist strategy appears to have been successful. Leo III (675-741) promulgated a number of laws in Constantinople directed against "Montanists" (*ecl.* 18.52; cf. *Thphn. chron.* entry for A.M. 6214 [=721/2 C.E.]). The reference here, however, may be to a nationalistic Jewish sect nicknamed "Montanists" because of imagined similarities between them and actual Montanists.⁸ If so, Theophanes was confused by this metaphorical use of the name and, erroneously, linked Procopius' story of Montanists burning their own churches in a defiant act of mass suicide (*hist. arc.* 11.23)⁹ with Leo's alleged persecution (*Thphn. chron.* A.M. 6214). Still later references to anti-Montanist persecution are definitely anachronistic.¹⁰

Montanism in the provinces

Apart from the anti-Montanist legislation, there are few extant literary data regarding the history of Montanism during the period under discussion in this section. Ecclesiastical opponents of the movement repeat or embellish the charges which they borrowed from earlier works and do not seem to have had direct contact with any Montanists living during this period.¹¹ For example, Augustine invariably links Montanists to Phrygia where, according to him, they were still to be found (e.g., *haer.* 26; *serm.* 252; *ep.* 118.12). Even Augustine's statement that in his time the Tertullianists surrendered their basilica to the catholic church in Carthage (*haer.* 86) may not constitute evidence for Augustine's contact with *Montanists*. Augustine, presumably on the basis of the name "Tertullianists," believed that Tertullian, soon after joining the Montanists, separated himself from them to found his own sect (*ibid.*).¹² If accurate, this would make Tertullianism a *post*-Montanist rather than a Montanist sect—with its founder a man who had once been a Montanist.

⁸ See J. Starr (1939: 2-3, 91-93); A. Sharf (1966: 37-46; 1971: 61-81); L.W. Barnard (1973: 125-127); S. Gero (1973: 54); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 538-539, 624-625, but note the caution expressed by K. Belke and N. Mersich in *TIB* 7 [1990]: 128 and by C. Trevett (1996: 230-231).

⁹ See pp. 45-46 above.

¹⁰ See Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 442.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, 371-374, 385, 391-395.

¹² Cf. W.H.C. Frend (1952: 124).

However, as noted,¹³ it is highly unlikely that Tertullian ever separated from the catholic church at all, let alone that he founded a separate, post-Montanist sect. Perhaps the best explanation of the term "Tertullianists" is that it describes a group of Christians who broke away from the catholic church at Carthage sometime after the episcopate of Cyprian. These Christians adopted the name Tertullianists in honor of Tertullian whose views, including, but not necessarily restricted to, his pro-Montanist views, they admired. If so, there is no need to assume that Tertullianism was an alternate name for "African" (as contrasted with "Phrygian") Montanism,¹⁴ even though there was probably a great deal of compatibility between the earlier "African Montanism" and "Tertullianism."¹⁵

Not surprisingly, Montanism survived longest in Phrygia. The remoteness of the area from either Rome or Constantinople made Montanists there less vulnerable to the impact of the anti-Montanist legislation promulgated in the capitals (Soz., *h.e.* 2.32.5). Pepouza continued to be an important center for Montanist pilgrims until John of Ephesos, acting on behalf of Justinian, dealt a death blow to the movement by destroying its most sacred shrine, c.550.¹⁶

Inscriptions

Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions from this final phase in the history of the movement are not restricted to areas where, based on the literary data, we would expect to find Montanism. Our latest epigraphic glimpses of Montanism come from Lydia, Mysia, Galatia and, perhaps, Numidia, as well as from Italia and, of course, Phrygia. The identification of these inscriptions as Montanist, likely Montanist, or possibly Montanist, is, once again,¹⁷ dependent upon criteria such as provenance (76-79, 83), open profession of Christianity (94), the presence of specifically Montanist names (77, 90-91), offices (77², 80, 82-85, 87), terminology (80-81, 84-87, 92-93, 95), references to particular Montanist beliefs or practices (81), and connections with other known or alleged Montanists (88-91).

¹³ Pp. 54-55, 142 above.

¹⁴ As, for example, does T.D. Barnes (1971: 258-259).

¹⁵ See also Aland (1960a: 161-163) and D. Powell (1975: 33-54).

¹⁶ See *ad* 1 and cf. 2.

¹⁷ See pp. 6-10 above.

Inscriptions

Phrygia

Pepouza(?)

Map 12:G3 (S.W. Phrygia). Bekilli is situated on a fertile plain approx. 5km. N. of the Maiandros, 43km. N. of Pamukkale (Hierapolis; 8:H1) and 50km. S. of Uşak (Temenothyrai; 12:B3); see TIB 7 [1990]: 210. W.M. Calder ("New Jerusalem" [1931]: 424) proposed Bekilli as the location of Pepouza, placing Tymion at nearby Üçkuyu (12:G4). The reverse has also been suggested, but neither is assured; see H. von Aulock (1980: 60-61) and pp. 27-28, 153-154 above. A Strobel (Das heilige Land [1980]: 74) argues that while the ancient sites near Bekilli and Üçkuyu should not be equated with Pepouza and Tymion, they were places to which later Montanism retreated when, during V and VI, it was pushed out of its original centers.

76. The wrath of the archangel Michael

Bekilli, supporting a pillar in cesspool

V

Ed. pr. — Calder "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 424.

Fragment of limestone block, broken at top. Discovered by W.H. Buckler, W.K.C. Guthrie, and W.M. Calder in 1930. Height: 0.33m.; width: 0.53m.; thickness not provided. Two prominent Greek crosses

(see *ad* 14), the right one of which appears to have had eight points like a Maltese cross (cf. 87, 88), are carved beneath inscription. Remnants of two other symbols also are visible beneath inscription. One, between the crosses, is described by Calder (*MAMA* 4 [1933]: p. 121) as resembling a K carved horizontally but was probably a small Christogram. The other, to the left of the crosses, Calder (*ibid.*) considered a *delta*, but may have been the petal of a flower (part of a rosette? [cf. 71]). Quadratic *epsilons* and *sigmas*. The left hasta of the *alphas* slope diagonally left, whereas the right hasta is vertical. Letter height: 0.025m.-0.037m. **Figure 85. Plate 33.**

ITOICII [---^{c.13}---]
 2 ΥΟΒΛ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον
 ἑαυτὸν ἐχὶ διάδικον.



... or else that person shall have the Commander-in-chief
 [of all the angels] himself as prosecutor.

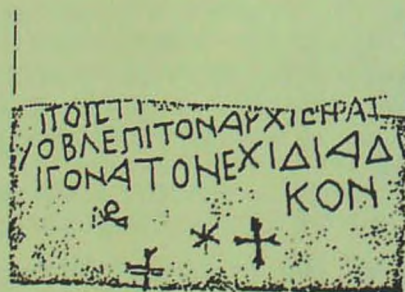


Fig. 85: Epitaph invoking Michael

Other ed.: **MAMA* 4 [1933]: 325 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Grégoire "Texte" [1933a]: 58 (inadvertently cites Calder "New Jerusalem," p. 426 instead of p. 424); F. Halkin (1953: 330); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 72.

Variant readings:

l.1 [... c. 9 l.]: *MAMA*.

l.2 ... ου βλέπει: Calder; ΟΥΒΛ: *MAMA*; ουβ(α): Calder, in *MAMA*, suggested reading; Grégoire (Halkin) omits the initial letters.

ll.2-3 τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον: Calder does not mark partially illegible letters; τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον: Grégoire does not mark missing or partially legible letters.

l.3 αὐτόν: previous *edd.* do not restore *upsilon*; ἔχει: Grégoire.

ll.3-4 διδάδικον: previous *edd.* do not indicate line division here.

Further references: C.W.M. Cox (1933: 230); H. von Aulock (1980: 60-61 and n.163; 1987: 16); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 359.

Photograph: *MAMA* 4, plate 65 [of squeeze].

The archangel Michael

In both Jewish and Christian tradition, Michael is the "commander-in-chief" of all the angels (*1 Enoch* 24:6; *T. Abr.* 1.4; *Jude* 9; *Rev* 12:7). There is little doubt, therefore, that the title ἀρχιστράτηγος in l.2 is meant to designate Michael; cf. *MAMA* 4.307; *CB* 2 [1897]: 404; *LPGL*, s.v. ἀρχιστράτηγος. The two crosses and the Christogram(?) reveal that this is a Christian funerary inscription. The grave is protected by a funerary curse, invoking the wrath of Michael on potential violators. For examples of other sepulchral curses, see 20, 53, 59, 61.

Epigraphy and orthography

The *upsilon* in Calder's reading of ΟΥΒΛ (ΟΥΒΛ?) in l.2 is only partly visible on the photograph of the squeeze. This letter was carved to the left of the *omikron* and if, as is likely, it really is an *upsilon*, the O and Y were undoubtedly engraved incorrectly in reverse order (cf. 78). If so, the restoration should be <OY>ΒΛ or <OY>ΒΛ. As there is some uncertainty about the last letter and about the whole first part of l.2, the four letters have been given above as read from the squeeze. See also *MAMA* 4, p. 121. As in other Phrygian inscriptions -ι- has replaced -ει- in ἐπὶ (l.2) and ἔχει (l.3). The present tense here carries the sense of a future consequence. The omission of -v- from αὐτόν in l.3 is a mistake and should be restored.

Montanist?

Calder (424) placed Pepouza at Bekilli and argued convincingly that another inscription found there (77) with the name Montanos inscribed on it must be Montanist. His other discoveries at Bekilli included a dedication to the goddess Leto, mother of Apollo (*ibid.* = *MAMA* 4.314), an orthodox bishop named Michael (*ibid.* = *MAMA* 4.323 = *CB* 2.405,

dated 556), and the inscription under discussion here. Obviously, not all inscriptions found at Bekilli can be considered Montanist. In fact, Calder was uncommitted about the possible Montanist nature of this inscription in his *ed. pr.*, but in *MAMA* he suggested that the funerary curse formula was "perhaps Montanist" (121). However, there is no literary or other epigraphic evidence to suggest that Montanists particularly favored appeals to the archangel. As it appears that later Montanists, or at least Quintillians (on whom, see pp. 346-347 above), tended to interpret the Book of Revelation extremely literally (see W. Tabbernee [1989b: 58-59]), they may have become enamored with passages such as Rev 12 where Michael and his angels are portrayed as defeating the devil and his angels. Such a "commander-in-chief" would be a fearsome adversary for any grave robber. Christians other than Montanists, of course, could have come to the same conclusion. The location of Pepouza has not yet been identified, but even if it were situated at or near modern Bekilli, this would merely increase the likelihood of this inscription's Montanist nature; it could not guarantee it. For other inscriptions from Bekilli or its vicinity attributed to Montanism, see 17-18, 58, 77-78.

Pepouza(?) or Tymion(?)

Map 12:G3 (S.W. Phrygia). W.M. Calder ("New Jerusalem" [1931]: 424) placed Tymion at Üçkuyu, but, as indicated above, Üçkuyu (12:G4) has also been suggested as the site of Pepouza. For an alternative suggestion regarding the location of Tymion, see pp. 487-488 below.

77. The Montanist diaconate

Bekilli, originally from Üçkuyu?

V

Ed. pr. — Calder "New Jerusalem" [1931]: 423-424.

Rectangular marble slab with rim containing sunken circular basin, also with rim. Discovered by W.H. Buckler, W.K.C. Guthrie, and W.M. Calder in 1930 at Bekilli, but said to have come from Üçkuyu. Thickness/height: 0.07m.; length: 1.04m.; width: 0.62m.; interior diameter of basin: 0.36m.; depth of basin: 0.23m. (exterior), 0.12m. (interior). Inscription, marked by Latin cross (see *ad 14*) at each end, carved in dupli-

cate along both longer edges (cf. 78). *Nu* has curved diagonal hasta. Cur-sive *omega*. *Omikron* and *upsilon* are carved above each other in ligature (cf. 85). Letter height: 0.025m. Figure 86. Plate 41.

† Μοντανου πρωτοδιακόνου †

(In memory of) Montanos *prōtodiakonos*.



Fig. 86: Baptismal font(?) honoring a Montanos

Other ed.: **MAMA* 4 [1933]: 321 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 6 [1932]: 243; Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59; Gibson "Montanism" [1974]: 106; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 693-694 no. 46 with photograph; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 73; C. Marksches (1994: 22 and nn.95-96); C. Trevett (1996: 19, 204).

Variant readings:

l. 1 []: Marksches does not show cross at beginning or end of inscription. + Μοντανου πρωτο διακονου +: Trevett (19); Previous *edd.* do not mark ligatures.

Further references: *BE* [1932]: p. 210; C.W.M. Cox (1933: 228); W. Ruge (1937: 562); W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 301 n.176); F.E. Vokes (1966: 307); C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.289); Tabbernee "Montanism," 496-497; Strobel, 202, 217, 232-233; H. von Aulock (1980: 60-61 and n.163; 1987: 16); W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 210, 359, 412; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.234); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 255; Frend (1996: 195).

Photograph: *MAMA* 4, plate 65 no. 321 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 18).

Montanos

The name Montanos is not uncommon in Asia Minor, especially Phrygia. A man called [—] αλιος Μουντανος is attested at Ephesos, c.54-59 (*IEph* 1a [1979]: 20, l.13). Another man named T(itus) Flavius Montanus, who was high priest of the province of Asia in 107 and is honored by a number of Ephesian inscriptions (*IEph* 6 [1980]: 2061), came originally from Akmonia (*CIG* 3 [1853]: 3858e = *CB* 2 [1897]:

534); see also Ramsay *Social Basis* [1941]: 161-162. For further examples from Akmonia, see *ad* 21. A [Mo]υντάνοϲ was *archon* and *epimeletes* at Otrous in c.193 (see Ramsay *Social Basis*, 162) and a further Montanos, who was a member of a family of *bouletai*, resided in the Upper Tembris Valley during III or IV¹; see A. Souter (1897: 137 no. 7) = *GVI* [1955]: 819. E. Gibson (*IPhyrChr* [1978a]: p. 104) takes this last instance of the use of the name Montanos as an indication that Montanism was not rife in the Upper Tembris Valley. Although her conclusion is no doubt accurate, that inscription would only support it if it could be shown to be Christian. Presumably non-Christians would not have had any scruples about having the same name as the founder of a Christian sect. An inscription from Gecek in the Upper Tembris Valley bearing the names of a father and son both named Montanos (*MAMA* 10 [1993]: 192) may prove Gibson's case. The Gecek inscription, dated c.III², may be Christian because it also contains names popular among Christians; e.g., Onesimos (cf. 16), Kyrillos (cf. 47), and Theodoros (cf. 9). It is, nevertheless, almost certainly not Montanist in that the monument to which the inscription belongs consists almost totally of the busts of a man and a woman carved prominently within a semicircular niche. Montanists probably had an aversion to such portraiture; see *ad* 53.

Outside of Central Phrygia, Christians appear not to have been reluctant to use the name; see *IPhyrChr*, p. 104, *ad* 21, and cf. 63. Bearing the name Montanos in Central-Phrygian Christian circles, however, was a different matter. The connection between the name and adherence to the New Prophecy would have been apparent to all concerned. The only exception would have been in the case of converts to Christianity who may have received, or taken, the *cognomen* Montanos prior to their conversion. Irrespective of whether Üçkuyu or Bekilli can be identified with Pepouza, the discovery of this marble slab containing the name of a Christian πρωτοδιάκονος named Montanos in Central Phrygia makes the inscription almost certainly Montanist.

The marble slab

Although containing a bowl-shaped depression, the slab does not appear to have been a *mensa* of the type used for funerary meals (on which, see Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 90-92). It, undoubtedly, was a piece of ecclesiastical furniture, perhaps belonging to the same church as 78. W.M. Calder (424) could not decide whether it was a stoup (for holy water) or a (baptismal) font. Stoups were in use in the East by V (see H. Leclercq [1910a: cols. 758-771, esp. cols. 764-765 (fig. 1499)]), but there is no indication whether they were used in Montanist churches. In any

case, the size and shape of the part of the slab makes Calder's second suggestion more plausible. If accurate, it would be good evidence that fifth- or sixth-century Montanists practiced infant baptism. Perhaps the remainder of the slab was used to place other items (e.g., vessels for oils used in anointing) employed during the initiatory ceremony. For the view that the Montanist baptismal rite also involved tattooing, see W. Schepeleern (1929: 122-129); G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (1950: 297-316); W. Tabbernee (1989b: 58-59); C. Trevett (1995: 260-262; cf. 1996: 98 and n.75, 200); and S. Elm (1996: 409-439). For allegedly Montanist inscriptions with allusions to baptism, see 61, 67.

Memorial or gift?

The genitive endings indicate that the marble slab in some way honored Montanos. As in the case of 58, it may have been a gift bestowed on the church by Montanos himself or by friends and relatives after his death. If the former, Montanos may have paid for this piece of ecclesiastical furniture as the result of a vow (cf. 89) and the translation would need to be altered to "(Gift of) Montanos *prōtodiakonos*."

77². Preimos, *diakonos*

Another inscription from Bekilli itself (*MAMA* 4.326 [pl. 65]), dated by Calder between IV and VI, records that the construction or restoration of a particular building was completed in the time of a deacon named Preimos: ἐξεργάσθη | τὸ κτῆμα ἐπὶ διακόνου | Πρεΐμου. Strobel (72-73) considers it somewhat strange that the event should be dated according to the tenure of a deacon, rather than, say, to that of a bishop and argues that Byzantine Christianity at Bekilli had its own peculiar hierarchy which included a higher than normal status for deacons. This higher status, he claims, accords well with Jerome's testimony (*ep.* 41.3) that Montanism had a hierarchy which differed from that of mainstream Christianity (see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 254-268). Jerome, however, says nothing specific about the role and status of deacons in Montanism. Strobel's speculation that in Montanism, or at least in the type of Montanism evident in small Phrygian towns or villages, deacons such as Preimos or protodeacons such as Montanos were the equivalent of bishops is unlikely to be correct. To the contrary, the literary evidence suggests that one of the complaints about late Phrygian Montanism was that it continued to call the pastors of even small Phrygian villages by the title of ἐπίσκοπος long after official Christianity had, on the whole, moved to-

ward reserving the title "bishop" for the chief pastor of larger cities and of dioceses; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 255. If anything, therefore, the reference to Preimos may suggest that he belonged to the official church rather than to a Montanist church. There were catholic as well as Montanist churches in the area, as attested by the inscription mentioning Bishop Michael (*MAMA* 4.323; see *ad* 76). The fact that the completion of a church building is dated by reference to a deacon is to be explained on grounds other than the alleged higher status of Montanist deacons. Perhaps Preimos' name is recorded because he was the deacon in charge of the building project. None of this, of course, means that Preimos could not have been a Montanist, but, if he were, this needs to be established on other grounds. As it cannot be argued that the region was exclusively Montanist, despite the almost certainty that there were Montanist churches in the area, Preimos should not be claimed as a Montanist.

Montanos, *prōtodiakonos*

Calder ("New Jerusalem," 421) dated the Montanos inscription to V or later. This date is certainly compatible with the style (cf. 85) and the crosses which mark the beginning and end of the inscription (cf. 78, 81-82, 85, 87). If, as appears to be the case, there was nothing particularly unique about the Montanist diaconate, then presumably Montanos' role as *prōtodiakonos* paralleled that of fifth-century *πρωτοδιάκονοι* elsewhere. He would have been the "chief" deacon; i.e., "archdeacon"; see H.G. Beck (1959: 99) and *LPGL*, s.v. *πρωτοδιάκονος*.

78. A Montanist(?) altar top

Üçkuyu, embedded in curbing of path
in courtyard of mosque

V

Ed. pr. — Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 120 (majuscule text only) with photograph.

Narrow marble slab, broken at left. Original length approximately 1.36m.; length of extant piece: 0.83m.; width: 0.65m.; thickness/height: 0.077m. At the top is a 0.022m. high and 0.10-0.11m. wide rim, containing a 0.14m. wide recess. Inscription is engraved on the front face of the stone. The end of the inscription is marked by a shallow Latin cross. There is a distance of 0.465m. from the cross to the right edge of the stone. A similar cross probably decorated the beginning of the inscription (cf. 77). Cursive *epsilon* and *sigma*. First *lambda* is carved at an an-

gle. Letters are all carved slightly unevenly. Letter height: 0.025m. Figure 87. Plate 41.

[† —^{c.9} —] ΤΟΝ πολλὸς ἐκ χρόν<ου> †

... ΤΟΝ [who died?] long ago.



Fig. 87: Altar top from Pepouza(?)

Text reprinted and discussed: *SEG* 31 [1984]: 1123.

Variant reading:

1.1] ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΥΣ ΕΧΡΟΝΙΟ †; Strobel (*SEG*).

Further references: Strobel, 203; *BE* [1983]: 412; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 412.

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 3a.

Restoring the text

In discussing this text, A. Strobel (120 n.122) draws attention to *MAMA* 4 [1933]: 313: [(cross) τοῦ δεινός καὶ Πολυχρονίου Χριστιανῶν (cross), from Yeşilova, formerly Medele (ancient Motella), Phrygia (date: V or VI). That inscription is engraved on a similar slab of stone, perhaps a baptismal font (cf. 77). It is clear that in the Motella inscription Πολυχρονίου is the name of a person, even though a Maltese cross is carved between ΠΟΛΥ and ΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ; see *MAMA* 4, plate 63 no. 313. The name Polychronios is common in Phrygian inscriptions (e.g., *MAMA* 4.101, 4.103; *MAMA* 10 [1993]: 110) and in Christian circles generally (e.g., *M. Thdot.* 20; Thdt., *h.e.* 5.40.2). It is difficult, however, to restore the name Polychronios in the text of the inscription discovered by Strobel. Although the double *lambda* could be explained as part of an alternative spelling of the name (cf. the -λλ- in Ἀλλεξανδρεία and Ἀλλεξανδρος [27]) and the omission of the *iota* as an engraver's error, the letters -σε- in the middle of the inscription are problematic. The Maltese cross in *MAMA* 4.313 is a clearly recognizable symbol and, hence, while it breaks up the text, it does not obscure the meaning. Such

is not the case here. To restore the name would require a reading such as το<<υ>> Πολλυ{σε}χρον<ι><<ου>>. It is unlikely that an engraver would have made quite so many errors, even though it is clear that he made some. Irrespective of how the text is restored, the last two letters must have been carved in reverse order.

It seems best to assume that the text does *not* refer to a man named Polychronios but that it contains a reference to time. The simplest solution is to restore the last phrase as a variant of πολὺς χρόνος ("for a long time"). Perhaps the intended phrase was a variation of ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ("a long time since," or "long ago"), carved incorrectly as ΠΟΛΛΥΣΧΡΟΝΥΟ. The *kappa* would have been assimilated by the *chi* and the (incorrectly spelled) nominative used instead of πολλοῦ. If so, the text should be restored: πολλὺς ἐκ χρόν<<ου>>.

The first extant letter of the inscription is read by Strobel (followed by SEG) as a *tau*. Only part of the top of this letter, however, is visible. If restored accurately, the first three letters are, as Strobel suggests: TON. Perhaps they provide the end of the name of a person (Ariston?, Kapit-on?) honored by this inscription, but who died "long ago." However, as these letters could also belong to a completely different word, no name has been restored.

Date

The Latin cross, at the conclusion of the inscription, marks it as Christian. As indicated above, there may also have been a cross at the commencement of the inscription; cf. MAMA 4.313. Strobel does not date the inscription. A comparison with 77, however, suggests a date sometime in V. The use of crosses to mark both the beginning and end of inscriptions was a popular post-Constantinian practice (cf. 77, 81-82, 85, 87).

Montanist?

There is no doubt that the slab came from a Christian church. Strobel suggests (120), probably correctly, that it may have been the top of a Eucharistic altar. Strobel also assumes the slab to be an extant piece of a Montanist altar, as he cites the open use of the cross as further evidence confirming the Montanist nature of Satorneinos' tombstone (17). That we have here a remnant of Montanism is not proved by these crosses. Possible confirmation of its Montanist nature, nevertheless, may come from 77 which is almost certainly a fifth-century Montanist baptismal font from the same location. There is no absolute guarantee, of course, that these two pieces of ecclesiastical furniture came from the exact same church.

Tymion(?)

Map 12:F4 (S.W. Phrygia). Dumanlıören, the ancient ruins approximately 1.5-2.0km. S.E. of Dumanlı between the roads to Üçkuyu (12:G4) and Kaykılı (12:F4) on the Plain of Kırbaşı, is one of the more likely locations of Tymion. First suggested by W.M. Ramsay (CB 2 [1897]: p. 575) on the basis that Turkish villages often retained an altered form of the original Greek name (cf. J. and L. Robert [1977: 30-36]), this theory has been revived by A. Strobel (Das heilige Land [1980]: 129, cf. 145-147). The names of numerous Turkish villages, however, contain a compound of the word Duman, hence any alleged link with Τυμίον could only serve as confirmatory evidence for the correct identification of Dumanlı as the joint site of the Montanist headquarters, once this identification has been made on other grounds. From Dumanlı, one can look out over the entire plain, esp. to the S. The village of Buğdale (12:F4), which Strobel (33, 129) considers to be the most likely site for Pepouza, is situated approx. 6km. to the E., but is somewhat hidden by a northern chain of hills. Strobel (145) argues that the two villages had always been closely related to each other, but see C. Marksches (1994: 23 and n.105). If the identification of Pepouza = Buğdale and Tymion = Dumanlı is correct, the more prominent geographic visibility of the latter may explain why it was associated with Pepouza as the headquarters of the Montanist movement (e.g., by Apollon., ap. Eus., h.e. 5.18.2). H. Kraft (1955: 260-261), on the other hand, suggested that the two towns were jointly designated as the center of Montanism because they must have been situated on either side of "a great and high mountain" (cf. Rev 21:10) where the descent of the New Jerusalem was expected; but see W. Tabbernee (1989b: 52-62). Kraft (1986: 236) also postulates that the name "Thymion" may have been derived from green herbal vegetation growing in the village's fields. As with other possible locations for ancient Tymion (see pp. 27-28, 153-154 above), certitude will probably only come as a result of extensive archaeological exploration. The pioneering work commenced by Strobel in

describing and mapping Dumanlıören (148-149) needs to be continued. Dumanlı itself is approx. 42km. S. of Uşak (Temenothyrai; 12:B3) and 53km. N.E. of Pamuk-kale (Hierapolis; 8:H1); see TIB 7 [1990]: 242.

79. A Montanist(?) funerary cross

Dumanlıören(?), in or near ruin of a church(?)
Now in Uşak Museum

V(?)–VI(?)

Ed. pr. — Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 154-155 (majuscule text only) with photograph.

Small bronze cross. Height: 0.05m.; width: 0.04m.; thickness not provided. Artwork consists of dominant male figure with outstretched arms and hands, above whose head is the inscription which consists of four roughly carved letters: *eta*, *omega*, *alpha*, *iota*. Letter height not given. Figure 88. Plate 37.

HOAI

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 9(b).

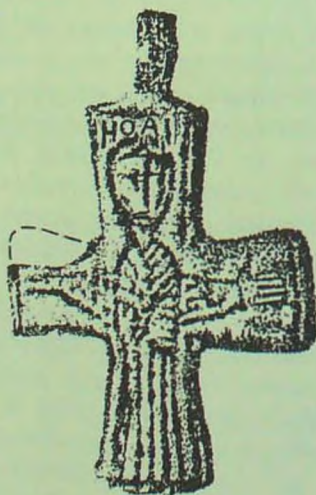


Fig. 88: Funerary cross

Provenance

According to verbal reports, which A. Strobel (154) takes to be absolutely trustworthy, a number of small crosses were found near the ruins of a building, presumably a church, at Dumanlıören sometime before he himself visited the site in 1977-1978. Strobel also collected a number of sketches of these crosses, one of which depicts a cross identical to one now exhibited in Uşak Museum. The Uşak example has no notification of provenance, but is assumed by Strobel to be one of the Dumanlıören crosses. As numerous ornaments as well as tombstones and other epigraphic material from surrounding areas have found their way to the museum at Uşak, this hypothesis is plausible, although, of course, not proved.

Funerary crosses

Strobel (155), on the basis of the possible depiction of such a funerary cross on the artwork on the sarcophagus containing the mummy of a young Egyptian girl (British Museum, inv. no. 54051A; cf. J. Jeremias [1958: 77, 80-81 (figs.)]), takes the cross under discussion here to be a funerary cross buried with the deceased. Because of its likely provenance and because he is convinced that Montanist zeal for witnessing to the Christian faith was connected with a partiality to using demonstrative Christian symbols, Strobel argues for the probability of the Montanist origin of the cross now in the Uşak Museum.

Date

Strobel (153) dates the earliest parts of the church at Dumanlıören to V or VI and assumes that the crosses come from approximately the same period (153-155). This dating allows him to link inscriptions containing the phrase *ὁ ἅγιος δεῖνα* (see 154) with the use of the term *ὁ ἅγιος* on (Montanist) inscriptions honoring *Πραῦλιος* (84), *Παυλῖνος* (80), and *Τρόφιμος* (80) to argue that the *omikron* and the *alpha* in the inscription under discussion stand for *ὁ ἅγιος*.

The risen Christ

Strobel interprets the carved figure on the face of the cross as a portrayal of the risen Christ, providing him with a solution to the meaning of the remainder of the puzzling letters of the inscription. According to Strobel, -I- stands for *Ἰησοῦς* and -H- is the first letter of a word such as *ἡγέρθη*. Strobel's restoration, therefore, would be *Ἡ(γέρθη) Ὁ Ἄ(γιος) Ἰ(ησοῦς)*: "The holy Jesus was raised (from death)." All this is possible, but extremely speculative. For example, a very similar sixth-century

bronze reliquary cross found in the *martyrium* of St. Philip at Hierapolis (on the latter, see *ad* 83) has the letters HOANHC and portrays the apostle John in an almost identical posture to that of the "Jesus" on the cross under discussion here; see *Hierapolis di Frigias: 1957-1987* (1987: 131). The posture is that of an orant (see *ad* 16).

Montanist?

Because of uncertainty regarding the exact provenance of this particular cross (even though there may have been similar crosses discovered at Dumanlıören), lack of specific dating, ambiguity of the text of the inscription, and the unsubstantiated identity of Dumanlıören as the site of ancient Tymion, it is impossible to classify this small bronze cross as Montanist.

Sebaste

Map 12:D5 (Central Phrygia). *Payamalanı* (ancient *Eibeos*; 12:C6) is 7km. N. of Sivaslı, the modern city near the site of Sebaste (see p. 176 above). *Kırka* (12:B5), 15km. N.W. of *Payamalanı*, 15km. W. of *Ahat* (*Akmonia*; 12:B6), and approx. 16km. E. of *Uşak* (*Temenothyrai*; 12:B3), is near the site of ancient *Dioskome*. This outlying, self-governing settlement was within the territory of Sebaste; see CB 2 [1897]: pp. 583-584; Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 180, 183; and TIB 7 [1990]: 234, 304.

80. Paulinos: *mystēs* and *koinōnos*

Payamalanı, in ruins of foundations of building, probably a church
Now in Afyon Museum

V¹-VI¹

Ed. pr. — Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 163-183 with copy of text by W.M. Calder based on copy by Michel Gough (164) and restored text by Calder/Grégoire with facsimile (165).

Marble slab, discovered in the 1940s by Süleyman Gökçe Bay, Director of the Afyon Museum. Left side of slab is broken, the other three sides and back are roughly tooled where built into the foundation wall.

Height: 0.05m.; width: 0.47m.; thickness: 0.04m. Inscription consists of crude letters of different size engraved irregularly. Staurogram probably restored correctly at the beginning of l.1. Grégoire also restored a staurogram at the beginning of l.6, but this was rejected by Calder on the basis of lack of available space. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.065m. Figure 89. Plate 35.

[†] Ἐνταῦθα κίται
[ό] ἅγιος Παυλῖνος
[μο]ίστης καὶ κοινωνός
[ἔχω]ν τὴν χάριν
5 [Θεοῦ] ἔτη πε΄.
[Ὁ ἅγ]ιος Τρόφιμος
[μά]ρτυς.

5 Here lies the holy Paulinos: *mystēs* and *koinōnos* possessing the grace | of God eighty-five years. The holy Trophimos, martyr (also lies here).

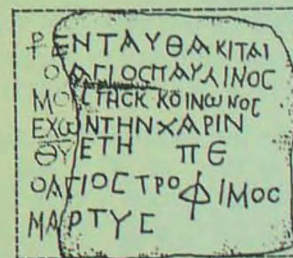


Fig. 89: Tombstone commemorating Paulinos and Trophimos

Other edd.: Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 37-38 no. 7 with photograph; *Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 269-272 no. 1 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: "La Nouvelle Clio" (1952: 314); F. Halkin (1953: 329); BE [1954]: 233; SEG 15 [1958]: 809; *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: p. 137; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 703-705 no. 55 with photograph and facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 89-90; *IGLEcl* [1982]: 37; Buschmann "Χριστοῦ κοινωνός" [1995a]: 243-264 with German trans.; Johnson *Anatolia* [1995]: 126-127 no. 4.7.

Variant readings:

- 1.1 []: *SEG*; []: *IGLEccI*, here and elsewhere, does not restore symbols or missing letters; Buschmann does not restore symbols; *Ενταῦθα*: Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" (Buschmann; Johnson) does not indicate partial illegibility of *epsilon*.
 1.2 *ὁ*: Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" (Buschmann) does not indicate restoration.
 1.3 [?]σθς: Calder on basis of Gough in Calder/Grégoire (*IPhyrgChr* does not indicate partial illegibility of *iota*); [μσ]σθς: Strobel, *IGLEccI*, Buschmann, and Johnson do not indicate partial illegibility of *iota*; καί: *SEG*.
 1.4 [εὐρὼ]ν: Calder/Grégoire (Halkin).
 1.6 [ὁ ἅγιος]: Calder/Grégoire.

Further references: *BE* [1956]: 284; K. Aland (1960b: 108-109); *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 428 n.1; W.H.C. Frend (1965b: 301 n.175, 445); C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.290); H. Paulsen (1978: 50 n.170); Halkin (1979: 218); Strobel, 270; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 168); *TAM* 5,1 [1981]: p. 17; *BE* [1982]: 331; Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 105 n.62; Frend (1984b: 256, 266 n.148); Tabbernee "Montanism," 278-279, 503; id. (1989a: 200); S. Ronchey (1990: 77-78); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 128 and n.40, 246, 358-359; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.235, 104 and nn.425, 427); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257-268; Frend (1994: 277); C. Marksches (1994: 22-23 and n.98); G. Buschmann (1995b: 122); Johnson, 115; Frend (1996: 341); C. Trevett (1996: 206, 211-212, 260 n.157).

Photograph: Calder "Epitaphs," plate 2[d] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 25 no. 55; id., "Regional Bishops," plate 1).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 165 (Tabbernee "Montanism," 704; id., "Regional Bishops," 270 fig. 1).

Κοινωνοί

There is no doubt that the first part of this inscription is the epitaph of a Montanist. According to Hier., *ep.* 41.3 and Justn., *cod.* I.5.20.3, κοινωνοί were Montanist clergy, second in rank to patriarchs. Scholarly investigation into the origins and meaning of the title κοινωνός has led to speculation about κοινωνοί being "companions of Christ" in the sense of martyrs/confessors; "financial officers"; "social-religious leaders" such as a Jewish *חבר עיר*; or "female-associates." For a survey of the major theories, see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257-263. From 84 and 85 it appears that κοινωνοί were regional bishops; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 265-267 but contrast Buschmann "Χριστοῦ κοινωνός," 251-255. See also Paulsen, 48-50 and H. Kraft (1986: 237, 240-241).

The designation [μσ]σθς [i.e., μύσθς] (1.3), which is part of Paulinos' title, confirms that κοινωνοί were senior bishops. In *IPont* [1910]: 101 (Amaseia: late V), it is used as a synonym for metropolitan.

The holy Paulinos

Each of the κοινωνοί is designated "holy": ὁ ἅγιος (here and 84), ἅγιος (85). On some inscriptions from Asia Minor ἅγιος is nothing other than a means of identifying the deceased as a Christian in the sense that all Christians were considered saints; see G. Laminger-Pascher (1973: 344-346). As the staurogram (assuming correct restoration) already identifies the religion of the deceased, ὁ ἅγιος must mean more than "Christian" here. H. Achelis (1912: vol. 2, 52) assumed that κοινωνοί were Montanist martyrs. There is no evidence, however, that Paulinos or either of the other κοινωνοί whose epitaph is extant was a martyr. If they had been, this would have been recorded; cf. Trophimos (*Il.6-7*). Nor, as far as we can tell, were they confessors, at least not in the technical sense of having had to defend the faith before hostile civil officials, although, originally, the term κοινωνός may have been used primarily (or even exclusively) to refer to confessors. Hence, the traditional use of ὁ ἅγιος to denote martyrs and confessors does not appear to be applicable to these fifth- or sixth-century Montanist κοινωνοί. In Paulinos' case, and that of the other κοινωνοί, it seems best to assume that the designation "holy" was an indication of episcopal rank (cf. Thdt. *ep.* 113; Eustr., v. *Eutych.* 19; *LPGL*, s.v. ἅγιος). Moreover, the designation "holy" appears to have been very popular among Montanists; see Strobel, 89-90, 288-289 (although it is not necessary to accept his conclusion that this was derived in part from Montanism's Phrygian environment). See also P. Herrmann in *TAM* 5, 1 [1981]: 17.

Staurogram

The Christian symbol suggested by Calder/Grégoire for the beginning of 1.1 is most probably restored correctly as a staurogram, rather than a Christogram. See 84, which has an extant, indisputable staurogram at the beginning of its first line, and 93 which has a staurogram at the beginning and end of the epitaph. It is likely that staurograms were also carved at the beginning of the first lines of 86 and 92. For staurograms at the end of inscriptions, see 83, 79 and, as already noted, 93. On the term "staurogram" for the abbreviation *tau* and *rho* to signify the cross (σταυρός) and its differentiation from Christograms employing the abbreviation *chi* and *rho*, see E. Dinkler (1962: 93-112) and Wischmeyer (1979: 539-550), but cf. M. Black (1970: 319-327).

Trophimos

Contra Calder ("Epitaphs," 37), the martyr Trophimos named in this inscription should not be identified with the martyr Trophimos of 35; see

Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 271-272. More than likely, the Trophimos of the inscription under discussion here was a fifth- or sixth-century Montanist who died as a result of anti-Montanist legislation (on which, see pp. 471-473 above); see *ibid.* and cf. Grégoire in Calder/Grégoire, 180).

81. Taken up into heaven

Kirka

Sunday, 11 June 517(?)

Ed. pr. — CB 2 [1897]: 454 with line drawing/facsimile.

Marble slab, no measurements or other details of stone provided. Greek crosses (see *ad* 14) carved at beginning of *l.1* and at end of *l.4*, 7 (cf. 82). Marks signifying abbreviations carved in *l.5*, 7. Leaf carved in bottom right corner. Inscription, copied by W.M. Ramsay in 1883, carved in even letters. Quadratic *epsilon*s, *mu*s, and *sigma*. *Delta* in *l.3* carved as (Greek) capital, but in *l.5* like an English lower case *d*. The *mu* in *l.7* was at first inadvertently omitted and was later fitted in above the *eta*. Letter height not given. **Figure 90.**

+ 'Ανελήμ-
φθη τὸ πε-
δίων 'Αντί-
πατρος +
5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι' καὶ
μηνὶ θ', ιζ'
ἡμ(έρᾳ) κυρ(ιακῇ). + (leaf)

The child Antipatros was taken up [into heaven] on
5 | Sunday, the 17th day of the ninth month, during the tenth
indiction.

Text reprinted and discussed: *Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59; Peterson "Montanistische Inschriften" [1934]: 173-174; Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 176-177; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 797 no. 33 with line drawing/facsimile; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 708-710 no. 57 with trans. and line drawing/facsimile; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 90-92.

Variant readings:

l.4 Strobel does not indicate cross.

l.5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι): CB.

l.7 ἡμ(ετέρου) κυρ(ισῶν): Leclercq, Peterson (Tabbernee) do not indicate cross or leaf.

Further references: Grégoire "Hiérarchie" [1925]: 331; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2543; *APH* 9 [1935]: p. 281; Grégoire "Épigraphie hérétique" [1935]: 248-250; *APH* 10 [1936]: p. 282; *BE* [1936]: p. 352; S. Lieberman (1939/44: 439-441); K. Aland (1960a: 159); *IPhygChr* [1978a]: p. 138; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 304.

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 561 (Leclercq "Phrygie," col. 798 fig. 10190; Tabbernee, 708).

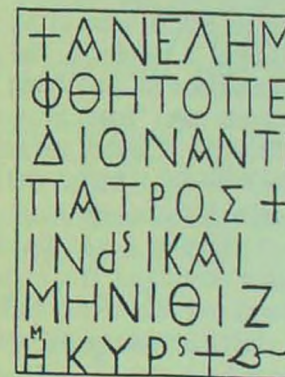


Fig. 90: Antipatros' epitaph, as published in 1897

Date

Indictions were introduced in 312 and made obligatory from 537; see E.J. Bickerman (1968: 78-79). Indiction numbers show the position of the designated year within a cycle of fifteen years (e.g., 312-326). In the East, the indiction commenced on September 1, but this starting date was not universal. For example, in Egypt indictions started earlier; see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp (1978: 15-16, 27). For a table giving indictions, see W. Kubitschek (1894: col. 666). The cycles themselves were not numbered so that the exact year needs to be correlated with other data, e.g., the month and the day. The ninth month of the Asian calendar is Panemos. According to calculations based on Bickerman, p. 50 (fig. 3), 1 Panemos is equivalent to 24 May, making 17 Panemos fall on 11 June. A comparison with Praylios' tombstone (84), which is dated securely to 515, makes it likely that this epitaph is of approximately the same period.

According to calculations based on Bickerman and Kubitchek, Sunday, 11 June coincided with the 10th indiction on two occasions during VI, i.e., 517 and 562. The earlier date is probably the correct one. Ramsay's suggestion of a late-IV date (*CB* 2, p. 562) was made on the basis of a comparison with our 75 before the discovery of 84. After the discovery of 84, Lieberman (439 n.20) revised Ramsay's date by extending it into V. The above calculations, however, suggest early VI. See K.A. Worp (1991: 221-230, esp. 222-224) for a study of the correlation between epigraphic evidence for dated weekdays and modern computations.

Montanist?

The use of the word ἀνελήμφθη on the tombstone of the undoubtedly Montanist Praylios (84) and on that of Iouleia Evaresta (75), whom H. Grégoire, at one time, considered a Montanist, led Grégoire to postulate that it was an exclusively Montanist term signifying that the deceased had been taken straight to heaven; see "Inscriptions Montanistes," 59; "Épigraphie hérétique," 248-250; Calder/Grégoire, 176-178; and cf. Strobel (90-92). Lieberman (439-441) traced the development of the Montanist use of the term from Judaism, via Judeo Christianity, arguing that Jews ceased to use the term after it had become monopolized by Christians. However, as already noted (*ad* 75), mainstream Christians, as well as Montanists, also employed the term. Indeed, Montanists and Christians from the official church do not appear to have differed on the view that the deceased did not have to wait in paradise for the resurrection of the dead. Consequently, while on the basis of the use of the term ἀνελήμφθη in 84, the possibility that Antipatros and his parents were Montanists cannot be dismissed altogether, it is highly unlikely that this was the case. The rest of the text of Antipatros' epitaph contains no traces of Montanism.

There is absolutely no warrant for considering the epitaph of Aphrodisias (*IAsMinChr* [1922]: 260) to be Montanist, as suggested tentatively by Grégoire ("Inscriptions Montanistes," 59). If anything, its reference to the ἀνάληψις Πέτρου points to the use of the word ἀνελήμφθη as a widespread metaphorical equivalent of "having died," rather than an exclusively Montanist term. Consequently, that inscription has not been discussed in a separate entry.

Hierapolis

Map 8:H1 (S.W. Phrygia). See p. 91 above.

82. A Montanist(?) patriarch named Gennaios

Pamukkale, on pillar in ruins of church

V²

Ed. pr. — *CIG* 4 [1877]: 8769 with facsimile of majuscule text by E. Chishull.

White marble stone. Height: 0.47m.; width: 1.20m.; thickness: 0.04m. Lower half of the stone has been corroded badly by the weather, necessitating extensive restoration of the text. A Greek cross (see *ad* 14) is carved at the beginning and, according to F. Uspenskii ("Otchet" [1904]: 403), also the end of the inscription as well as in the middle and at the end of l.1 (cf. 76). For (probable) shape of letters, see fig. 91. Abbreviation marks carved in ll.1-3, 5, 7, the one in l.7 indicating a *nomen sacrum*. Ligature at l.2. Letter height: 0.04m. Figure 91.

+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου + τ(άτου) καὶ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) +
 ἀρχιεπισκό(που) ἡμῶν κ̅ξ̅ π(ατ)ριά{γ}ρχο[ν]
 Γενναίου ὁ ἐ[ὺ]λαβ(έστατος) πρεσβ[ι](ύτερος)
 Κυριακὸς [Ε] <ὺ> στο <χ> ἰου καὶ [τῶν]
 5 ἐκγόνων <αὐτ>οῦ Ἰοάννας
 Κυριακῆς ἐκ[α]ρπ[ι]ωφόρησ[α] τὸ
 κτίσμα τῆς ἁ[γ]ιωτ(άτης) ἐκκλ(ησίας) Χρ(ιστοῦ),
 [ἰν]δ(ικτιῶνος) η'. +

In the time of our most holy and most divinely beloved archbishop and patriarch Gennaios, I, the most pious presbyter Kyriakos son of Eustochios, and | my descendants Ioannas and Kyriakes, have borne as fruit the founding of the most holy church of Christ, during the eighth indiction.

Other edd.: Gardner "Inscriptions Cockerell" [1885]: 346 no. 73 (ll.1-3a only) with facsimile of majuscule copy of ll.1-3 by C.R. Cockerell; Cumont "Inscriptions" [1895]: 290 no. 130; *CB* 2 [1897]: 418; *IHierapJ* [1898]: 22 with facsimile of majuscule copy by F. Winter; Uspenskii "Otchet" [1904]: 403; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1907: 483 [ll.1-3 only]); Grégoire "Patriarche" [1933d]: 69-76.

Text reprinted and discussed: V. Schultze (1922: 430 and 430 n.3 [ll.1-3a only]); Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: cols. 780-782; G. Freeman (1950: 314-316 with trans.); Verzone "Chiese" [1956]: 38 and n.5 with partial Italian trans.; Tabbernee "Montanism"

[1978]: 719-721 no. 65; Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 105 n.63 (II.1-3a only); C. Marksches (1994: 11 n.32).

† ΕΠΙΤΟΥΑΓΙΟ† Τ' ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΟΣ /// †
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΗΜΩΝΚΠΡΙΑΓ ///
ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥΟΙ ΛΑΒΣΠΡΕΛ ///
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΑΣΤΟΜΟΥΚ ///
ΕΚΓΟΝΩΝ . . . ΟΛΑΝΝΑΕΚ ///
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΕΚ . . . ΟΦΟΡΗΕ
ΚΤΙΜΑΤΗΕΛ ΙΣΙΕΚΚΑΞΡ
ΔΗΙ

Fig. 91: Facsimile of inscription recording sponsorship of foundations of church by Kyriakos, as published in 1898

Variant readings:

1.1 Cross not recorded at beginning of line by CIG, Gardner; CIG shows crosses in middle and end of line in majuscule copy only; Uspenskii and Papadopoulos-Kerameus do not record crosses in middle and end of line; crosses not recorded at all by Cumont, CB, Mitchell; ΑΓΙΟ†ΤΣΚΑΙΘΕΟΟ†: Chishull in CIG; ΑΓΙΟΥ†ΤΣΚΑΙΘΕΟΟΣ†: Cockerell in Gardner; άγιου τε και θεοο(εβοδς): Gardner; άγι(ου) † τε(ε) και θεο(φ)(ιλοδς) †: IHierapJ; † Έπὶ τοῦ άγιου † τε και θεοφίλου †: Schultze (Marksches); άγιοι(άτου) και θεο(φ)(ιλοστάτου): CIG (Grégoire [Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee; Mitchell]); άγι(ω)τ(άτου) και θεο(σ(εβεστάτου): Cumont; άγιοι(άτου) και θεο(σ(εβεστάτου): CB; άγιω(τάτου) και θειο(τάτου): Uspenskii; θεοφ(ιλοσ)τάτου: Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

1.2 ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΗΜΩΝΚ-ΠΡΙΒΧΙ: Chishull; ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΗΜΩΝΚΠΡΙΒΧΟ: Cockerell; άρχιεπισκό(που) ή[μ]ων: CIG; άρχιεπισκο(όπ)ου: Gardner; άρχιεπισκο(όπου) ήμων: Cumont, IHierapJ; άρχιεπισκόπου: Schultze (Marksches), Grégoire (Leclercq; Tabbernee; Mitchell); και: CIG, Gardner, Uspenskii, Schultze (Marksches); κ(αί): Cumont, IHierapJ (Verzone); πατριάρχου: Gardner, Uspenskii; π(α)τριάρχ(ου): Papadopoulos-Kerameus; π(α)τριάρχου: Cumont; π(α)τριάρχ(ου): IHierapJ (Schultze [Marksches]; Grégoire [Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee; Mitchell], Verzone).

11.2-3 Ἰγνα[τ]ίου: CIG.

1.3 ΓΕΝΑΙΟΥΘΑΛΑΒΣΠΡΕΛΩ: Chishull; Γενναίου (Γενναδίου?): Cumont; κύρ Γενναδίου [εὐ]λα(βέστατος): Uspenskii; κ(αί) τοῦ εὐ[λ]αβ(εστάτου) πρεσ[β](υτέρου): CIG; [καί] τοῦ? εὐ[λ]αβ(εστάτου) πρεσ[β](υτέρου): Cumont; πρεσ[β](υτερος): CB; ό [εὐ]λαβ(ής): IHierapJ (Grégoire [Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee; Mitchell], Verzone); ό ε[ὐ]λαβ(εστάτος) πρεσ[β](υτερος): Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

1.4 ΚΥΝΑΚΟΕΥΕΤΟΚΙΟΥΚΑΙ: Chishull; ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΑΣΤΟΜΟΥΚ ///: Winter in IHierapJ; Κύνακος(?), [Ε]ύστο[χ]ίου και [τῶν]: CIG; Κυ[ρι]ακοῦ, [Ε]ύστο[χ]ίου και [τῶν]: Cumont; κυ[ρι]ακός [Ε]ύστο[χ]ίου [μετά] και [τῶν]: CB; Κυριακός . . . τομου και [τῶν]: IHierapJ (Verzone); Κυριακός . . . τὸν οὐκ . . . : Uspenskii; Κυριακός λόγιφ μου και τ(ῶν): Grégoire (Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee).

1.5 ΕΚΤΩΝΩΝΥΙΩΑΝΝΑ Κ. . . : Chishull; ΕΚΤΩΝΩΝ . . . ΟΛΑΝΝΑΕΚ ///: Winter; εκγώνων [αὐτ]οῦ: CIG, (CB); εκγώνων, υ[ι]οῦ: Cumont; εκγώνων Ἰαν[ν]α: εκγώνων [αὐτ]οῦ Ἰωάννα: IHierapJ [inadvertently omits bracket after *iota*] (Verzone); Uspenskii; κέ: CB; εκγώνων [μ(ου)] Ἰωάννης κ(αί): Grégoire (Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee).

1.6 ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΕΚΑΝΤΟΡΙΕ: Chishull; ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΕΚΛΑΦΟΡΗΕ: Winter; Κυ[ρι]ακῆς(?) εκ[τ]η[το]ρισ[σῶν]: CIG; Κυ[ρι]ακῆς εκ[τ]η[το]ρισ[σῶν] τῶ: Cumont, CB; Κυριακῆς εκ . . . φορησ[ε]? τὸ: IHierapJ (Verzone); Κυριακ(ῆς) [καρπο]φορησ(άντων): Uspenskii, Papadopoulos-Kerameus; εκ[α]ρ[π]ωφόρησ[α]: Grégoire (Leclercq, Freeman; Tabbernee) does not mark partially illegible letters.

1.7 ΚΤΙΜΑΤΗΕΥΗΩΙΣ: Chishull; κτί[σ]μα: CIG (CB); τῆς [ά]γίας τοῦ θεοῦ: CIG; [ά]γι[ω]τ(άτης)] εκκλ(ησίας) Χ[ρ]ιστοῦ?: Cumont (CB); κτίσμα τῆς [ά]γιωτ(άτης): IHierapJ (Verzone); κτίσμα τῆς εκκλη(σίας): Uspenskii; τῆς [ά]γιωτ(άτης) εκκλ(ησίας): Grégoire (Leclercq; Freeman; Tabbernee).

11.7-8 ΕΚΚΛΑΧ . . . : Chishull; εκκλ[η]σίας εγένετο . . . : CIG.

11.8(9) . . . ΔΗ . . . : CIG (majuscule); εγένετο ἰνδ(ικτιώνος), η[ρ]: Cumont; ΔΗΙ: Winter; . . . δη . . . : IHierapJ (Verzone); ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) ή ή †: Uspenskii.

Further references: Cumont, 275; W.M. Ramsay (1900b: 80-82); BE [1958]: 465; H.G. Beck (1959: 172); Tabbernee "Montanism," 498-499; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 92 with partial German trans.; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200; 1989b: 57); TIB 7 [1990]: 132-133, 269; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.235); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 255, 256, 271; C. Trevett (1996: 211).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, p. 354; Gardner, 346; IHierapJ, p. 75.

Gennaios

Although *ed. pr.* has Ἰγνα[τ]ίου (II.2-3), there is no doubt that the reading Γενναίου is correct. Therefore, the patriarch mentioned here cannot be identified with the Ignatius who was bishop of Hierapolis in c.869, 879; see CB 1 [1895]: p. 120 and CB 2 [1897]: p. 552. Cumont's suggestion (290) that the patriarch's name was Gennadios (cf. Uspenskii, 403 and Tabbernee [1989a: 200]) is plausible, but not conclusive.

Patriarch

At least by IV³, but probably earlier (see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 268), the title πατριάρχης denoted the highest rank in the Montanist hierarchy (Hier., *ep.* 41.3; Justn. *cod.* I.5.20.3). Non-Montanist Christians, on the other hand, do not appear to have used the title formally until V, and then only for the archbishops of the five major sees (LPGL, s.v. πατριάρχης), although the title was used in late IV by non-Montanists figuratively (see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 256) or slightly derogatively (see Beck, 94). For the view that Montanists also used the title analogically rather than literally, see Marksches, 11. Later the title came to be used to designate archbishops of other sees (Thphn., *chron.* A.M. 6008) and the chief bishop of an imperial diocese; see Tab-

bemee "Regional Bishops," 254-257; cf. H. Kraft (1986: 239). Bishops of Hierapolis belonging to the official church, however, were accorded the rank of *μετροπολίτης* (*not* *πατριάρχης*) by Justinian sometime between 531 and 553, perhaps in 535; see *CB* 1, pp. 108-109; P. Verzone (1967: col. 1207); and *TIB* 7, 133, 269. They appear to have retained this title at least until XII; see *CB* 1, p. 120 and Ramsay (1931: esp. 8-16, 27). Orthodox archbishops in the region had their seat in Laodikeia ad Lycum, not Hierapolis; see Strobel, 92.

Date

This inscription is impossible to date accurately as it gives only the indiction, not the year. The date, however, is obviously post-312 when indictions were introduced; see *ad* 81. Judging by the style and language of the inscription, the V² date, suggested by H. Grégoire (75) appears plausible; cf. Ramsay (1900b: 80-82).

In fulfillment of a vow?

Despite the extensive restoration required, it is clear from the text that a presbyter named Kyriakos financed the building of a (new?) church. The ruins of this church (on which, see Verzone "Chiese," 52-56; id. [1967: cols. 1215-1220]) show it to have been a rectangular structure approx. 60m. long and 30m. wide, with its apse to the south. It was located in a prominent position on the west side of the main street, between the thermal baths and the new theater. A smaller church, with its apse facing east, was situated a little further north on the east side of main street; a post-Constantinian basilica was built beyond the walls of the ancient city just outside the north gate. The *martyrium* of Philip was also outside the walls, to the east of the city; see *ad* 83.

Although Grégoire's restoration of *λόγω μου* in *l.4* is unconvincing, Kyriakos had, nevertheless, probably endowed the church in fulfillment of a vow (cf. 71, 88-89). Figuratively speaking, Kyriakos, by his action, had borne fruit (*καρποφορέω*), namely the founding of this particular "most holy Church of Christ" at Hierapolis.

Kyriakos' family

Kyriakos' "offspring" are named as having been associated with him in his philanthropic act, but the family stemma is not clear. Kyriakos' patronymic was probably *Εύστοχίου* (*l.4*). Chishull's majuscule copy reads *ΥΛΤΟΚΙΟΥ*, but the initial *sigma* is likely to have been an *epsilon*. The *kappa* may have been the result of pronunciation, or the letter may have been misread by Chishull. Winter's reading of -M- instead of -KI-

here may also be due to the poor quality of the extant stone at this spot. More problematic is Winter's reading of -Λ- where Chishull read Y, which may mean that the patronymic, if that is indeed what the letters following the name *KYPIAKOΣ* represent, needs to be restored differently than above in order to incorporate Λ or Α.

The use of *ἐκγονοί* (*l.5*) suggests that the two other people named were Kyriakos' grandchildren, although it is possible that the term is used more loosely to refer to children (or perhaps inclusively to one of each). The most obvious reading of the first name is to translate it (as above) Ioannas [Joannas], although given the frequency with which -α- is substituted for -η- in Phrygia and elsewhere, it is possible that we have here the name of a man named John. In either case, -ο- is substituted for -ω-; see also *ad* 79. The name Kyriakes has the common feminine ending -ης and should be accented -ής (cf. 40, 60). On the popularity of the names Kyriakos and Kyriake(s) in Christian circles, see *ad* 47.

Montanists?

The anachronistic title *πατριάρχης* in this inscription is probably best explained by the view that we have here a reference to a Montanist patriarch; see Freeman, 314 and Tabbernee "Montanism," 498-499, 720-721. According to the detailed study made of the bishoprics of Phrygia by Ramsay (1931: 1-35), Hierapolis, which had been sympathetic to Montanist and other prophetesses in II became a rallying point for heretics during IV and V (*ibid.*, 11). Ramsay argued that this explained why Hierapolis was considered suspect at mainstream church councils such as Chalcedon (*ibid.*). Ramsay's findings provide the religious setting in which it would be possible for a new church to have been built in the main street of Hierapolis not far from the church which housed the catholic congregation. Perhaps this new, bigger, church was initially constructed to house a Christian community not affiliated with the churches who were welcomed at councils of the official church. Although anti-heretical legislation, dating back to the time of Constantine (e.g., *Eus.*, *v.C.* 3.65), forbade Montanists to have their own places of assembly, this legislation was not enforced consistently. That this legislation had to be repromulgated by later emperors (e.g., *Thds. Imp.*, *cod.* XVI.1.3; XVI.5.3; XVI.5.8; XVI.5.12; see pp. 571-573 above) shows that Montanists, especially in remote areas such as Phrygia, continued to meet in separate buildings, some of which at least would have been built as Montanist churches; cf. 1 and 2.

Traditionally, the church under consideration here has been viewed as a catholic basilica (e.g., see Verzone "Chiese," 52; E. Akurgal [1985:

177]; cf. *Hierapolis di Frigia: 1957-1987* [1987: 129]) and Gennaios deemed to have been a catholic bishop (e.g., *ibid.*, 120). If so, Gennaios was resident in Hierapolis. The title may simply have been used somewhat loosely as a synonym for "metropolitan," even if, strictly speaking, the title "patriarch" was not yet the official one (see Kraft, 239)—just as the title "archbishop" was sometimes used loosely in respect of metropolitans (Beck, 67). Perhaps the use of "patriarch" at Pepouza may have escalated the use of the term in nearby Hierapolis (Strobel, 92), but the theory that it was used in this inscription as the title of an *orthodox* Hierapolitan bishop as a direct challenge to Montanist Pepouza (Grégoire, 75-76; cf. Beck, 172 and *TIB* 7, 132-133, 269) is highly speculative.

Alternatively, if the anachronistic title does indeed identify Gennaios as a Montanist and the church as originally Montanist, it is possible that Gennaios was not a resident of Hierapolis. As his name is recorded merely as a means of dating the inscription, it is best to assume that, if a Montanist, he was patriarch of Pepouza, which must have been situated not all that far away.

83. A Montanist(?) archdeacon named Eugenios

Pamukkale

V²

Ed. pr. — Gardner "Inscriptions Cockerell" [1885]: 346 no. 71 with facsimile of majuscule copy and illustration of staurogram with *alpha* and *omega* by C.R. Cockerell.

Sarcophagus. No measurements or description provided. Inscription first copied by Cockerell between 1810 and 1814. Abbreviation mark carved after the *tau* in ἐφεστ(ώς) in l.1. The only decoration appears to be a stylized wreath encircling staurogram in shape of *rho*, flanked by *alpha* and *omega* (cf. 71). This *omega* has a makron carved over it. *Ed. pr.*'s facsimile is misleading in that it prints wreath below rather than above the text; see Verzone ("Chiesa" [1956]: 38). I am grateful to G.H.R. Horsley for the suggestion that makron may be the (misplaced) crossbar of the staurogram (on which, see *ad* 84). For (probable) letter shape, see fig. 92. Letter height not provided. **Figure 92.**

α ρ ω

Εὐγένιος ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιδιάκ(ονος) καὶ ἐφεστ(ώς)
τοῦ ἁγίου
2 καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ θεολόγου Φιλίππου.

Eugenios the lesser, archdeacon and the one in charge of [the martyrion?] of the holy and glorious apostle and theologian Philip.

ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΣ Ο ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΚΕΦΕΣΤΣΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ
ΚΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΚΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

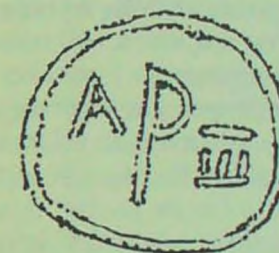


Fig. 92: Inscription honoring Eugenios, as copied by Cockerell c.1810-1814

Other edd.: *CB* 2 [1897]: 419; *IHierapJ* [1898]: 24.

Text reprinted and discussed: V. Schultze (1922: 433 and 433 n.1) with partial German trans, inadvertently refers to *IHierapJ* 14 instead of 24; H. Delehaye (1933: 159); Grégoire "Patriarche" [1933d]: 72-73; Leclercq "Phrygie" [1939b]: col. 781 and col. 795 no. 14; F. Halkin (1953: 330); Verzone "Chiese" [1956]: 38 and n.3 with partial Italian trans.; W. Tabbernee (1996: 207 n.6 [ll.1b-2 only] with trans.).

Variant readings:

l.1 ἐλάχιστος; Gardner (*CB* [Leclercq, col. 795]; Delehaye), Schultze; ἐλ[ά]χιστος; *IHierapJ* (Verzone); ἀρχιδιάκονος; Schultze, Delehaye, Grégoire (Leclercq, col. 781; Halkin); καὶ: *CB* (Leclercq, col. 795).

l.2 καὶ: *CB* (Leclercq, col. 795); καὶ: *IHierapJ* (Verzone); καὶ: Schultze, Delehaye.

Further references: Cumont "Inscriptions" [1895]: 275 no. 131; S.E. Johnson (1950: 15-16) with trans.; S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.39).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 346.

Polycrates' testimony

This inscription provides epigraphic confirmation for the literary tradition that Philip settled in Hierapolis and was buried there. The literary tradition, however, exhibits some confusion regarding whether this Philip was one of the twelve apostles or whether he was Philip the Evangelist. The earliest testimonium to Philip's final resting place being at Hierapolis comes from a letter by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesos c.114, to Victor, bishop of Rome c.189-198. An extract from this letter, written c.190, has been preserved by Eusebius:

Καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμῃται· ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναζητήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμῃται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γενηρακῦναι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται (*ap. Eus., h.e. 3.31.3; cf. 5.24.2*).

For in Asia, also, great "luminaries" have "fallen asleep," who shall rise again on the last day during the *parousia* of the Lord when he comes with glory out of heaven to search for all the saints, (including) Philip, of the twelve apostles, who "sleeps" in Hierapolis and his two daughters, elderly virgins, and another of his daughters who after living in the Holy Spirit "rests" in Ephesos.

Polycrates, as bishop of Ephesos, can probably be considered a reliable witness for the existence of a tomb at Ephesos, in his day attributed to be the tomb of one of Philip's daughters. Whether or not this tomb was indeed the tomb of one of Philip's daughters is beside the point. Of greater interest is that Polycrates identified the woman buried there as the daughter of Philip the *apostle* rather than of Philip the evangelist and that he believed Philip the *apostle* and two other daughters of this Philip to have been buried in Hierapolis. Polycrates' comment that the daughter buried in Ephesos had "lived in the Holy Spirit" is presumably a reference to her prophetic activity and may be independent evidence of an early tradition that the daughters of Philip the *apostle* were prophetesses. It is also possible, of course, that by Polycrates' time, the tradition about the daughters of Philip had already become somewhat garbled (see below). Once again, however, what is important is not the historical accuracy of the tradition, but what people believed the tradition to be.

Proklos' testimony

Not long after Polycrates wrote his epistle, an account was published of the debate between the Gaius and the Montanist Proklos; see p. 31 above. One of the extant extracts of that debate provides a further testimonium to the existence of the tombs of Philip and his daughters at Hierapolis:

Μετὰ τοῦτον προφήτιδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγέννηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· ὁ τάφος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν (*ap. Eus., h.e. 3.31.4*).

After him there were four prophetesses, the daughters of Philip, in Hierapolis in Asia; their tomb is there and that of their father.

Unlike Polycrates, Proklos does not use the figurative language of "sleep" or "rest." He states clearly that the tombs of Philip and his daughters were located at Hierapolis. The discrepancy, between Polycrates' account and that of Proklos, regarding the number of daughters buried at Hierapolis, may merely be due to the likelihood that a less detailed form of the tradition circulated at Rome. Proklos knew that "Philip's daughters" were buried at Hierapolis; he may not have known that one of them (also a prophetess?) was buried at Ephesos. It is, of course, also possible that he did know this detail, but that it was not necessary, for his apologetic purposes, to state this.

Confusing traditions?

Perhaps Proklos, or the tradition which informed him, had no specific knowledge of the exact number of Philip's daughters and supplied the number "four" on the basis of Acts 21:8-9. If so, we have evidence of a late second-century fusing of two originally separate traditions: one about Philip the apostle; another about Philip the evangelist. The latter resided (or, at least, had resided) in Caesarea in Palestine and "had four daughters, virgins, who had the gift of prophecy" (Acts 21:9). Clement of Alexandria, however, in early III was still familiar with a tradition that Philip the apostle was married, had children and had given his daughters in marriage (*str.* 3.52; quoted also in *Eus., h.e. 3.30.1*). Although on the basis of Proklos' statement the prophetesses who, according to tradition, were active in Hierapolis, and who were buried there, are often identified as the daughters of Philip the evangelist (e.g., P. Corssen (1901: 289-299); R.M. Grant [1968: 294]; F.C. Klawiter [1975: 170 and n.1]; F.F.

Bruce (1977: 343); D.R. MacDonald (1979: 170, 171); W.H.C. Frend [1988b: 26]; 1994: 272; *TIB* 7 [1990]: 125, 268-269), this identification is probably not accurate historically; see *CB* 2, p. 553; W.M. Ramsay (1931: 10-11); and the discussion below.

Polycrates' testimonium, taken by itself, only speaks of the daughters of the apostle. Similarly, as Eusebius himself stresses (*h.e.* 3.31.4), Proklos' testimony, taken by itself, is in general agreement with Polycrates' witness. Proklos does *not* identify Philip as Philip the evangelist and Eusebius, in introducing Proklos' statement, does not appear to assume that Proklos meant anyone other than the apostle already referred to by Polycrates. As stated above, Proklos' reference to "four prophetesses," however, may have been influenced by the tradition about Philip the evangelist. Eusebius' own editorial comment which follows Proklos' statement (*ibid.*, 3.31.5) is ambiguous. It may be that Eusebius had also been confused by part of Proklos' testimony and that, not distinguishing between the two Philips, he, erroneously, provides additional data about the daughters by quoting Acts 21: 8-9. The opening words of his comment (ὁ δέ), however, may also indicate that he is quoting the passage as a corrective. In any case, one of Eusebius' later references to Philip's daughters states unambiguously that Eusebius believed them to have been the daughters of Philip the *apostle* (*h.e.*, 3.39.9). This reference, based on a now lost work by Papias (*c.*60-130) but preserved partially by Philip of Sidon (*fr.* 11), declares that Papias, who was bishop of Hierapolis during II¹, received some of his information about the apostolic period from the daughters of Philip the apostle. This information, of course, could have been received indirectly rather than directly, and either Papias or Eusebius could have been mistaken about the identity of the father of the daughters from whom the information was derived; see W.R. Schoedel (1993: 252-253). The existence of yet another tradition that Philip the evangelist became bishop of Tralles in Lydia and died there (*Menologium Basilianum* I.III [*PG* 117.103]) is somewhat more difficult to explain if it is assumed that there was consensus that it was this Philip, rather than the apostle, who settled and died in Hierapolis.

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence

The inscription under discussion here makes it clear that, at least at the time of Eugenios the archdeacon, i.e., mid V, there was no doubt among Christians at Hierapolis that it had been Philip "the apostle and theologian" who had honored their city by his presence. (For other epigraphic attestations of the designation "theologian" for an apostle, especially John, see Halkin, 78-79.)

Unfortunately the precise provenance was not given by *ed. pr.* Perhaps it was not even recorded by Cockerell. Ramsay (*CB* 2, p. 552) and C. Cichorius (in C. Humann, et al., eds. [1898: 46]) assumed that Eugenios' inscription referred to a church dedicated to St. Philip. Eugenios was the archdeacon "in charge of" (*the church*) of the holy and glorious apostle and theologian Philip." Cichorius identified this church with a Byzantine basilica, adorned with Christograms, located east of the north gate of the ancient city. Cichorius supposed that this basilica had been erected at the site of what was believed to have been Philip's tomb. Schultze (431-433), on the other hand, suggested that Eugenios' inscription related to a "round building," a little further east of the city near the late Roman necropolis. Subsequent archaeological work has revealed this building to be a *martyrium* containing a central octagonal chamber (21.10m. in diameter; each side is 8.75m. long). This chamber does not contain an altar, but there is a semicircular *synthronos* in the floor of which is a round hole, presumably for a lectern. Rectangular rooms were constructed opening out from six of the eight sides; the other two sides provided access from the outside of the building which was enclosed by smaller rectangular rooms, apparently to house pilgrims; see Verzone "Chiesa," 45-52, *id.* (1960: 1-20). This impressive structure, erected in late IV or early V (P. Verzone [1967: col. 1211]), must be the *martyrium* of St. Philip. It would have contained the (alleged?) remains of Philip, probably in a reliquary. The *martyrium* may also have contained the (alleged?) remains of, at least two of, Philip's daughters. None of these, however, has been discovered. If Schultze is correct, then Eugenios the lesser (literally: "the least"), the archdeacon described as ἐφεστώς (on which, see *BAGD*, s.v. ἐφίστημι) must have had responsibility for the *martyrium* of "the holy and honored apostle and theologian Philip," or at least for providing hospitality for the pilgrims who visited the *martyrium*.

Montanist?

The *martyrium* had a short life, it was destroyed by fire sometime during VI, perhaps not much longer than a century after it was constructed; see Verzone (1967: col. 1211); G. Bean (1971: 245); and *TIB* 7, 270). The reason for this has not been explained satisfactorily. The burning of a structure built primarily of stone is unlikely to have been accidental. It is strange that a *martyrium* devoted to keeping alive the memory of one of the twelve apostles would have been destroyed so soon, unless that *martyrium* were deemed to have been tainted in some way by heretics or schismatics. Is it possible that the *martyrium* was

associated with Montanists or had even been constructed by them? Grant, in a discussion about the debate between Proklos and Gaius (1968: 303-304) argued that the Montanists, as early as late II, "had claimed to be in some sort of possession of the tomb of Philip and his daughters" (303). It may have been this claim which provoked Apolinarius, the bishop of Hierapolis c.180, to become a leading opponent of the movement. Despite his anti-Montanist efforts, it appears that Montanism continued to be an influence in Hierapolis, at least until VI; see *ad* 82. Even later, catholic bishops of Hierapolis, whenever they attended ecumenical gatherings, could not completely rid themselves of the suspicion that they were somehow tainted by heresy; see Ramsay (1931: 1-35, esp. 11). Ramsay also argued that during IV and V Hierapolis became a rallying place for Montanists and other heretics. If correct, this would explain not only why, in V², a new Montanist(?) church was built in the main street of Hierapolis, containing an inscription mentioning the name of a Montanist(?) patriarch (82), but it could also explain why and by whom, a new *martyrium* honoring Philip and his daughters was built at approximately the same time. According to Epiphanius, Phrygian Montanism continued to appeal to the daughters of Philip as precedents for their practices (*haer.* 49.1.2; cf. *Or., comm. in 1 Cor.* 14.34-35). Perhaps, as argued by Grant (1968: 303) and followed by Klawiter (170-171), the Montanists claimed two lines of prophetic succession, one via Quadratus and Ammia at Philadelphia and another via Philip's daughters at Hierapolis. In any case, even if, in Montanist circles, the traditions about the daughters of Philip the apostle and Philip the evangelist had been fused, what better way to strengthen the Montanist position than by strengthening the martyr cult associated with Philip and his prophesying daughters at Hierapolis? The destruction of the *martyrium* in the middle of VI is perfectly understandable if it was known, or even suspected, to have been a Montanist building. In that case, it would have suffered the same fate as the church at Pepouza which housed the reliquary containing the bones of the founders of Montanism (1-2). If the *martyrium* was Montanist and if Eugenios' inscription was, indeed, related to the *martyrium* and not to the basilica, then Eugenios is likely to have been a Montanist archdeacon. In light of the possibility that Kyriakos (82) was a Montanist presbyter, it is at least not inconceivable that there would have been a Montanist archdeacon at Hierapolis in mid V. For a discussion of the Montanist diaconate, see *ad* 77 and *ad* 87.

Lydia

Philadelphia

Map 6:D5 (Central Lydia). Situated at the site of modern Alaşehir, Philadelphia was an important center on the main highway from Sardis (5:C1) to Ankyra (5:B4). It was also connected by major roads to Phrygian cities such as Hierapolis (6:E6) and Laodikeia ad Lycum (6:E6). The city was named after Attalos Philadelphos, probably by his brother Eumenes, but perhaps by Attalos himself, in II B.C.E.; see W.M. Ramsay (1904: 391-412) and A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 54). Philadelphia originally belonged to the conventus of Sardis (Jones, 80) but later became the seat of a new assize; see C. Habicht (1975: 75). Ramsay (CB 1 [1895]: 573 n.3) and W.M. Calder ("Philadelphia" [1922/3]: 324) almost certainly incorrectly located Ardabau, the birth-place of Montanism, at Kallataba (6:D5), S.E. of Philadelphia; see also p. 18 and n.9 above. Jones (54, 82, 92) considered Callatebus (i.e., Kallatebos = Kallataba) to be the ancient name of Philadelphia. This view was at one time also held by Ramsay but later rejected; see CB 1, p. 199. For the likely location of Kallataba, see D. Magie (1950: vol. 2, 799). Mendechora (ancient Myloukome?; 6:D5) lies approx. 15km. N.W. of Philadelphia. Unlike Phrygia, many cities in Lydia, including Philadelphia (P. Herrmann [1972: 528 and n.32]; BE [1987]: 208), used the Actian rather than the Sullan era. On these eras, see pp. 151-152 above.

84. Koinōnos of the region

Mendechora, in wall

Sunday, March 8, 515

Ed. pr. — Buckler "Lydian Records" [1917]: 95-99 no. 8 with photograph.

Two fragments of marble slab discovered at Mendechora in 1913 and taken to the residence of the metropolitan of Philadelphia. Inscription

copied there by W.H. Buckler on 23 May, 1914. Fragments able to be joined but triangular piece of slab still missing at bottom center. Top right corner of stone broken, but inscription only affected slightly. Height: 0.42m.; width: 0.68m.; thickness: 0.06m. Staurogram carved at commencement of *l.1*; Christogram carved at end of *l.1*. Quadratic *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Mark indicating abbreviation carved after *delta* in *l.3*. There are traces of what may have been the lower half of a *delta* above *l.1*, but these are not sufficiently clear to warrant transcription. Ligature at *l.5*. Letter height: 0.035m. **Figure 93. Plate 35.**

† Ἀνελήμφθη ὁ ἅγι[ο]ς Πραῦλιος[ς]
 ὁ κοινωνὸς ὁ κατὰ τόπον ✠
 ἐν ἔτει φμε' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ἡ καὶ μηνὶ
 Ξανθικῷ ιε', ἡ[μ](έρα) κυριακῇ τῇ
 5 συνόδῳ τῇ Μ[υλουκ]ωμητῶν.

The holy Praÿlios, the *koinōnos* of the region, was taken up [into heaven] on Sunday, the 15th day of the month Xanthikos, in the year 545, during the eighth indiction, at [the time of] the
 5 | synod of the Myloukometians.

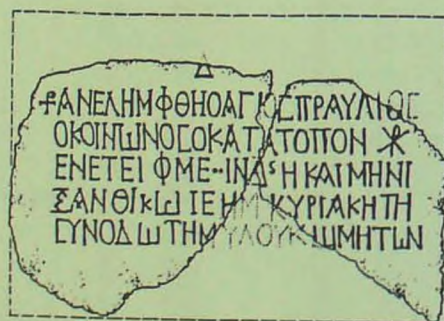


Fig. 93: Praÿlios' Tombstone

Other edd.: Grégoire "Hiérarchie" [1925]: 330-335; Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 273-276 no. 2 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Jalabert and Mouterde "Inscriptions" [1926]: col. 657; Calder "Notebook" [1929]: 268; W. Schepeleyn (1929: 173 n.153); Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" [1933b]: 59; Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphe)" [1934b]: cols. 2542-2544 no. 20; Peterson "Montanistische Inschriften" [1934]: 173-174; Ferrua

"Comunità montanista" [1936]: 223-224 with Italian trans.; G. Freeman (1950: 311-312 with trans., but inadvertently gives provenance as Dorylaeion); Calder/Grégoire "Paulinus" [1952]: 167-170; cf. 172-178; BE [1954]: 233 (*ll.1-2* only); *IPhrygChr* [1978a]: pp. 136-138; H. Paulsen (1978: 50 n.170); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 702-703 no. 54 with trans. and photograph; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 87-89, 91, 269-270 with partial German trans.; Buschmann "Χριστοῦ κοινωνός" [1995a]: 243-264 with German trans.

Variant readings:

- l.1* ✠ (monogrammatic cross): Buckler; Buschmann does not print symbol here or elsewhere; previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters here or elsewhere.
ll.2 Peterson in *l.2* prints staurogram instead of Christogram.
l.3 φμε' ι: Grégoire "Inscriptions Montanistes" incorrectly shows line division here; φμε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι): Buckler (Jalabert and Mouterde; Calder "Notebook"); φμε' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" (Buschmann).
l.4 Κυριακῇ, τῇ: Buckler.
l.5 Μ...ωμητῶν: Ferrua; Μ(υλουκ)ωμητῶν: Buschmann does not mark ligature.

Further references: SEG 4 [1929]: 644; Grégoire "Epigraphie hérétique" [1935]: 247-250; BE [1936]: p. 352; S. Lieberman (1939/1944: 437-442); Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 174; Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 37; K. Aland (1960a: 159; 1960b: 107-108); *Hellenica* 11-12 [1960]: 428 n.1; F.E. Vokes (1966: 307); A.T. Kraabel (1968: 151-152); F.C. Klawiter (1975: 127 n.1, 187 n.2); A. Strobel (1977: 195-196 with German trans.); A. Ferrua (1978: 611 n.100); Tabbernee "Montanism," 502-503 with trans.; W. Wischmeyer (1980b: 167); TAM 5, 1 [1981]: p. 17; BE [1982]: 331; Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 105 n.62; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); TIB 7 [1990]: 128 and n.40, 358-359; A. Jensen (1992: 341 n.322); S. Mitchell (1993: 39 and n.235, 104 and nn.425, 427); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257-268, 277; C. Marksches (1994: 23 and n.99, 27 and n.122); C. Trevett (1996: 211, 273-274 n.149).

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, 95 no. 8 [of squeeze] (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 25 no. 54; id., "Regional Bishops," plate 2).

Line drawing/facsimile: Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 273 fig. 2.

Myloukome

The restoration Μ[υλουκ]ωμητῶν in *l.5*, is based on CIG 2 [1843]: 3420 *l.10*: ἡ Μυλειτῶν κατοικία (*l.10*) from the same region. It almost certainly gives the correct ancient name of the settlement to which the dedicators of the inscription belonged. Ablabes, a Montanist(?) *pneumatikos* residing in Rome (72), may also originally have come from this "Mill-village," although this is not assured.

Date

On indictions, see *ad* 81. As Philadelphia used the Actian era, Praÿlios died in 515. On the more precise date of Sunday 8th of March, see Strobel (1977: 195-196) and Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 275. See

ad 75 for a discussion of the allegedly exclusive Montanist use of ἀνελήμφοι.

Staurogram and Christogram

The two Christian symbols which decorate this stone are not identical. The first utilizes *tau* and *rho* to signify the cross; see *ad* 80. The second symbol utilizes *chi* and *rho* as an abbreviation for Χριστός; see *ad* 33.

Praÿlios

The spelling Πραÿλιος is a relatively common sixth-century variant of the earlier form Πράϋλιος; see Buckler, 96 and 99 no. 9. In *l.2* Praÿlios is described not only as ἅγιος (cf. 80) but as ὁ κοινωνὸς ὁ κατὰ τόπον. An almost identical phrase occurs in *l.2-3* of 85. Buckler (96-99) considered Praÿlios to be the bishop of Philadelphia who held the title κοινωνός as co-owner of an estate at Myloukome and as "patron" (*consor*; cf. *Thds. Imp., cod. V.16.34*) of the village. Grégoire and all later commentators have shown convincingly that the title κοινωνός cannot be understood in this way, but that it is a Montanist title; see also *ad* 80.

Κατὰ τόπον

The additional term κατὰ τόπον, "region" or "district," not, merely, "place" (see *LPGL*, s.v. τόπος, B) in Praÿlios' epitaph suggests that κοιωνοί were regional clergy in charge of districts (τόποι), which, presumably, were subdivisions of patriarchates. Buckler's conjecture that κατὰ τόπον here means "in (or of) the estate" (97) arose from his view that Praÿlios was co-owner of such an estate. Buschmann's theory that κατὰ τόπον designates the locality where the κοινωνός had originally become a "confessor" (253, 254), presupposes the conclusion that κοιωνοί were invariably confessors. While the term κοινωνός was probably used in some circles for confessors as well as martyrs (see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 262-263), there is no evidence to support the view that all κοιωνοί were confessors. In *Gos. Phil.* 59. 6-11, for example, Mary Magdalen is called a κοινωνός, which, in the context, presumably means a "spiritual consort" of Christ (see A. Marjanen [1995: 130-138, esp. 133]) rather than a confessor. In a Montanist context, the term κοινωνός appears to have been applied to people who were not only "companions of Christ," but also "companions of the Spirit," participating in the faithful passing on what the Holy Spirit had, according to Montanist claims, revealed via Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla; see Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 263, 268. The region where these κοιωνοί carried out their tasks, rather than the place of any alleged public

"confession," provides, in my view, a more likely explanation of the use of κατὰ τόπον in this inscription and in 85.

Bagis

Map 6:C6 (N.E. Lydia). The site of the ancient city of Bagis is located near the Turkish city of Güre. Situated S. of the Hermos River (Gediz Çayı), Bagis lay on the main road from Temenothyrai (25km. E.; 6:C7) to Philadelphia (75km. W.; 6:D5) and Sardis (a further 50km. N.W.; 6:C4). See Ramsay *Geography* [1890]: 131-132; *id.*, CB 1 [1895]: 153; *ILydiaKP* 2 [1911]: 124-128; L. Robert (1962: 311-313); Drew-Bear "Temenouthyrai" [1979]: 276-279; 287-288; P. Herrmann in TAM 5, 1 [1981]: pp. 12-13. Bagis belonged to the conventus of Sardis; see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 81). The Turkish village of Karakuyu (6:B6) is situated approx. 20km. N.W. of Güre. Its ancient equivalent town or village, not yet identified, must have belonged to the territory of Bagis, as the boundary between Bagis and Temenothyrai lay further E.; see Drew-Bear, 288; cf. TAM 5, 1, p. 13. Bagis' southern boundary formed part of the border with Phrygia (on which, see Waelkens *Türsteine* [1986]: 43). To the N. it must have been part of Lydia's border with Mysia. In the W., Bagis' territory stretched to the site of modern Yenisehir (6:B5); see TAM 5, 1, p. 13. Bagis, like Philadelphia, appears to have used the Actian era; see Drew-Bear, 287 n.55 but contrast Herrmann (1972: 528 n.32) and TAM 5, 1, p. 13.

85. A third Montanist *koinōnos*

Karakuyu

V-VI

Ed. pr. — TAM 5,1 [1981]: 46 with photograph.

Square slab of white marble. Height: 0.23m.; width: 0.28m.; thickness: 0.045m. Latin cross (see *ad* 14) carved centrally above inscription;

slightly smaller Latin cross also carved at conclusion of inscription (cf. 77, 78). Inscription copied by P. Herrmann in 1961. Quadratic *epsilons* but cursive *omegas*. Ligatures at ll.1-2 created by placing *upsilon* above *omikron* (cf. 77). One of these *upsilon/omikron* combinations (letters 2/3 in l.2) appears to have a horizontal bar, perhaps denoting a cross. The first *nu* in *κοινωνοῦ* has an additional diagonal line from top right to bottom left. This is probably the remnant of an originally retrograde *nu*. The *omikrons* are all carved a smaller size than the other letters. Mason's guide lines visible. Letter height (other than *omikron*): 0.03m. **Figure 94. Plate 36.**

†
 Παύλου ἀγίου Φιλαδέ-
 2 λφου κοινωνοῦ κα-
 τὰ τόπον. †

(The tomb) of holy Paulos son of Philadelphos, *koinōnos* of the region.



Fig. 94: Paulos' tombstone

Other ed.: *Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 276-277 no. 3 with trans., line drawing/facsimile, and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: Buschmann "Χριστοῦ κοινωνός" [1995a]: 243-264 with German trans.

Variant readings:

l.1 Παύλου: TAM does not mark ligature here, Buschmann does not mark ligatures here or elsewhere.

ll.1-2 Φιλαδέλφου: Buschmann.

l.3 τοπον.: Buschmann does not show cross here or elsewhere.

Further references: BE [1982]: 331; SEG 33 [1986]: ad 1071; S. Mitchell (1987: 79; 1993: 39 and n.235, 104 and nn.425, 427); Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 257-268; C. Trevett (1996: 276 n.38).

Photograph: ed. pr., plate 8 no. 46 (Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," plate 3).

Line drawing/facsimile: Tabbernee "Regional Bishops," 277 fig. 3.

Patronymic or ethnic?

Φιλαδέλφου is most likely a patronymic (as translated above), although the possibility that it is an ethnic cannot be ruled out. Compare the inscription on a sarcophagus discovered at Hierapolis: Τὸ Μαξιμίλλης σώμα τῆς Νερατίας Μακρεῖνος ὁ Φιλάδελφος, οὔης συμβίου, ἔθαψε τοῦτω τῷ πατρώῳ μνήματι. Τὸ τῶν Φιλαδέλφων κήδεαι ταντοῦ γένος (P. Verzone [1963/4: 380]; BE [1967]: 583). The usual form of the ethnic, however, is Φιλαδελφεύς, but Φιλαδελφηνός is also attested; see C. Habicht (1975: 75). See also ed. pr., 17 and *New Docs* 3 [1983]: 87 no. 74, s.v. φιλάδελφος.

Date and Montanist nature

On the -O- carved in ligature with -Y-, see J.S. Creaghan and A.E. Raubitschek (1947: 12 and nn.65, 66). Its use here confirms a post-IV date; cf. *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 239-244 no. 122 (l.2) and the additional comment in *New Docs* 5 [1989]: 149 regarding the date of that inscription. On *κοινωνοί*, of whom Paulos' epitaph is the third epigraphic attestation, see ad 80 and cf. 84. There is no doubt that this inscription is Montanist; cf. Mitchell (1987: 79). I am no longer convinced (*contra* "Regional Bishops," 266-267, 276-277) that this epitaph provides support for Philadelphia being a Montanist ecclesiastical region, although this may, nevertheless, be supported by the provenance of 84.

Mysia

Kyzikos

Map 5:B1 (North-Central Mysia). Situated near the modern city of Bandırma, Kyzikos was a thriving seaport with a well-developed economy and civic organization; see IKyzikosH [1910]: pp. 1-295; D. Magie (1950: vol. 1, 81, 712; vol. 2, 900 n.115); E. Akurgal (1976: 473-474); and *New Docs* 4 [1987]: 10-17. Kyzikos belonged

to the conventus of Adramyttion (Edremit; 5:C1); see A.H.M. Jones (1971a: 85-87). A major road led S.W. from Kyzikos to Adramyttion (D. Magie [vol. 2, 793-794]). Two other main roads led S. to Pergamon (5:C1) and Thyateira (6:B3) respectively; see *ibid.*, 797-798. An E.-W. road connected Kyzikos to cities such as Prusa (Bursa; 5:B2); see *ibid.*, 901. On Kyzikos' extensive territory, see *ibid.*, 902 and Jones, 86-87.

86. Tomb of a Montanist(?) bishop

Bandırma

Now in the Necmi Tolunay Collection, Bandırma

V¹

Ed. pr. — Schwertheim "Sammlung Tolunay" [1983]: 117 no. 17 with photograph.

Four adjoining fragments of a marble funerary plaque, broken on all sides. Height: 0.35m.; width: 0.61m.; thickness: 0.05m. It is possible that crosses and/or staurograms were carved at the beginning of ll.1, 3; cf. 80, 84, 87, 94-95. Inscription is only partially extant. Cursive *epsilons* and *sigmas*, although the extant cursive *epsilon* in l.2 appears to have been corrected from a quadratic *epsilon*. *Upsilon*s have little or no tail (cf. 38, 40, 42, 44). Ligature at l.1. Letter height: 0.03m.-0.04m. **Figure 95. Plate 41.**

[† Ὑπόμνημα (vac.)

2 [Νεϊκ]άνδρου ἐπισκόπο[υ]

[ἁγ]ίου (vac.) πνευματ[ικοῦ].

Memorial tomb of Neikandros, *episkopos* (and) holy *pneumatikos*.

Text reprinted and discussed: BE [1984]: 341; *SEG 33 [1986]: 1071.

Variant readings:

l.1 [Ὑπόμνημα: Schwertheim (BE) does not mark (vac.); previous *edd.* do not suggest cross or staurogram here nor in l.3.

l.2 [Νεϊκ]άνδρου: Schwertheim (BE; SEG) does not mark partially visible letters here or elsewhere.

l.3]ίου πνευματ[; Schwertheim; [ἁγ]ίου πνεύματ[ος]; Schwertheim alternate restoration (SEG).

Further reference: Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 255.

Photograph: *ed. pr.*, plate 14 no. 17.

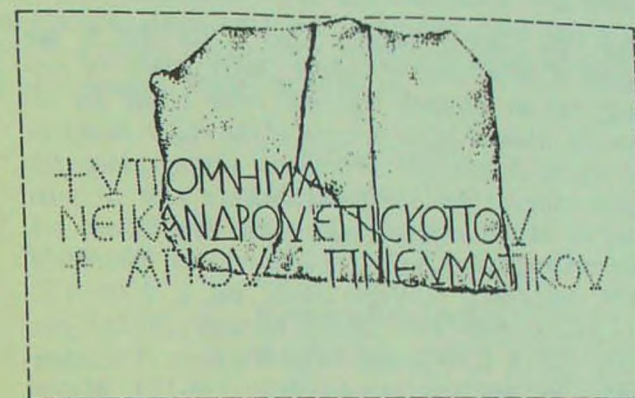


Fig. 95: Neikandros' funerary plaque

Neikandros

The restoration [Νεϊκ]άνδρου (l.2) is not secure. The bishop may have borne another name, e.g., Μένανδρος. Schwertheim's restoration, however, makes it possible for us to restore also a cross and/or a staurogram; on which, respectively, see *ad* 14 and *ad* 80. For the use of the word ὑπόμνημα (l.1) on (another?) Montanist tombstone, cf. 68.

A Montanist *pneumatikos*

As J. and L. Robert point out (BE, 341), -ΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤ- in l.3 differs greatly from the epigraphic comparisons cited by Schwertheim: *IKorinthChr* [1941]: 7, inscription from Corinth, and *IAsMinChr* [1922]: 233 *ter*, inscription from Ternera. Those inscriptions contain references to the Holy Spirit. Schwertheim's alternate restoration, at least of the first word in l.3, seems correct; cf. 80, 84, 85. On ἅγιος, see *ad* 80. J. and L. Robert are undoubtedly right in suggesting that ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤ- should be restored to refer to a πνευματικός. For the use of this term as a Montanist self-designation, see *ad* 63 and cf. 55, 63, 72, 93, 95. That there should be a Montanist bishop in Kyzikos in early V is not surprising. There were, after all, Montanists in nearby Constantinople at about the same time; see pp. 473-474 above.

Galatia

Ankyra

Map 5:B4 (Central Galatia). Since 25/24 B.C.E. the capital of the province of Galatia, Ankyra (modern Ankara) was an extremely important trade center for N. Anatolia. Situated at the junction of the major roads in the region, Ankyra was an essential resting place for people traveling any significant distance east or west along the various northern routes across Asia Minor; see Ramsay Geography [1890]: 237-240; see also Hirschfeld (1894: col. 2221); D. Magie (1950: vol. 2, 1306 n.7, 1311 n.12; C. Foss (1977: 29-87); IGalatN [1982a]: pp. 19-24; TIB 4 [1984]: 126-130; Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 299; and New Docs 4 [1987]: 138-139. Malos (5:B4), identified as modern Kalecik first by J.G.C. Anderson (1910a: 166-167) and confirmed by Hellenica 10 [1955b]: 30 and Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 95-101, was a village situated 3km. W. of the river Halys (Kızılırmak) in a fertile valley within the territory of Ankyra, approx. 50km. N.E. of that city; see IGalatN, p. 172; BE [1984]: 481; and TIB 4, 173, 201-202.

87. A Montanist(?) lamp-bearing virgin

Ankara

V-VI

Ed. pr. — Mitchell "Inscriptions" [1977]: 101 no. 49.

Gray limestone stele. No dimensions provided by I.W. McPherson, who photographed the stone and recorded the inscription in the mid-1950s. A large incised Maltese cross (cf. 88) dominates the stele visually. The incised left and right curves of the top and bottom ends of the cross' vertical arm are continued horizontally to provide main upper border and inner lower border. Incised vertical lines downward from the main upper border provide the main vertical borders at either side, divide the stele into five rectangular panels (the lower one of which is situated horizontally and is subdivided into a stylized *tabula ansata* [see ad 9]), and

enclose the distinctive ends of the horizontal arm of the Maltese cross. An incised horizontal line is carved at the foot of the stele, completing the main border and forming the base of the *tabula ansata* which contains the inscription, which begins and ends with a small Maltese cross. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. *Upsilon*s have little or no tail. A line is carved over the *epsilon* in l.2 to indicate alphabetic numeral. Letter height not provided. **Figure 96. Plate 14.**

+ Ἐνθάδε καθεύ-
 δη ἡ μία τῶν εἰς λαμ-
 παδιφόρων παρ-
 θένων, ἡ θεοφι-
 5 λεστάτη τοῦ Χρισ-
 τοῦ, Στεφανία ἡ-
 γουμένη. +

Here sleeps one of the five lamp-bearing virgins, the most
 5 divinely-beloved one | of Christ, Stephanía, the *hēgoumenē*.

Other ed.: *Macpherson "New Evidence" [1958]: 176 no. 243 with photographs.

Text reprinted and discussed: BE [1978]: 497; SEG 27 [1980]: 882; New Docs 2 [1982]: 205-206 with trans.; Mitchell "Theodotus" [1982b]: 103 n.45 (ll.2-6 only).

Variant readings:

- l.1 BE does not show cross.
 ll.1-2 καθεύδῃ: previous *edd.* do not mark partially visible *kappa*.
 l.2 μιὰ: Mitchell "Inscriptions" (SEG).
 ll.4-5 Θεοφιλεστάτη: Mitchell "Inscriptions" (SEG).
 ll.6-7 ἡγουμενή. +: Macpherson does not indicate that cross is only partially visible; Mitchell (BE; SEG; New Docs) does not show cross at all.

Further references: TIB 4 [1984]: 130; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 200); id., "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 255; C. Trevett (1996: 275 n.8 incorrectly cites provenance as Bekilli).

Photographs: Macpherson, plate 59 [of whole stele and close-up of inscription].

Lamp-bearing virgins

S. Mitchell, in his *ed. pr.*, adduced a parallel to the lamp-bearing virgins mentioned in this inscription to the group of dancing virgins who,

carrying wax-tapers, led the triumphal procession welcoming home Gregory, bishop of Nyssa (c.371-394) in 378 after he was restored to his see (Gr. Nyss., *ep.* 6.10). J. and L. Robert, on the other hand, saw an allusion to Mt 25: 1-13—Stephania being compared to the leader of the five wise virgins who kept their lamps alight (*BE*, 497; cf. *SEG* and *New Docs*). However, it seems that a particular group of virgins who performed a specific, on-going function in the church is being alluded to in this inscription. Hence, neither a one-time event, as in the case of Gregory, nor a metaphorical allusion fully explains the reference to λαμπαδηφόροι παρθένοι here. Mitchell, in a later article (1982: 103 n.46),

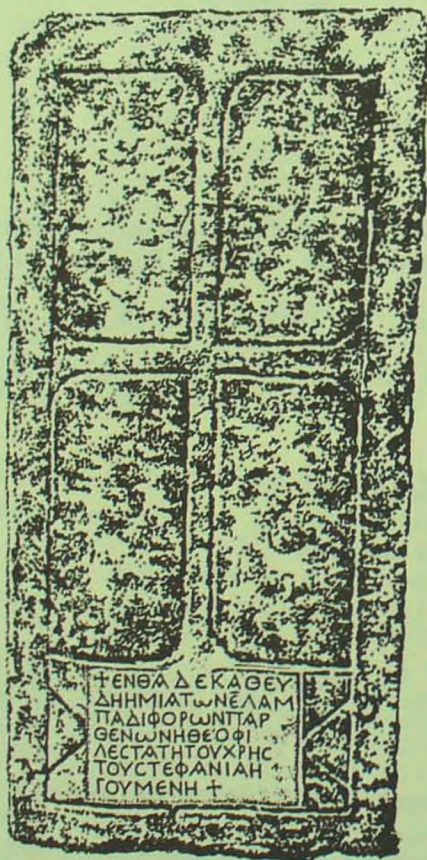


Fig. 96: Tombstone of Stephania

acknowledges that the source of the expression must lie in Mt 25 but suggests that here we have both a biblical allusion and a reference to Stephania's function within the Montanist church. Mitchell's suggestion is extremely plausible. Epiphanius, in a section devoted to the Montanist subsect called Quintillians (see pp. 346-347 above), reports:

Πολλάκις δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσέρχονται λαμπαδηφοροῦσαι ἑπτὰ τινες παρθένοι, λευχεῖμονες δὴθεν ἐρχόμεναι, ἵνα προφητεύσωσι τῷ λαῷ. αἱ δὲ τρόπον τινὰ ἐνδεικνύμεναι ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῖς παροῦσι λαοῖς ἀπάτην ἐργάζονται κλαίειν τε ποιοῦσιν πάντας ὡς εἰς οἶκτον μετανοίας ἄγουσαι, δάκρυα χέόμεναι καὶ σχήματι τινι ἐποδυρόμεναι τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον (*haer.* 49.2.3-4).

And often in their assembly seven lamp-bearing virgins enter, undoubtedly arriving robed in white, in order to prophesy to the people. They exhibit a kind of enthusiasm to the people present, working a deception to make everyone weep; they pour forth tears as though, in compassion, they are evoking repentance and by their demeanor are lamenting human existence.

In Montanist churches there existed, as in other churches, an authorized order of virgins who performed specific ministries. On the development of the order of virgins in mainstream Christianity, see inter alia, G.H. Tavad (1973: 54); R.S. Kraemer (1980: 298-307); and B. Witherington (1988: 203-205). Although religious women called virgins are attested in Christian literary sources as from early II (e.g., *Ign., Smyrn.* 13.1; *Polyc., ep.* 5.3, thus far there is no pre-Constantinian epigraphic attestation of a distinct order; see Snyder *Ante Pacem* [1985]: 132. J. LaPorte (1982: 70-107) claims that there was not a separate order of virgins before mid III, but this is probably too late as Tert. *praesc.* 3 certainly appears to be referring to a distinguishable order of virgins.

Widow-virgins

At first, virgins and other Christian ascetic women continued to live in their familial home, but later it became increasingly popular for such women to live communally, perhaps as early as New Testament times (1 Tim 5:16). The earliest established order of women was the order of widows. Already in existence by the time the pastoral epistles were written (1 Tim 5:1-16), it remained predominant at least until IV³. On this

order, see J. Daniélou (1961: 13-22); D.R. MacDonald (1979: 170-171, 177-179); J.A. McNamara (1979: 575-592); S.L. Davies (1980: 73-94); C. Osiek (1983: 159-169); J.M. Bassler (1984: 23-41); P. Richardson (1986: 249-253); B.B. Thurston (1989: 7-117); A. Jensen (1992: 74-80); and T.K. Seim (1994: 229-248). Younger women, including virgins, also came to be enrolled within their ranks (e.g., Ign. *Smyrn.* 13.1) and, somewhat inappropriately, designated "widows" (cf. Tert., *virg.* 9.4). Conversely, widows were often designated "virgins" (e.g., cf. A. Petr. 7: 21-22 with A. Petr. 8.29; Clem., *str.* 7.12): their vow of permanent chastity determining their current status. This may also explain why Maximilla and Priscilla could be called virgins, despite their original married status (Apollon. *ap. Eus.*, *h.e.* 5.18.3). Whether Apollonius' evidence can be taken to imply that a Montanist order of women was already in existence by c.200 is not certain; see H. Remus (1983: 301 n.52). The later existence of such an order, however, is confirmed by Epiph., *haer.* 49.2.3-4 quoted above.

Some of the officially enrolled widows, including (or perhaps especially) the younger ones, sometimes performed duties in addition to the kind of functions referred to in 1 Tim 5:5, 10. According to the *Testamentum Domini*, widows supervised the women deacons (1.40.2), but this fourth- or fifth-century church order may not have been representative of practices outside of the Syrian monophysite church. The slightly earlier *Apostolic Constitutions* declare that widows were subject to the women deacons (3.7.7; 3.8.1). These constitutions also reveal that women deacons were chosen from the ranks of virgins or widows (6.17). For an interesting sixth-century epigraphic attestation of this, see *New Docs* 2, 193-195 no. 109. Other inscriptions confirm the literary evidence (e.g., Rom 16:1) that, even much earlier, official Christianity had women deacons; see *New Docs* 1 [1981]: 121 no. 79; *ibid.*, 2, 194-195; *ibid.*, 3 [1983]: 62; *ibid.*, 4 [1987]: 239-244 no. 122 "Sophia, 'the second Phoibe'," but note *ibid.*, 5 [1989]: 149 regarding date. The third-century *Didascalia Apostolorum*, however, keeps women deacons quite distinct from the order of widows; see R. Gryson (1976: xi-xiii, 43). On the overlapping of the designations: widow, virgin, deacon, *presbytera*, see Tabbernee (1987b: 30-33) and Jensen (141-165). On the use of the term *πρεσβυτήρις* in connection with senior widows, see *ad* 4.

Penitential direction

What was unique, according to Epiphanius, in the Montanist, or at least the Quintillian, order of virgins, was that it contained a specific group of *λαμπαδηφόροι*, who not only functioned as prophetesses or even as dea-

cons, but who directed some sort of emotionally-charged penitential rite. Epiphanius undoubtedly believed that, by their actions, these women transgressed into the prerogative of bishops and elders, as the passage quoted above also introduces his complaint that among the Montanists/Quintillians there were female bishops and presbyters (*haer.*, 49.2.5; see also *ad* 5). Epiphanius found it totally absurd that men should give such authority to women, because, even if a case could be made for women clergy by appealing to the precedent of Eve, as did the Quintillians, this precedent was superseded by the biblical injunctions regarding the subordination of women to men, especially their husbands, e.g., Gen 3:16; 1 Cor 11:8; and 1 Tim 2:12, 14 (Epiph., *haer.* 49.3.1-3). In the tradition of the official church, women could prophesy but ideally, like the daughters of Philip (see *ad* 83), did so while under the guardianship of the father (*κύριος* or *paterfamilias*); see Seim (1994: 180-181, 183 and n.59). Even within this tradition, however, it is clear that asceticism, which was universally accepted as a precondition for genuine prophecy, also became a means by which women could attain a measure of autonomy; see V. Burrus (1986: 101-117; 1987: esp. 81-109, 113-119); Seim (1988: 27-45; 1989: 125-140; 1994: 218-224). In such cases, though, authority was deemed to have passed from father or husband to the church as embodied in the *male* bishop (e.g., Ign. *Polyc.* 4.1-5.2; *Const. App.* 4.2.1); see E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983: 313-315) but cf. C. Trevett (1989b: 202-214, esp. 212-214).

That there could be *women* bishops, *women* presbyters and *women* prophets involved in conducting penitential rites was incomprehensible to Epiphanius. Within Montanism, however, the latter were not ordinary women: they were *ascetics*. Even in traditional Christianity, the principle of gender annulment was applied to ascetic women and, in some instances, at least in symbolic terms, led to the portrayal of such women in masculine-specific terms; see E. Castelli (1986: 61-88); S.P. Brock and S. Ashbrook Harvey (1987: 24-25), but note the caution expressed by Burrus (1987: 117) and Seim (1989: 136-137) concerning interpreting the data too androcentrically. It is not that these women were deemed to be men but that the then perceived social and ecclesial disadvantages inherent in femaleness were negated. That the Montanists practiced ecclesial gender neutrality is clear from Epiphanius' wording regarding female bishops and presbyters, which follows immediately after the passage already quoted above:

Ἐπίσκοποι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι
γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὧν μηδὲν διαφέρειν φασὶν "ἐν γὰρ
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θήλυ" (*haer.* 49.2.5).

And among them women are bishops and women are presbyters and the like; as there is no difference, they say, "for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female."

R.E. Heine (1989b: 135) is undoubtedly correct in interpreting the phrase καὶ τὰ ἄλλα (literally: "and the like") to refer to Montanist ecclesial offices other than bishop and presbyter. Hence, in Montanism, as in the official church, women could be deacons, but they could also hold other offices which incorporated ministries, such as leading penitential rites, elsewhere reserved exclusively for men. That the function of Montanist prophetesses leading penitential rites originally developed from the status of such women as confessors who automatically had the status of presbyters, as argued by F.C. Klawiter (1980: 251-261), is plausible. There is no need, however, to see a *direct* link between the penitential function of these women and that of prophetesses/priestesses in Phrygian native religions as, for example, do W. Schepeleern (1929: 127-128) and A. Strobel (*Das heilige Land* [1980]: 247-249); see D. Powell (1975: 46-48). That there were both male and female *lampadēphoroi* in Phrygian cults may, of course, have made the introduction of the Christian *lampadēphoroi* less unusual. On the Montanist penitential system in general, including Tertullian's contribution, see P. de Labriolle (1913a: 404-457); W.G. Murdoch (1946: 167-171); Klawiter (1975: 13, 115-122, 128); F.E. Vokes (1976: 62-76).

The number of *lampadēphoroi*

In any Christian context, the appearance of lamp-bearing virgins evokes images of the wise and foolish virgins of Mt 25. As these virgins prepared for the coming of the bridegroom, who from early times is equated metaphorically with Christ (see K. Niedewimmer [1975: 58-63]), there are obvious eschatological overtones to the role of the Montanist *lampadēphoroi*. Presumably, their function was to call people to repentance in preparation for the (second) coming of Christ and the establishment of the messianic realm. It is not insignificant that Epiphanius links this practice especially with the Quintillians, since, as I have argued elsewhere (Tabbernee [1989b: 52-60]), it was probably Quintilla, rather than the original Montanist prophets, who, on the basis of a vision in which Christ appeared to her in the form of a woman, proclaimed that

the New Jerusalem of Rev 21 would descend at Pepouza (Epiph., *haer.* 48.14.1-3). Perhaps under Quintilla's influence, an earlier practice was brought into sharper eschatological focus. This may also explain why there were seven, rather than five, *lampadēphoroi*. The symbolism of five wise virgins, was superseded by the number seven suggested by other images drawn from the book of Revelation, such as the seven spirits before the throne (Rev 1:4), the seven churches (1:11), the seven stars and the seven candlesticks (1:20); see Powell (46) and, for further examples of the likely literal interpretation of symbols from Revelation by Quintilla, also see Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 277-279 and *ad* 76. That the number seven need not have been adhered to by all Montanist congregations who had *lampadēphoroi* is indicated by the inscription under discussion here, if, as seems extremely likely, it is indeed Montanist. Earlier at Ankyra, however, there may have been a group of seven Montanist "widow-virgins," who, though, are not called *lampadēphoroi*; see *ad* 89. Perhaps the actual number depended somewhat on the people available to perform the function at any given time as well as on local custom which, given the existence of subsects, varied considerably within Montanism.

Ἡγουμένη and θεοφιλεστάτη

Stephania was the senior member of her group. The designation ἡ ἡγουμένη, elsewhere used of the superior of a convent (*LPGL*, s.v. ἡγουμένη; cf. Leclercq "Higoumène" [1924b]: col. 2381; *New Docs* 2, 206; J. Ysebaert [1991: 426]), indicates that Stephania was the "superior" with whom and under whose care the other lamp-bearing virgins lived. The designation θεοφιλεστάτη: "the most God-beloved one," is common for senior male clergy and even emperors (*LPGL*, s.v. θεοφιλής, 1d; *SEG* 29 [1982]: 643). The use of this designation for women is extremely rare: *LPGL* provides no literary examples, and there are few epigraphic testimonies. See 75 and an inscription honoring a woman deacon at Patrai in Achaia; *ed. pr.* — Ph. Petsas (1971: 161-163 [pl. 148]); cf. discussion in *New Docs* 1, 121; *SEG* 29 [1982]: 425; *New Docs* 4, 239 *ad* 2. In the case of the woman deacon from Patrai, the exalted title may have been used because, in fulfillment of a vow, she donated a mosaic for the church. In Stephania's case, her high status in the Montanist community would certainly explain the use of the designation. G.H.R. Horsley's translation of *Il.4-6*: "the most God-beloved daughter of Christ" (*New Docs* 2, 206), may be preferred over mine. Although of necessity it inserts the word "daughter," it more accurately conveys the sense of θεοφιλεστάτη.

88. An appeal to St. Theodotos

Kalecik, in cemetery outside town,
about 500m. N.W. of Byzantine castle

V-VI

Ed. pr. — *IGalatN* [1982a]: 212 with trans. and photographs.

Gray limestone octagonal column-base broken at top, partially buried below. Height (visible): 0.65m.; diameter: 0.80m. The base is decorated on all sides: 1. rosette in circle; 2. cross in circle; 3. palm leaves at either side of cross; 4. cross in circle, above vine(?); 5. rosette in circle above cross with two doves; 6. tree; 7. cross; 8. serpentine spiral. Column photographed and inscription recorded by I.W. Macpherson in the mid-1950s. Inscription copied anew by S. Mitchell in 1981. Text runs around all eight faces of the stone. Cursive *epsilons*. Letter height: 0.04m. Figure 97. Plate 42.

Ἁγίε Θεοδότῃ βοήθῃ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου τεχνίτου
Θεοδότου ὑγίᾱ.

Saint Theodotos: aid the health of Antonios, artisan, (and) of Theodotos.

Other *edd.*: Macpherson "New Evidence" [1958]: 184 no. 265 with photograph;
*Mitchell "Theodotos" [1982b]: 99 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1984]: 481.

Variant reading:

l. 1 βοήθῃ: *BE*; αὐτὸν: Macpherson; ὕγῃα: Macpherson.

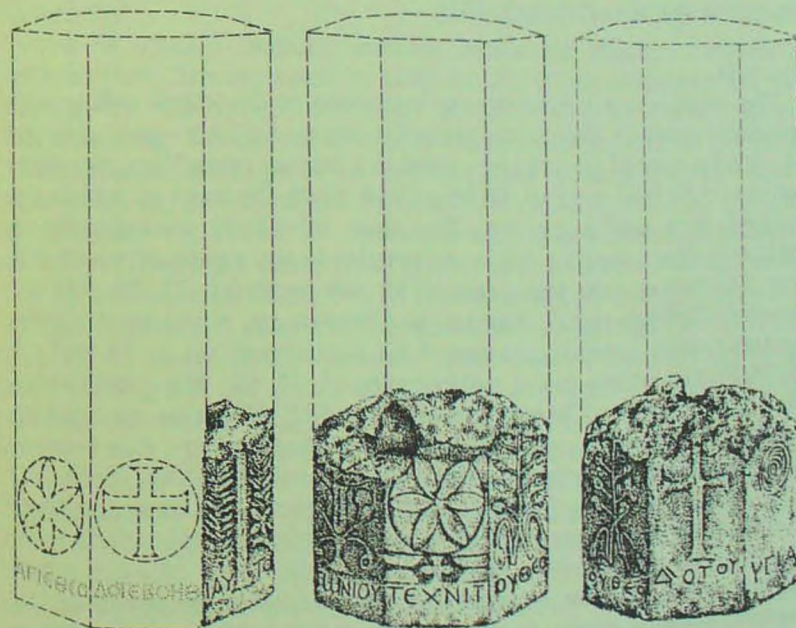
Further references: *BE* [1983]: 428, 434; *TIB* 4 [1984]: 173, 201-202; R. MacMullen (1985: 152 n.13) with partial trans.; *SEG* 32 [1985]: 1263; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 201); C. Trevett (1996: 125).

Photographs: Macpherson, plate 63 (three photographs, showing eight sides of column-base = *ed. pr.*, plate 9 no. 212); Mitchell, plates 26[a]-[b] (showing three sides).

Theodotos

According to the Byzantine account of the saint's life, Theodotos, a shopkeeper/pastor at Ankyra, was put to death in the city by Theoteknos the governor in c.312 (*M. Thdot.* 1-31). Theodotos' body, however, was

taken to Malos on a cart, the donkey stopping at the exact place which Theodotos had earlier selected as an ideal location for a *martyrium* for which God would provide the relics (32-36; cf. 10-12). This *martyrium* was constructed by the time the *Life* was written (34), probably c.360; so Mitchell (101, 112-113) but contrast H. Grégoire and P. Orgels (1951: 178-179) who date the *Life* no earlier than V. Irrespective of how one evaluates the historicity of the specific details (see p. 216 above), the *Life* and some murals depicting the saint (Mitchell, 101) provide incontrovertible evidence for the popularity of the cult of Theodotos in Galatia and neighboring Cappadocia.



Faces 1, 2, and 3

Faces 4, 5, and 6

Faces 6, 7, and 8

Fig. 97: Column-base of Theodotos' *martyrium*

Martyrium

The cult had its center at Malos. The column-base, containing the inscription under discussion here, is undoubtedly a remnant of Theodotos' *martyrium*. A similar, but uninscribed, base was also found at the same site as was an heptagonal base, decorated with three crosses; *ibid.*, 100 (pl. 25[b]). A third stone, containing an inscription commemorating a benefaction (89) probably also comes from the same site. That the building on this site was not the main village church is apparent from other archaeological remains, including a font, at the base of nearby Castle Hill; Mitchell, 99 (pl. 25[a]). As the shape and decoration of the column-bases indicate a V-VI date, the *martyrium* may have been constructed then or, more likely, an earlier *martyrium* was remodeled and adorned at that time (Mitchell, 101).

Symbols

The column-base containing the inscription is decorated richly with prominent symbols. The crosses are in the shape of a Latin cross (see *ad* 14), but the ends of the arms are carved in a manner resembling the eight points of a Maltese cross; cf. 76 for a Greek cross, the arms of which are finished in a similar manner. The cross of 87 is undoubtedly a "Maltese" cross, showing that it was popular in the region at about this time. The crosses, palm leaves (see *ad* 9), and doves (cf. 72, 75, 94) are common Christian motifs. Rosettes, in Christian art, represented Christograms or stars, especially the stars of the Apocalypse; see *ad* 71 and cf. 61, 76(?). For rosettes carved within circles, cf. 71, 91. The vine(?) tree, while not exclusively Christian (see *ad* 48 and cf. 51), is an appropriate symbol for Theodotos' *martyrium*. This symbol, carved on side 6, may, however, have been meant to represent the "tree of life" (Gen 3: 22-24) rather than a vine. The spiral carved on side 8 represents a snake, perhaps reminiscent of the serpent in the story of the Garden of Eden (Gen 3: 1-24). Between these symbols on side 7 stands the large Maltese cross. Taken together, these three symbols may have depicted the power of the crucified Christ to restore fallen humanity to its original healthy state—both spiritually and physically. The serpentine spiral, of course, was also a universal symbol for healing and hence, irrespective of any intended biblical allusions, was carved appropriately above the word ὑγιᾶ in this appeal for health; see also Macpherson, 184.

Two supplicants or one?

Antonios, the τεχνίτης, was probably the stonemason (Mitchell, 99) although he may also have been the designer and supervisor of the

(re?)construction project. Not surprisingly, while working on the *martyrium*, Antonios took the opportunity to invoke the saint's aid. But did he ask only for himself? If the fourth word (αὐτῶν) is simply an error for αὐτοῦ, only one supplicant could have been intended. If so, Antonios must have been the son of a man named Theodotos. However, as *omikron* was often substituted for *omega*, the word probably carried the sense of αὐτῶν, in which case a second supplicant called Theodotos is named in the inscription, as translated above. Perhaps Theodotos was Antonios' chief assistant. It appears that a man named Aglaomyris paid for the (re)construction, his generosity being commemorated by a separate inscription (89).

Montanist?

The *M. Thdot.* contains numerous details and allusions compatible with the view, first expressed by Grégoire and Orgels (165-184) and developed by Mitchell (93-113, esp. 102-105, 111-113), that Theodotos was a leading member of a rigorist (probably Montanist) community. Theodotos certainly displayed some traits not incompatible with Montanism: ascetic self-discipline (*M. Thdot.* 1-2), the gift of healing (3), and encouraging Christians "to embrace death" in the face of persecution (6, cf. 3). Theodotos himself also appears to have been a voluntary martyr, an action which Mitchell (102) sees as paralleling exactly Montanus' alleged instructions on open profession of faith; e.g., *Mont., fr., ap. Tert., fug.* 9.4 (cf. *anim.* 55.5). Montanus' teaching on the issue of martyrdom, however, was not any more radical than that of some of the Fathers of catholic Christianity (e.g., *Clem., str.* 4.3-6; *Cypr., ep.* 58.3); see W. Tabbernee (1985: 36-38). Moreover, the context shows that Theodotos only "volunteered" after he had been convinced through visions, confirmed by subsequent events, that God had singled him out for martyrdom (*Thdot.* 16-21); see also Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 280-283. These were the exact circumstances which, in mainstream Christianity, provided permissible exceptions to the rule against voluntary martyrdom; see Tabbernee (1985: 33-36). Theodotos may well have been a Montanist, but this cannot be established on the basis of his traits as portrayed in the *M. Thdot.*

The seven virgins

The strongest hint that Theodotos may have been a Montanist is that the *Life* also contains an account of the martyrdom of seven virgins (*M. Thdot.* 13-19). In light of Epiphanius' testimony that during Montanist worship services seven virgins carried out significant prophetic and peni-

tential functions (*haer.* 49.2.3-4; cf. 87), Theodotos' companions and predecessors in martyrdom may well have been such a group of Montanist virgins (Mitchell, 102-103, followed by R. Lane Fox [1987: 599]). The absence of any mention of them having been *lampadēphoroi* (see *ad* 87) may simply be because that was not pertinent to the story, or it may indicate some diversity of the role of virgins, especially "widow-virgins," among the Montanists. That they were not members of the official church is apparent from the comment that the Ἀποτακτῆται had claimed that Tekousa, their leader, and two other virgins belonged to their community (*M. Thdot.* 19). The subsequent comment describing the virgins' actual affiliation, unfortunately, has a *lacuna* in the text. The suggestion by Grégoire and Orgels (173) that the missing word is πνευματικαί is attractive, as is their related argument that an author from the official church is unlikely to have drawn attention to an alternative sectarian account of their martyrdom; see also Mitchell, 103-104. It may also be significant that Theodotos is said to have recovered the bodies of the seven virgins and buried them near the Church of the Patriarchs (*M. Thdot.* 19).

The Church of the Patriarchs

The Church of the Patriarchs is described by the *Life* as a μαρτύριον (*M. Thdot.* 20; cf. 26 which refers to another *martyrium* dedicated to the Fathers). Mitchell (105) claims that the reference to "Patriarchs" in this context must be to Montanist patriarchs; cf. Grégoire and Orgels, 182; Trevett, 125, 211. This is not unlikely, as there is literary evidence that Montanists existed in Ankyra from late II until at least IV⁴; see pp. 53-54, 216, and 350-351 above. Could Jerome, the first to mention that Montanism, unlike contemporary official Christianity, had "patriarch" as the highest rank in its clerical hierarchy (*ep.* 41.3; see *ad* 80), have learned this fact while visiting Ankyra in c.373 (*Gal.* 2.2; see pp. 350-351 above)? If so, does this mean that there were Montanist patriarchs of Ankyra as well as of Pepouza? Or are we to assume that the relics of more than one of the patriarchs of Pepouza were contained in this *martyrium*? That the seven virgins were buried near this *martyrium* need not be doubted because, even if the details of their martyrdom were fabricated later, an accurate tradition concerning the location of their graves may well have led to later embellishments of this tradition. However, extant epigraphic data attest neither the *martyrium* of the Patriarchs nor the martyrdom of the seven virgins.

The Montanist community in Ankyra

If the seven virgins buried near the Church of the Patriarchs were indeed Montanists, it follows that, at least in the mind of the author of the *Life*, Theodotos and a large number of the other people mentioned in the *M. Thdot.* were also Montanists. This would add significantly to the number of known Montanists, and other data contained in the *Life* would provide us, as Grégoire/Orgels and Mitchell assume, with potentially reliable information about the Montanist community in Ankyra, c.312. Despite Mitchell's demonstration (94-96, 104-107) that the geographical and topographical information contained in the *M. Thdot.* is basically accurate, as is the data about Theoteknos and the persecution (Mitchell, 107-112), the question of authorship and date is not yet settled. Mitchell's conclusion (113) that the *Life* was written by a man named Nilos, who as a youth had been a companion of Theodotos, perhaps as a means of sustaining the morale of the Montanist community at Ankyra during the attempt to revive paganism by Julian the Apostate (c.360-363), accords with the internal evidence and the claims made by the *M. Thdot.*, but were those claims anything other than means of bolstering the "authenticity" of the document? Is the fact that the author bears the same name as the famous Nilos of Ankyra, who died in c.430 (see B. Altaner and A. Stuiber [1980: 334, 618]), a mere coincidence (as Mitchell appears to assume) or does it substantiate the view of Grégoire and Orgels (178-179) that the name was adopted by a post-430 author?

Whether the *M. Thdot.* was written c.360 or post-430, the apparently Montanist allusions contained therein may be the product of the author. The tradition about Theodotos and the seven virgins (whether originally separate or together) may have been utilized by a Montanist or pro-Montanist author, much as the story of Perpetua and Felicitas was employed in early III; see pp. 55-59 above. If so, any genuinely Montanist features in the *Life* may reflect the circumstances of the Montanist community in Ankyra at the time the *Life* was written, rather than during IV¹, but even this is not indisputable.

Montanism at Malos?

No definitive conclusions can be reached about whether there was ever a Montanist community at Malos. The possibility of such a community, nevertheless, cannot be ruled out. The New Prophecy may have spread from Ankyra to the Galatian countryside. If Theodotos himself was a Montanist, then it is extremely likely that Fronto, the πρεσβύτερος from Malos with whom Theodotos had a picnic on the site of his future *martyrium* (*M. Thdot.* 10-12) and who later plied the soldiers guarding

Theodotos' body with wine to allow him to take the body back to Malos (32-34), was also a Montanist. As in the case of Theodotos, however, certainty is not assured.

Similarly, the epigraphic evidence for the existence of Theodotos' *martyrium* neither substantiates the authenticity of the *M. Thdot.* nor does it indicate whether the cult of Theodotos ever was predominantly, if not exclusively, Montanist. We cannot say, therefore, whether the supplicants whose names are carved on the column-base at the time of the (re)construction of the *martyrium* were Montanists. In any case, even if the *martyrium* was commissioned by a Montanist community at Malos, this community need not have engaged only Montanists to work on the structure. As there is even less proof of Theodotos' own Montanist allegiance than there is for that of Perpetua and Felicitas, this inscription has been treated in the section covering the time period when the inscription was set up, rather than in the section dealing with the time when Theodotos lived (cf. 87 but contrast 14).

89. A benefactor of Theodotos' *martyrium*

Kalecik, near a fountain

V-VI

Ed. pr. — Legrand "Inscriptions" [1897]: 101 no. 22 with facsimile.

No description of shape of stone nor measurements provided. According to *ed. pr.*, a staurogram (partially legible) was carved at the end of the inscription. Cursive *sigmas*. Letter height not provided. **Figure 98.**

Ἀγλαόμυρις μάρ-
 2 τυρος ἀθλοφορῆ-
 ος ὅλον κοσμή-
 4 σατο νηόν. †

Aglaomyris adorned the entire shrine of the prize-winning martyr.

Other *ed.*: **IGalatN* [1982a]: 211 with trans.

Text reprinted and discussed: Mitchell "Theodotos" [1982b]: 100-101; *BE* [1984]: 481.

Variant readings:

l. 1 Ἀγλαόμυρις; *BE*.

l. 4 †: *IGalatN* (Mitchell "Theodotos") shows Latin cross rather than staurogram. *BE* does not show staurogram.

Further references: *BE* [1983]: 434; *TIB* 4 [1984]: 173, 201-202; *SEG* 32 [1985]: 1263.

Facsimile: *ed. pr.*, 101.

Α Γ Λ Α Ο Μ Υ Ρ Ι Σ Μ Α Ρ
 Τ Υ Ρ Ο Σ Α Θ Λ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Η
 Ο Σ Ο Λ Ο Ν Κ Ο Σ Μ Η
 C A T O N H O N †

Fig. 98: Inscription recording Aglaomyris' patronage, as published in 1897

Metrical dedication

The inscription is composed as a hexametric verse following the name of the benefactor. The term ἀθλοφόρος μάρτυς signifies a Christian witness who, by dying for the faith, had gained the martyrs' crown; see *ad* 70. The "prize-winning martyr" honored by this inscription is not named but, at Malos, he could not have been other than St. Theodotos (cf. 88). Undoubtedly, Aglaomyris paid for the "adornment" of the structure which Antonios (and his assistant Theodotos [not to be confused with St. Theodotos]?) built; see *ad* 88. This structure was most probably the *martyrium* built for the cult of St. Theodotos at Malos. Aglaomyris apparently paid for the whole of the remodeling and equipping; cf. 82 and perhaps 69. On staurograms, see *ad* 80 and cf. 84.

Montanist?

Whether Aglaomyris was a Montanist depends upon whether the cult of Theodotos at Malos during V-VI was exclusively or, at least, predominantly Montanist; see *ad* 88. If so, it is almost certain that the major benefactor of the reconstructed *martyrium* would be a Montanist. But, as shown *ad* 88, the case for a Montanist community at Malos is not absolutely conclusive.

Numidia

Mascula

Map 3:E2 (S. Numidia). Modern Khenchela. See p. 444 above.

90. A Montanist(?) monogram

Khenchela

V¹

Ed. pr. — Héron de Villefosse "Rapport" [1875]: 459 no. 145 (facsimile only).

Stone fragment. No dimensions provided. Monogram consisting of large classical D and M. Smaller O and S are carved respectively within the D and the right-hand triangular space of the M. Letter height (of D and M): 0.08m. Figure 99.

Do(minus?) M(untanu)s?

Dominus Muntanus



Fig. 99: Monogram honoring
dominus Muntanus, as published in 1875

Other edd.: CIL 8,1 [1881]: 2274 (Wilmanns) with facsimile; cf. *ibid.*, 8,2 [1881]: ad 2274 (De Rossi); Duval *Africae* I [1982]: 169 no. 81 with facsimile.

Text reprinted and discussed: Monceaux "Enquête IV" [1908a]: 235 no. 271 with facsimile; ILCV I [1924/5]: 1636 *adn.*; Leclercq "Montanisme (épigraphie)" [1934b]: col. 2542 (*ad* no. 19) with facsimile; *Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 717 no. 62 with facsimile.

Variant readings:

l.1 *dom(e)sticus?* or *Do(nius) M(untanu)s?*: Wilmanns in CIL 8,1; *Dom(u)s*: De Rossi in CIL 8,2; *Do(minus) M(untanu)s*: Monceaux; *d(ominus) M(untana)s*: Leclercq; *d(ominus) M(untanu)s*: ILCV; *Dominus Muntanus*: Duval.

Further references: CIL 8, suppl. 2 [1894]: p. 1677 *ad* 2274; W.H.C. Frend (1940: 40 and n.29).

Facsimiles: ed. pr., 459 (CIL 8,1, p. 252 but D and M further apart than in ed. pr. [Monceaux, 235; Leclercq, col. 2542 but external bars of M angled; Tabbernee; Duval]).

Puzzling abbreviations

The four letters of this monogram are obviously abbreviations for a then commonly used formula, but which is no longer easily identifiable. If, as claimed by Héron de Villefosse (459), not unreasonably but without providing supportive evidence, the monogram is Christian, the letters may represent the Christian equivalent of a non-Christian funerary formula such as *Dis Manibus* (DM), the longer version of which, *Dis Manibus Sacrum* ("Sacred to the divine spirits of the dead"), was abbreviated DMS and used with the sense of *Deo Magno Sacrum* ("Sacred to the great God"); see F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 480). For North-African examples, see G. Charles-Picard (1965: 117). Perhaps, therefore, the letters should be restored as D(E)O M(AGNO) S(ACRUM). This would only be appropriate, however, if the stone fragment on which the letters were carved was part of a tombstone. The absence of any description of the stone fragment by Héron de Villefosse makes it impossible to draw conclusions from the nature of the stone.

On the other hand, it is possible to draw some conclusions based on the nature of the monogram itself. The monogram is similar to the monogram of the martyr-saint Cyprian (see Duval *Africae* I, 119-120 no. 55 fig. 82), and hence the abbreviations are more likely to relate to the name of a martyr. In light of 71, also discovered at Khenchela, it is likely that the restoration should read *Do(minus) M(untanu)s* or perhaps *Do(mnus) M(untanu)s*; see also 91. If so, the inscription probably belonged to a reliquary containing some of the bones of Muntanus (Duval *Africae* I, 169). This Muntanus may have been a local Numidian martyr or, more likely, the Carthaginian martyr Montanus; see *ad* 71.

A Montanist connection?

Monceaux (235), on the basis of arguments which he and others advanced in connection with 71, argued that the (restored) name Muntanus referred to the founder of Montanism. The discovery of a further inscription at Khenchela (91) mentioning a Muntanus who is almost certainly a martyr, linked with the common North-African practice of calling martyrs *domnus* or *dominus*, makes the accuracy of Monceaux's suggestion extremely unlikely. Monceaux's related suggestion (*ibid.*) that the inscription came from a Montanist community is slightly more plausible, but, if accurate, the Montanist connection needs to be established via the hypothesis that Numidian Montanists, or more likely, Tertullianists, adopted the Carthaginian martyr (whose parents may have

been adherents of the New Prophecy) as a saint especially worthy of their veneration; see p. 142 above and *ad* 71. It is equally likely that the cult of Montanus was shared by catholics and Donatists but that at Mascula the *martyrium* was Donatist; see also *ad* 71.

91. "By order of the blessed Muntanus"

Khenchela, in garden of former officers' club

V¹

Ed. pr. — Duval "Plastique chrétienne" [1972b]: 282-285 no. 4 and *ibid.*, fasc. B, 116-120 no. 4 with French trans., photographs, and facsimiles.

Limestone pillar, discovered by N. Duval in 1970. Height: 1.78m.; width: 0.46m.; thickness: 0.29m. Geometric designs carved on front face within five superimposed registers (four square, the fifth rectangular) surrounded by a double frame consisting of a band of chevrons between two thin lines and a cord-like moulding. Central register is filled with carved rosettes (cf. 61, 71, 76[?], 88). Some decorations also sculpted on left side. Inscription is on replastered field at top of front face above geometric decorations. Letters are carved unevenly. Small second -S added in *l.1* as a correction. Letter height: 0.015m.-0.02m. **Figure 100. Plate 37.**

2 *Ex iussione benedicti Muntani, Purpurius fecit ex artificio Donati.*

By order of the blessed Muntanus, Purpurius has provided (this pillar) through the handiwork of Donatus.

Other ed.: *Duval *Africae* I [1982]: 171-172 no. 82 with French trans., facsimile, and photograph.

Further references: Duval "Plastique chrétienne," 111, 121; Duval *Africae* II [1982]: 704-705.

Photographs: *ed. pr.*, 117 figs. 67a [of pillar], 67b [of detail] (= Duval *Africae* I, fig. 116).

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 111 fig. 61, 4 [of cross section], 119 fig. 67c (= Duval *Africae* I, fig. 116).



Fig. 100a: Pillar sponsored by Purpurius



Fig. 100b: Inscription on pillar sponsored by Purpurius

"By order of"

The phrase *ex iussione* is uncommon in North-African epigraphy, although it does occur occasionally (cf. e.g., Duval *Africae* I, 231-239 no. 112 [I.2]). The sense, however, is clear: the dedicator felt compelled by the saint honored in the inscription to sponsor the item also mentioned. The inscription, therefore, records the fulfillment of the saint's "order," paralleling the fulfillment of a vow. In this inscription, not only the patron (cf. 89) but also the artisan (cf. 88) is mentioned. It is not clear, however, whether Donatus was the stonemason or simply the sculptor of the decorations on the pillar. Nor is it apparent whether Purpurius donated merely this pillar or a whole colonnade; see Duval *Africae* I, 117.

Muntanus

Although not used as frequently as its synonym *beatus* (cf. 92) as a title for martyrs (e.g., *Pass. Perp.* 11.1), the designation *benedictus* (I.1) is by no means rare; cf. Duval *Africae* I, 249-250 no. 119 (with French trans., facsimile and photograph). In this instance, there can be no doubt that the Muntanus honored here is a martyr. The orthography of the name is identical to that of 71 where a Muntanus is given the epithet *dominus*, another term frequently applied to martyrs in North Africa; see *ad* 71. This latter epithet and the name Muntanus may be restored, correctly, in 90.

The Muntanus named on this and the other two inscriptions from Khenchela (71, 90) is probably the Carthaginian martyr Montanus who died in 259 and whose cult appears to have spread to Numidia judging from a further inscription discovered near Henchir El Begueur (Duval *Africae* I, 130-131 no. 59 [fig. 91]). Theoretically, this cult may have been introduced to Numidia by Montanists or Tertullianists, but the cult could equally have been catholic, Donatist, or both; see *ad* 71. If anything, the possibility of it having been popular in Donatist circles is the most likely of all the options. Donatism was dominant in the region around Khenchela and probably in Khenchela itself; see p. 444 above. Moreover, Purpurius and Donatus were popular Donatist names; the latter for obvious reasons, the former because a man named Purpurius had been an early Donatist leader in Numidia (Aug., *c. Cresc.* 3.30). For epigraphic attestation of the name Purpurius at nearby Timgad, the site of the Donatist holy city of Thaumugadi, see H. d'Escurac-Doisy (1955: 111-117 no. 25); cf. *AE* 1957 [1958]: 185.

Martyrium?

The three inscriptions from Khenchela discussed in this corpus probably all came from a *martyrium* devoted to the cult of Montanus. If so, 71 was carved on a *mensa martyrum* or a funerary *mensa* and 90 was probably the monogram carved on or near the reliquary. The inscription under discussion here presumably recorded patronage of the *martyrium*.

Ancient site near Aïn Ghorab

Map 3:E3 (S. Numidia). Approx. 80km. S.W. of Tebessa (Theveste; 3:E3) and approx. 50km. S.S.E. of Khenchela (Mascula; 3:E2). Aïn Ghorab is situated on the edge of the Plain of Guert (3:F1-F2) on the Nemencha Plateau (3:E2-E3). The ancient agricultural settlement at this site has not yet been identified; see also W.H.C. Frend (1940: 38-40).

92. The martyr Emeritus

Aïn Ghorab, in the ruins of a Byzantine fort

c.495(?)

Ed. pr. — Pouille "Inscriptions" [1871/2]: 421-422 from copy by M. Lucas.

Rectangular limestone slab, damaged on all sides, broken at top left, top middle, top right and at right side. Discovered by M. Lucas. Height: 0.45m.; width: 1.35m.; thickness: 0.25m. Three Christian symbols carved at left of inscription. Most likely: a Christogram at I.1, a Greek cross at I.2, and a staurogram at II.3-4. As only part of the first two symbols remains, perhaps all three were staurograms. Inscription covers most of stone. Letters carved in late classical-style capitals, apart from the cursive q in I.3 which also appears to have an abbreviation mark carved above it. The oblique hasta of R is carved consistently short. The C in I.4 is engraved retrograde. Mason's guide lines visible. Letter height: 0.05m. **Figure 101. Plate 37.**

✠ H(i)ç domus D(e)i n[ost]ri [tri Christi, h](i)c avitatio
Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i P[aracleti].

2 + H(i)c memoria beati martiris Dei consulti [E]mer[iti].

*H(i)c exaudietur omnis q(u)i invocat nomen D(omi)ni
D(e)i om̃ipot[entis].*

4 † *Cur homo miraris? D(e)o jubante meliora videvis.
A[nno regis] XI.*

Here (is) the dwelling place of Christ our God, here the habitation of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. Here (is) the memorial of the blessed martyr Emeritus, God's advocate. Here everyone who invokes the name of the Lord God almighty will be heard. Why, person, do you marvel? With the help of God you will see (even) greater (marvels). In year 11 of the king.

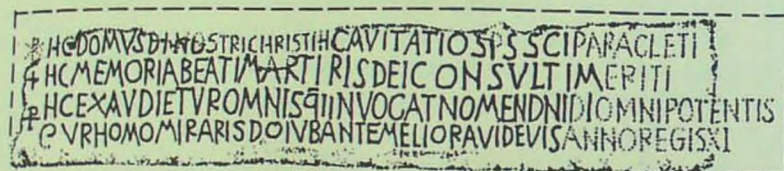


Fig. 101: Memorial dedication
for Emeritus

Other *edd.*: Masqueray "Ruines I" [1878]: 446-447 (majuscules); *CIL* 8,1 [1881]: 2220 (Wilmanns) with facsimile of majuscule text; cf. De Rossi in *ibid.*, 8,2 [1881]: ad 2220 (facsimile); *Duval *Africae* I [1982]: 151-154 no. 70 with French trans., facsimile, and photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: De Bosredon "Inscriptions" [1876/7]: 378 no. 80 (majuscule text); De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane" [1878]: 8-10 with facsimile of majuscule text; id., *Capsella* [1889]: 17 (ll.1-3 only); an anonymous missionnaire des Pères Blancs "Emeritus" [1899]: 65-70 with photograph of squeeze; Monceaux "Enquête IV" [1908a]: 229-231 no. 267 with facsimile of majuscule text; Scaglia *Epigraphia* [1909]: 251 (facsimile of majuscule text only); P. Monceaux (1912: 468-469); Leclercq "Ghorab (Ain)" [1924a]: cols. 1240-1242 ad no. 3 with line drawing/facsimile; *ILCV* 1 [1924/5]: 1830 (cf. suppl. in *ibid.*, 4 [1967]: p.15); Leschi "Basilique" [1936]: 34-35; W.H.C. Frend (1940: 43-44, 45 n.87); Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 717-718 no. 63 with facsimile.

Variant readings:

l.1 +: Lucas in Pouille (de Bosredon, Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1 [majuscule copy only]). Masqueray; †: Missionnaire des Pères Blancs; De Rossi *Capsella* and Monceaux (1912) do not print Christogram or other symbols here or elsewhere; "(croix)": Duval *Africae* I; *Hic*: Lucas in Pouille (Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1); *hc*: *ILCV* does not resolve abbreviations

here or elsewhere; *H(i)c*: previous *edd.* do not mark partially illegible letters (or symbols), apart from Duval *Africae* I which marks the last P in l.1 and the A, XI(L) in l.4; *domus* Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1; DOMVS D . . . Masqueray; *Dei nos(tri)* . . . De Rossi *Capsella*; *D(e)i nos(tri)* . . . Missionnaire des Pères Blancs; *NOSTRI XPI*: De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane" [majuscule text with miniscule restoration]; *NOSTRI XPI*: *CIL* 8,2; *xq̃i*: Scaglia; ICAVITATIOSSICIP de Bosredon; . . . CAVITATIOSSIS . . . I Masqueray; (h)avitatio *Spiritus sancti p(aracleti)*: De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane"; (h)avitatio (sic) *spiritus sancti p(aracleti)*: De Rossi *Capsella*; a(b)itatio: Leschi; *p(aracleti?)*: *ILCV*; *P(aracleti?)*: Duval *Africae* I. l.2 *Hic*: Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1; "(croix)": Duval *Africae* I; BEATI AEMRTIRIS DEI CONSULTI Masqueray; *martiris* (sic) *Dei consulti* . . . De Rossi *Capsella*; CONSULTI . . . AE . . . (de Bosredon); *Eme(riti)*: Leschi. l.3 *vocat*: Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1; NOMEN DEI . . . Masqueray; *nom[en] d[ei]*: Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1; NOMEN DINDIOM . . . de Bosredon; *domini Dei om(nipotentis)*: De Rossi *Capsella*; *Omnipot[entis]*: *ILCV*. l.4 iubant Wilmanns in *CIL* 8,1; VR: De Rossi in *CIL* 8,2 (Monceaux; Scaglia; Tabbernee); sic PVR: de Bosredon; QVR HOMO MORARIS DOIVBANTE MELIORA Masqueray; *QVR* (cur): De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane"; *ur(?)*: *ILCV*; (C)ur: Monceaux; MIRARIS IS DO: Scaglia inadvertently repeats IS; *miraris*, *do*: *ILCV*; VIDEVISA . . . (de Bosredon); *videvis* . . . Missionnaire des Pères Blancs; *vide(b)is*: Leschi; A///XI: De Rossi in *CIL* 8,2; A . . . XI: Scaglia; *A[nno regis] XI* . . . Monceaux; *A[nno regis]* . . . XI . . . Leclercq; a.p. CCC[XL] . . . : *ILCV*; A . . . XL(ou I): Duval *Africae* I; XL (alternate reading): De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane."

Further references: *CIL* 8, suppl. 2 [1894]: 17614; Masqueray "Ruines II" [1879]: 93; De Rossi (1884: 36-37); S. Gsell (1901a: 160); Monceaux "Enquête III" [1906]: 196; F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 459 n.1); W.H.C. Frend (1952: 308); N. Duval (1959b: 247 n.9); K. Aland (1960a: 159); Frend (1982: 161; 1996: 66).

Photograph: Missionnaire des Pères Blancs, p. 66 [of squeeze] (= Duval *Africae* I, 151 fig. 102 [from De Rossi's papers]).

Line drawing/facsimile: Leclercq, cols. 1241-1242; Duval *Africae* I, 152 fig. 103 [of squeeze; from De Rossi's papers].

Facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, 421 (*CIL* 8,1, p. 248); de Bosredon, 378 no. 80 (De Rossi "Nuovo scoperte africane," 8 [*CIL* 8,2: p. 948 (Monceaux "Enquête IV," p. 229; Scaglia, 251; Tabbernee, p. 718)]).

Emeritus

The restoration of the name Emeritus in l.2 is undoubtedly correct. A parallel inscription from Henchir Taghfaght, 5km. W. of Mascula, reads *Hic e[st dom]ulus [Dei, hic] | memo[ri]ae | apostol[or]um et | beati Emeriti gloriosi | consulti* (*CIL* 8, suppl. 2.17714 = Duval *Africae* I, 163-164 no. 77 [fig. 111]). The discovery of these two inscriptions from the region honoring an Emeritus indicates the existence of a cult of this martyr; cf. the cult of the martyr Muntanus in the same region: 71, 90-

91, and Duval *Africae* I, 130-131 no. 59. As with the cult of Muntanus, it is difficult to identify the martyr. He may have been an otherwise unknown local Numidian. It is more likely, though, that, as with Muntanus, his cult was imported from Africa Proconsularis. An Emeritus, who was lector to a presbyter named Saturninus, spoke on behalf of his six companions from Abitinae during their interrogation at Carthage on 12 February, 304 (*Pass. Saturnin.* 2.10-11). It is likely that, as taken for granted by Frend (1952: 320; 1996: 66, 115) he was the martyr later venerated in Numidia. Other possibilities, however, must not be ruled out; see Duval *Africae* I, 153. On staurograms and their relationship to Christograms, see *ad* 33.

Consultus

The epithet *Dei consultus* given to Emeritus in this inscription (l.2; cf. *gloriosus consultus* [CIL 8, suppl. 2.17714 ll.6-7] is considered by Monceaux (1912: 469) to be based on Emeritus' role as a lector. Similarly, Frend argues that as the one who read God's word to the congregation, Emeritus became a "transmitter of the Holy Spirit, . . . God's pleader against the 'powers of darkness'" (1940: 42-43). This understanding of the meaning of the epithet depends on the correctness of the identification of Emeritus with the lector, but even if this identification is correct, the epithet is more appropriate to the act which led to Emeritus' martyrdom. As the public advocate of Christianity and because of his defense of the sacred writings for which he, as lector, was responsible, he could rightfully be remembered as *Dei consultus* or *gloriosus consultus*. If, however, the martyr was someone other than the lector, the epithet would still have been appropriate if it referred to some public act of defending the faith which led to the person's martyrdom. A third option, suggested by Duval (*Africae* I, 153), is that by the time the inscriptions were set up, there had been a hagiographic amalgamation of the account of the original martyr and the story of the later Donatist bishop Emeritus of Cherchel who was a famous advocate for the Donatist cause and Augustine's opponent in a public debate held on September 20, 418 (Aug., *retract.* 2.51; id., *c. Emer.*). It is, of course, possible that *Dei* is meant to qualify *martiris* (l.2), as in every other case in this inscription the genitive relates stylistically to the preceding noun. If so, l.2 should be translated "Here is the memorial of God's blessed martyr, the lawyer Emeritus."

Provenance and date

The stone was discovered among the rubble of the ruins of a small Byzantine fort, apparently built, in part, by stones pillaged from a nearby chapel. A number of these reused stones contain dates with the formula "*anno regis N.*" (followed by a Roman numeral); see Frend (1940: 44). As the Emeritus inscription under discussion here also appears to employ this dating formula, it is probably safe to assume that the stone came from the same chapel and that it was dedicated to Emeritus; so Leschi, 35; Frend (1982: 161); and Duval *Africae* I, 152. The stone on which the inscription is engraved was a lintel above the entrance, greeting pilgrims and other worshippers who had arrived at their destination. Presumably, the *martyrium* contained a reliquary which would be used as an aid in obtaining the divine attention promised by l.3 of the inscription.

It is impossible to be precise about the date, as it depends upon restoration. The first letter of the date is undoubtedly an A, which allows for the restoration A[*nno regis N.*] XI (or XL). If, as seems to be the case, this is indeed a Vandal date, the year 11 (or 40) needs to be linked to the reign of a specific Vandal king. The most obvious of these is Gaiseric (c.428-477), during the early part of whose reign North Africa was conquered by the Vandals. The 11th year of Gaiseric's reign (c.439), however, is probably too early, as the style of lettering and the symbols are more consistent with a date toward the end of V. Duval's suggested restoration XL rather than XI provides the date 468 C.E. which is more likely, but still somewhat early. It seems best, therefore, to date this inscription to the reign of Gunthamund (c.484-496). Retaining the traditional restoration of XI gives the year 495 C.E. ILCV's restoration a.[p. CCC]XL[. . .], i.e., a(nno) [p(rovinciae) CCC]XL, suggesting a provincial era, is not justified; see Duval (1959b: 247 and n.9).

Montanist?

The restoration *Sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i P[aracleti]* in l.1 raises the possibility that the community which commissioned the plaque was Montanist (see Aland, 159) or Tertullianist; see *ad* 71. Tertullian himself, as an adherent of the New Prophecy, was certainly fond of referring to the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete (see p. 54 above). He argued that the Paraclete's revelations via Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla had ushered in a new age of ethical maturity in which Christians could bear the full burden of the moral implications of the Gospel (*virg.* 1.4-5, 7). The same Paraclete who demanded such high standards also empowered people to meet these standards (*mon.* 3.5).

The use of the term "Paraclete" for the Holy Spirit, however, was never restricted to Montanists. Consequently, additional indicators of Montanism are required to identify this inscription as Montanist. Such indicators do not exist. Apart from the possible use of the word Paraclete, there is nothing to suggest that this inscription is Montanist. Neither the symbols nor the rest of the text reveals any hint of Montanism. Nor is there any convincing evidence that Montanists ever resided anywhere in Numidia. There is, however, indisputable evidence for the strong presence of Donatists in the region; see p. 444 above. The ruins of the church from which the Emeritus inscription probably came also produced a number of inscriptions with Donatist formulae: e.g., *bonis bene* and *Deo laudes*; see Leschi, 34-35 (cf. Frend [1940: 44; 1996: 66]). Hence, unless the inscription is catholic as I suggested elsewhere ("Montanism," 718), it is undoubtedly Donatist rather than Montanist. It is, of course, possible that catholics and Donatists shared the veneration of this martyr; see *ad* 71 for a parallel situation. If it can ever be shown independently that there were, indeed, Montanists in the area, then it could be argued that perhaps they too joined in the cult of Emeritus.

Italia

Rome

Map 4:E3 (West-Central Italia). See p. 124 above.

93. Alexandros: Χριστιανὸς καὶ πνευματικός


"Regione trans-Tiberinâ," no more precise
provenance given
No longer extant

c.395-V¹

Ed. pr. — Reinesius *Syntagma* [1682]: 898 no. 5 with facsimile, based on copy by Peter Lambecius.

Rectangular graveslab. No measurements provided. Staurograms carved at the beginning (cf. 84) and end (cf. 89) of inscription. If manuscript copies (see below) are accurate, inscription contained cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Lunate *mu*. The second *alpha* in *l.1* may not

have had a horizontal cross bar. A few letters may have been carved in miniscule: perhaps the *xi* in *l.1* and almost certainly the *chi* in *l.2*, the final *sigma* of *l.2*, and the second *alpha* in *l.3*. Interpuncts at either side of the deceased's profession. Letter height not given. Figure 102.

2  Ἐνθάδε κ<<α>>τακίτε Ἀλέξαν-
δρος, ἱατρὸς, Χριστιανὸς
καὶ πνευματικός. †

Here lies Alexandros, a physician, a Christian and a
pneumatikos.

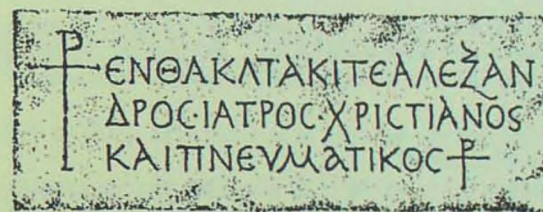


Fig. 102: Alexandros' epitaph

Other edd.: CIG 4 [1877]: 9792 with line drawing/facsimile; *IGOccidChr* [1989]: 134.

Text reprinted and discussed: Fleetwood *Sylloge* [1691]: 341; A.S. Mazochius (1762: 339); *Codex Marucelliano* A.259, 260 (line drawing/facsimile) (codex now lost, but copy of line drawing/facsimile extant on G.B. de Rossi's index card 1152; see Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [1990]: 105 and n.7); *MEL* I, 1 [1900/2]: 3357 with Latin trans. and facsimile of majuscule text (cf. *ibid.*, p. CLV [majuscule text only]); *CodVatLat*, 10517 fol. 190 (line drawing/facsimile); Scaglia *Epigraphia* [1909]: 247 (majuscule text) with Latin trans.; Marucchi *Epigrafia* [1910]: 229 no. 280 with line drawing/facsimile of majuscule text (= *id.*, *Epigraphy* [1912]: 234 no. 280; Aigrain *Manuel* [1913]: 119-120 no. 139 with French trans.; F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 129, 455-456 [partial text]); Leclercq "Montaniste (épigraphe)" [1934b]: col. 2541 no. 18 with facsimile; Ferrua "Comunità montanista" [1936]: 219 n.2, 220-221 with Italian trans.; Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 221-222; Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 99; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 689-690 no. 42 with line drawing/facsimile; Ferrua "Paralipomeni," 105-106 no. 23 (majuscule text) with line drawings/facsimiles; **SEG* 40 [1993]: 882.

Variant readings:

l.1 []: Staurogram not recorded by previous *edd.* other than *Codex Marucelliano* (Ferrua "Paralipomeni") and *CodVatLat* (Marucchi [Leclercq; Tabbernee]) here nor at end of *l.3*; *SEG* prints Christograms instead of staurograms; ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ: Reinesius (Fleetwood; Mazochius; *MEL* [majuscule copy]; Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [majuscule copy]); Ἐνθάδε κεῖται: CIG (*MEL*; Aigrain; *IGOccidChr*; Ferrua; Tabbernee); ΕΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ: Scaglia prints interpuncts between all words; Ἐνθάδε κεῖται: Cecchelli;

ENΘAKATAKITE: *CodVatLat*; ENΘA·KATAKITE: Marucchi prints interpuncts between words; 'Ενθα κατακίτε: *SEG*.

II.1-2 ΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡΟΣ: Reinesius (Fleetwood; Mazochius; *MEL* [majuscule copy]), Leclercq [majuscule copy], Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [majuscule copy]; 'Αλέ[ξ]ανδρος: *CIG* (*MEL*; Leclercq; Cecchelli; Tabbernee); 'Αλέξ·ανδρος: Aigrain; 'Αλέξανδρος (sic): Ferrua "Comunità montanista"; 'Αλέ<α>νδρος: *IGOccidChr*.

Further references: *MEL* I,1, p. CLV; *AE* 1937 [1938]: ad 70; Cecchelli, 210-212; Ferrua "Epigrafi eretica" [1945]: 218, 220; *BE* [1956]: 360; C. Andresen (1971: 274 n.289); *IPhygChr* [1978a]: p. 138; J. Stevenson (1978: 123); Tabbernee "Montanism," 343, 345; Strobel, *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 95 with German trans.; *IGOccidChr*, ad no. 400; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 199); *TIB* 7 [1990]: 127 and n.28; *BE* [1991]: 755; A. Jensen (1992: 343 n.334 with German trans.); *SEG* 39 [1992]: ad 1036; C. Trevett (1996: 204, 226 and n.67).

Line drawings/facsimiles: *ed. pr.*, p. 898 (*MEL* I,1, p. CLV and repeated ad *MEL* I,1.3357; Leclercq); *Codex Marucelliano* A. 259, 260 (Ferrua "Paralipomeni," 104 fig. 2b); *CodVatLat* 10517 fol. 190 (Marucchi, 234 [Tabbernee "Montanism," 689]); *CIG* 4, p. 562.

Alexandros: a Montanist?

The designation Χριστιανός (I.2) excludes the possibility that Alexandros could have been one of those "doctors of the soul" referred to by Galen; see Ferrua "Comunità montanista," 220. If the copies in the *Codex Marucelliano* and *CodVatLat* are accurate, the staurograms (on which, see ad 80) confirm A. Ferrua's late-IV or early-V date. For this time period, πνευματικός, a favorite Montanist self-designation (see ad 63), is a secure indicator of Montanism; cf. 55, 63, 72, 86, 95. Presumably Alexandros was a member of the thriving Montanist congregation of immigrants from Asia Minor resident in Rome to which, at least, Ablabes (72) and, perhaps, Botrys (73), Philippos (74), and Frankios (95) also belonged. This community was centered around the Via Aurelia.

Provenance

T. Reinesius (898) gave the provenance of Alexandros' epitaph as "Regione trans-Tiberinā." The term designates the popular residential quarter, now known as Trastevere, on the opposite side of the river from the Palatine. Aurelian encompassed this area with the western-most extension of his walls, the only area W. of the Tiber to be enclosed within the city walls. It is unlikely that Reinesius actually discovered Alexandros' tombstone in Trastevere itself as burial was forbidden within the walls; see ad 16. It is almost certain that Reinesius used the term trans-Tiberinā more loosely to include the cemeteries and catacombs along the old Via Aurelia, just W. of the Aurelian gate. These include those of S.

Pancras, SS. Processus and Martinianus, and S. Calepodius, all within 5km. of Trastevere. Perhaps Alexandros' tombstone came from the ancient cemetery which also yielded the grave markers of, at least, Ablabes (72) and Philippos (74). Irrespective of where Ablabes was buried, he, as a physician, may well have lived on the E. side of the Aurelian gate, within the city limits, even if he belonged to a minority Christian community which worshipped, a short walking distance away, "outside the walls."

94. Sozomenos: Χριστιανός

St. Paul's-outside-the-walls, in monastery vineyard
Now in Monastery Museum, inv. no. XXXV.36

VI

Ed. pr. — *ICUR*² 2 [1935]: 5833 facsimile of majuscule text with photograph.

Rectangular marble graveslab. Height: 0.50m.; width: 0.60m.; thickness unobtainable. Discovered in 1859 by G.B. De Rossi. Greek cross (see ad 14) is carved at the beginning of the inscription. A pair of birds (doves?) facing each other is carved "upside down" above the inscription. A second pair of birds, extracting nectar from flowers contained in an urn-shaped vase, is carved below the inscription. Cursive *epsilons*, *sigmas*, and *omegas*. Lunate *mus*. Dittography in I.3. Letter height: 0.045m. Figure 103. Plate 38.

(pair of birds)

+ 'Ενθάδε κατακίτε
2 Σωζόμενος,
Χριστ{ι}ειανός,
4 χωρίου Κνηκνῶν.

(pair of birds with vase)

Here lies Sozomenos, a Christian, from the district of (the)
Kneknnonians.

Text reprinted and discussed: F. Grossi Gondi (1920: 129 [partial text only]); Cecchelli *Monumenti* [1944]: 197-199 (majuscule text only) with line drawing/facsimile; *IGOccidChr* [1989]: 331 (partial text only).

Variant readings:

I.1 + ENΘΑΔΕ: previous *edd.* do not provide complete miniscule.

II.1-2 ... Σοζόμενος: Grossi Gondi (*IGOccidChr*).

I.3 χριστιανός . . . : Grossi Gondi (*IGOccidChr*); ΧΡΙΣΤΙΕΙΑΝΟC: *ICUR*²; ΧΡΙΣΤΙΕΙΝΟC (sic): Cecchelli.

I.4 χωρίου Κνηκηνών: Grossi Gondi (*IGOccidChr*).



Fig. 103: Sozomenos' epitaph

Further references: Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica" [1945]: 219-220; *BE* [1952]: 191; J. Stevenson (1978: 123); Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 98 with German trans. and line drawing/facsimile; A. Ferrua (1989/90: 207-208); *SEG* 39 [1992]: ad 1036; *BE* [1993]: 783.

Line drawing/facsimile: *ed pr.*, p. 284; Cecchelli, 198 (Strobel, 98 fig. 6).

Doves

The birds carved above the inscription are not really carved "upside down," but indicate that the slab was placed horizontally and that it served as the lid of a coffin rather than as the vertically-mounted cover of a *loculus*. Viewed from the side nearest to the carving of this pair of birds, the birds would be deemed as "the right way up"—as would the second pair of birds when viewed from the side nearest them. The second pair of birds, extracting nectar from the flowers in a vase, is a familiar motif in Christian funerary art. According to G.F. Snyder (*Ante Pacem* [1985]: 16-18), a vase symbolized the contents or source of Christian

pax, which itself is portrayed by doves. Unlike the birds portrayed on some of the other tombstones in this corpus (e.g., 29, 42, 57), it is likely that the birds portrayed here are indeed meant to be doves.

Montanist resident or mainstream pilgrim?

C. Cecchelli (198-199), who dated Sozomenos' inscription no later than mid IV, argued that the open use of the word *Χριστιανός* (I.3) here indicates Montanism. According to him, Sozomenos' epitaph probably originated from the Montanist community located around the Via Aurelia. If so, Sozomenos may have been a member of the same group of Greek-speaking Montanist expatriates from Asia Minor to which Ablabes (72), Alexandros (93), and, perhaps, some others (cf. 73, 74) belonged. However, if Sozomenos lived anywhere near where he was buried, he, unlike Alexandros (*ad* 93), would have had to travel quite a distance to worship with his Montanist friends.

St. Paul's-outside-the-walls is located on the other side of the Tiber in the Via Ostiensis, approx. 4km. S. of the Aurelian wall and approximately 12km. by road to the start of the Via Aurelia W. of the Aurelian gate. Cecchelli (199) explained the provenance of the inscription by arguing that it may have been reused during VI or VII in the sepulchre near where the stone was discovered. Cecchelli's theory, however, is based on erroneous dating. The inscription itself is certainly sixth-century in date, if not later; see *ed. pr.* and Ferrua "Epigrafia eretica," 220 n.1. The presence of the word *χριστιανός* here, therefore, cannot be taken as an indicator of Montanism, even if it could be shown that the open use of the word in pre-Constantinian inscriptions is likely to be Montanist—which, as noted (see *ad* 9), does not appear to have been the case. Nor, unlike the provenance of Botrys' epitaph (73), can the place where Sozomenos' epitaph was discovered be used to support the claim to its Montanist context. Cecchelli's hypothesis about the epitaph's origins is based on the a priori assumption that a Roman third- or early fourth-century Greek inscription containing the word *Χριστιανός* must have come from an area where Greek-speaking Montanists resided. If, as seems certain, the inscription is at least sixth-century in date, neither the presence of the designation "Christian" nor the provenance is surprising. The possibility that Sozomenos was a Montanist need not be ruled out altogether, as there appear to have been Montanists in Rome until at least V¹ (see pp. 473, 546 above). Perhaps some of these lived, and worshiped, in locations other than around the Via Aurelia. However, on the basis of the available data, Sozomenos may equally be classified as belonging to mainstream Christianity. Perhaps, as Ferrua ("Epigrafia

eretica," 220) suggested, Sozomenos was a pilgrim from Asia Minor who died while visiting holy sites such as the church of St. Paul's-outside-the-walls. Alternatively, Sozomenos may simply have been a later, but non-Montanist, immigrant resident in the old capital. The location "district of the Kneknonians," perhaps to be identified with a village named Kneknos, is uncertain; see *IGOccidChr*, p. 84.

Clusium

Map 4:D2 (Central Italy). Modern Chiusi. Originally one of the twelve major cities of Etruria, Clusium became a Roman colony during the Republic; see R. Bianchi-Bandinelli (1925: 209-578) and E. Richardson (1976: 229). Clusium was situated approximately 130 km. N.W. of Rome. The two cities were linked both by road and via the Tiber.

95. Frankios: Χρηστιανὸς πνευματικός

Chiusi, in external wall of house

V¹

Ed. pr. — Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 97-100 with photograph.

Rectangular porous limestone slab, broken at right and damaged slightly at left. Height: 0.55m.; width: 0.39m.; thickness: 0.12m. (approx.). Latin cross (see *ad 14*) carved at beginning of inscription. Two parallel, almost horizontal, lines sloping upward from left to right at end of inscription appear to be cracks in the stone rather than remnants of decorative artwork. A small triangle, near the bottom of the stone, not referred to by *ed. pr.*, may also be the result of cracks and, in any case, is not sufficiently clear to warrant transcribing as a small *delta* (cf. 84). Quadratic *epsilons*, *mus*, *omega*, and *sigmas*, although the *sigmas* are slightly rounded. Letter height: 0.027m.-0.052m. **Figure 104. Plate 38.**

† Ἐνθάδε
κατάκτε
Φραγκίω Χρ-
ηστιανὸς π-

5 νευματικός,
ζήσας ἔτη κ'.
Εἰρήνη σοι.

5 Here lies Frankios, a Christian (and) | a *pneumatikos*, having lived twenty years. Peace to you.

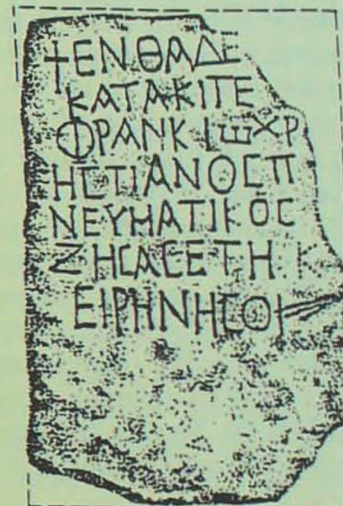


Fig. 104: Frankios' epitaph

Other ed.: Della Fina *Chiusi* [1983]: 91 no. 159 with photograph.

Text reprinted and discussed: *BE* [1956]: 360; *AE* 1956 [1957]: 202; *SEG* 15 [1958]: 627; Tabbernee "Montanism" [1978]: 690-691 no. 43 with photograph.

Variant readings:

I.1 † ἐνθάδε[ε]: Ferrua (*BE*; *AE*; Tabbernee; Della Fina); + Ἐνθάδε: *SEG* does not mark missing or partially visible letters.

II.3 Φραγκίω: Ferrua (*BE*; *AE*; Tabbernee; Della Fina) does not mark partially visible letters although reports that the *kappa* in *I.5* is damaged; Φράνκιος: *SEG*.

Further references: *IPhyrgChr* [1978a]: p. 138; Strobel *Das heilige Land* [1980]: 95-65 with German trans.; W. Tabbernee (1989a: 199-200); Ferrua "Paralipomeni" [1990]: 106; *SEG* 40 [1993]: *ad* 882; C. Trevett (1996: 203-204).

Photographs: Ferrua, 98 fig. 1 (Tabbernee "Montanism," plate 17); Della Fina, plate 45 no. 159.

Montanist?

The use of the double designation Χριστιανός, πνευματικός (II.3b-5) suggests strongly that Frankios was a Montanist; see *ad* 63 and cf. 93; see also 55, 63, 72, 86. The provenance of this inscription, however, is, at first, surprising, as there is no literary attestation for the existence of Montanist groups in Central Italy. Nevertheless, the evidence provided by Frankios' epitaph must be taken as conclusive. There are no grounds for supposing that the inscribed stone was brought to Chiusi from Rome. Not only is the distance probably too great and the quality of the stone too poor to warrant its transportation, but the type of limestone is identical to that found around Chiusi and is specific to the area; see Ferrua, 97. It is possible, of course, that, as first suggested by Ferrua (100), Frankios was one of those Montanists who left Rome because of the persecution of Montanists under Innocent I and Honorius; see p. 473 above. If so, Frankios (and his family?) may have, at one time, belonged to the Greek-speaking Montanist community in Rome which, during late IV and early V, also numbered Ablabes (72) and, perhaps, Botrys (73), Philippos (74), and Sozomenos (94) among its members. The *omega* with which the engraver ended Frankios' name probably simply testifies to an erroneous dative rather than being the result of epigraphic dissociation of -O- and -C-, as claimed by Ferrua (98-99). For the spelling of Christian(s) with *eta*, see *ad* 9. On the practice of "age-rounding" (I.6), see *ad* 53 and cf. 60, 62, 72.

General Conclusion

So far, more than one hundred inscriptions have been claimed by scholars as Montanist. The alleged connection between Montanism and five of these¹ is simply too tenuous even to warrant their inclusion in this corpus. These inscriptions, however, have been mentioned briefly above,² as have eleven other inscriptions which have not normally been considered as serious candidates for classification as Montanist by the world of scholarship.³ A further six inscriptions have been dealt with in somewhat more detail and have been given their own number as a supplementary inscription related to the main inscription in whose entry they are discussed. These inscriptions either provide supplementary data about the person(s) commemorated by the main inscription (14²⁻⁴) or may be deemed to have some connection with Montanism because they contain data which in some way parallel those of the main inscription (16², 68², 77²). None of these, however, is Montanist nor warrants its own entry. Nevertheless, each is sufficiently important to be listed in Appendices 1-3, 5-6 and included in the statistical analyses provided below. These inscriptions are easily distinguished from the main entry number (at which they are discussed) by their supplemental superscript number.

The main ninety-five inscriptions (or testimonia to no longer extant inscriptions) include the so-called "Christians for Christians" (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς) inscriptions of the Upper Tembris Valley in Phrygia. The Χρ.-Χρ. formula, by itself, cannot be taken as an indicator of Montanism. It is merely an indication that the Christians who erected the

¹ Dumont "Inscriptions" [1876]: 136 no. 53; *IAsMinChr* [1922]: 260; *IPhrygHaspels I* [1971]: 40; *ISyriaW* [1870a]: 1961; Taşlıkioğlu *Trakya' da epigrafya araştırmaları* [1971]: 81 no. 9.

² See *ad* 41, 81, 68, 55, and 42 respectively.

³ See Appendix 4 for a complete list of allegedly Montanist inscriptions not numbered separately in this corpus but discussed within other entries or in one of the introductions.

monuments containing the formula felt sufficiently secure to reveal openly the Christian allegiance of the dedicators as well as of the deceased. This feeling of security is to be attributed to external factors such as the tolerant attitude toward Christians by non-Christian neighbors in rural Phrygia—a tolerance which received imperial sanction during the period following Constantine's conversion to Christianity. While it is, theoretically, possible that the Xp.—Xp. formula was also used by Montanists, none of the other secure criteria for classifying inscriptions as Montanist, apart from provenance, applies to the extant monuments bearing the Xp.—Xp. formula. The provenance of these monuments, however, provides inconclusive evidence in that while the Xp.—Xp. epitaphs come from Phrygia, they do not come from a region in Phrygia where Montanism is attested independently of the alleged evidence of the Xp.—Xp. epitaphs themselves.⁴

A number of the inscriptions contained in this corpus identify the deceased, and sometimes the still living dedicator(s), with the single word Christian(s). These inscriptions have often been linked with the Xp.—Xp. epitaphs and classified as Montanist. Once again, however, additional indicators of Montanism, such as allusions to peculiarly Montanist practices or beliefs, are required for certitude. In most cases, open profession of Christianity on tombstones is simply open profession of mainstream Christianity—not evidence of Montanism.

Classification of inscriptions

Undoubtedly, there are numerous extant inscriptions, perhaps even including some of the Xp.—Xp., Χριστιανοί, or other inscriptions contained in this corpus, which are indeed Montanist but whose Montanist nature is unable to be determined because of the absence of (or equivocal nature of) identifying characteristics. The extent to which a particular inscription included in this corpus may be considered Montanist has been discussed within each entry. The ninety-five main inscriptions or testimonia and six supplemental inscriptions discussed in those entries may be classified into the following categories:

- I. Definitely Montanist [17 inscriptions]
- II. Likely Montanist [4 inscriptions]
- III. Possibly Montanist [12 inscriptions]
- IV. Unlikely Montanist [21 inscriptions]

⁴ See Appendix 3 for a classification of Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions by region.

- V. Not Montanist, but about Montanists or possible Montanists [3 inscriptions and 2 testimonia]
- VI. Definitely not Montanist [42 inscriptions]
 - (a) Xp.—Xp. inscriptions [23 inscriptions]
 - (b) Other inscriptions [19 inscriptions]⁵

Location of Montanist communities

The “definitely Montanist” inscriptions not only confirm the literary data that there were Montanist communities in Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Mysia, and Italia but provide conclusive evidence for such communities in localities not referred to specifically in the literature: e.g., Sebaste, Temenothyrai, Dorylaeion, the Phrygian Highlands, Kyzikos, and Clusium. “Likely Montanist” inscriptions add Nakoleia and Laodikeia Katakekaumene as highly probable locations. Only slightly less probable additional locations for Montanist churches not specifically mentioned by the literature are Chorianos, near Hierokaisarea, and Malos, near Ankyra—as revealed by the “possibly Montanist” inscriptions. Inscriptions by non-Montanists about Montanists or possible Montanists confirm the presence of adherents of the New Prophecy at Hierapolis in Phrygia and at Carthage in Africa Proconsularis. Similarly, such inscriptions identify Akmonia in Phrygia as an extremely likely location for a Montanist community.

The “unlikely Montanist” and “definitely not Montanist” categories eliminate, or at least question, the accuracy of a number of locations which have been claimed as containing Montanist communities on the basis of inscriptions which, previously, have been classified as “Montanist.” Such locations in Phrygia include Aizanoi, Kotiaion, Appia, Soa and the Upper Tembris Valley in general, Orkistos, Dokimeion, Diokleia, and Trajanopolis. Elsewhere they include Kadoi in Mysia, an unidentified ancient settlement near Aïn Ghorab, and Mascula—the latter both in Numidia. Locations which are securely identified by literary data as sites of Montanist churches are, of course, unaffected by the reclassification of certain inscriptions from those locations other than that those inscriptions cannot confirm a Montanist presence there. It is important to stress that literary data and epigraphic data about Montanism must be allowed to play their own, but interrelated, roles in providing evidence for the existence of Montanism in various parts of the Graeco-Roman world. Epigraphic evidence cannot be treated as though the literary data do not

⁵ For a detailed listing of all of these inscriptions and testimonia under the six categories, see Appendix 1.

exist, but, similarly, literary data must take into consideration the available epigraphic evidence.

Social identity

The inscriptions contained in this corpus not only add to our knowledge of Montanist localities, they also convey a wealth of information enabling us to supplement the meager information provided by the extant literary material about the social identity of the Montanists. Not counting persons to whom the inscriptions merely allude and whose names have not been able to be restored even *exempli gratia*, the ninety-five main inscriptions or testimonia and the six supplemental inscriptions refer to 356 different people,⁶ including those whose names have been able to be restored. Omitting all those who are definitely not Montanists (including 158 people named in the Xp.-Xp. inscriptions) and those who, on the basis of the extant data, cannot even be considered "unlikely Montanists," leaves 128 people who may be classified as:

- + Definitely Montanists [28 people]
- > Likely Montanists [5 people]
- ± Possible Montanists [33 people]
- < Unlikely Montanists [56 people]
- * Not Montanists, but with possible Montanist connections [6 people]

The epigraphic information concerning these 128 people is summarized below, employing ten indicators of social identity: nomenclature, marital status, kinship, ethnicity, provenance, occupation, wealth, rank, titles, and social network.

1. Nomenclature

Thirteen of the twenty-eight "definite Montanists" bear single Greek names. One (*Qrytys* [1-2]) has a single name (unless it is a title) which has survived only in Syriac but which must have been Greek or Latin originally. Three (Ammion [4], Tatia [6], and Nanas [68]) have single names based on Phrygian familial terminology. Nine others bear single Latin names, although, normally, they employ Greek (or Phrygian-Greek) spelling and terminations. Only one of the twenty-eight bears a double name.

⁶ See Appendix 5. In the statistics given here, it is presumed that the Eugenios mentioned in 70 is the same person as the Markos Ioulios Eugenios of 69.

With the possible exception of Diogas,⁷ there is nothing to suggest that the Montanists whose inscription only records a single name, in fact possessed Roman citizenship as normally evidenced by the *duo nomina* or *tria nomina*, even if this name was a Latin or Latin derivative. Names such as Loukios/Lucius or Markia/Marcia were probably "borrowed" from Latin by Greek-speaking inhabitants of Phrygia and need not presuppose additional unrecorded names or Roman citizenship. It is theoretically possible that Maximilla and Priscilla, the movement's original prophetesses, were descendants of Roman citizens who settled in Central Phrygia,⁸ but there is no evidence to confirm this. Similarly, it is unlikely that the founder of the movement had Roman citizenship. Although Montanus' name was originally a Latin *cognomen*, there is no need to presume that he also possessed a *praenomen* and a *gentilicium*—both lost to posterity. The name, in its feminine as well as its masculine form, was a common *cognomen* in the Greek-speaking provinces.

In late II, status within Roman society was still linked to a differentiation in nomenclature. The absence of a *gentilicium*, in particular, on public records, including inscriptions, was extremely significant as it indicated lack of Roman citizenship at least for the deceased. Epigraphic convention, dictated by the economic necessity to conserve space, allowed dedicators to record their own *cognomina* only, but the official names of the deceased were supposed to be engraved in full.⁹ The decision by Caracalla, in c.212, to grant Roman citizenship to most of the free inhabitants of the provinces, however, was one of the factors leading to the gradual disappearance of the *tria nomina* as a means of distinguishing and perpetuating social class. Aurelia Tatiane (5) the only person in our list of definite Montanists to bear the *duo nomina* including the *quasi-gentilicium* Aurelia must have been one of these provincials. It is likely that Diogas, Aurelia Tatiane's husband, had also received Roman citizenship as a result of Caracalla's action, but, if so, it is strange that the *quasi-gentilicium* was not included in his epitaph. Epigraphic conventions, of course, were not always followed.

The "definite Montanists" who lived before Aurelia Tatiane do not appear to have had Roman citizenship. As there is no reference to servile status, they were presumably free inhabitants of Phrygia or one of the other Roman provinces. The majority, if not all, of the Montanists who lived after her were also provincials who had a similar social status. Some

⁷ See below.

⁸ See p. 19 and p. 19 n.16 above.

⁹ See I. Kajanto (1977: 422).

of these provincials had migrated to Rome itself—either before or after their initial contact with Montanism. The absence of the *dua nomina* in these instances may be explained by the fourth-century or later date of their epitaphs.

Not one person whose Montanism is beyond doubt appears to have belonged to the aristocratic classes. The group of “likely Montanists,” on the other hand, contains two people who did belong to the higher echelons of Roman and provincial society. This is revealed, among other indicators, by their possession of the *tria nomina*. Markos Ioulios Eugenios [Marcus Julius Eugenius] and his wife Flaovia Ioulia Flaoviana [Flavia Julia Flaviana] (69) were Roman citizens who belonged to the influential *gens* of the *Iulii*. The other three members of this group simply bore a single name.

The “possible Montanist” category has no one with the *tria nomina*, but three people (Aurelios Gaios, his wife Aurelia Stratoneikiane [13], and Aurelia Ioulia [21]) bear the *praenomen/gentilicium* Aurelius/-a. The remaining people in this group have single Greek or Latin names. However, in some instances, it may simply be the case that the *praenomen* was omitted to conserve space.

“Unlikely Montanists” include eleven bearing the *dua nomina*. In respect of two of these (Kyrillos Keleros [Cyrillus Celer] and Gaios Nestorianos [Gaius Nestorianus] [69]), the *gentilicium* Julius may be supplied on the basis of kinship (see below). Similar additions of *gentilicia* are not warranted in respect of Iouleia [Julia] Evaresta (75) and Ammianos Diokles (11). Seven of the other double names contain the *praenomen/gentilicium* Aurelius/-a. In the case of Flavius Avus (71), the *praenomen/gentilicium* Flavius is held in honor of the Constantinian dynasty, i.e., the second Flavian emperors. Once again, however, most of the people in this category have single Greek or Latin names.

The six persons for whom inscription(s) were set up by non-Montanists but who, while themselves probably not Montanists, may have had some connection with Montanism or Montanists, bear single Latin names. One of them, Felicitas (14, 14³?, 14⁴?), has a name common among slaves. Whether she, in fact, was a slave, as is often assumed on the basis of an ambiguous reference in the literary account of her martyrdom and that of her companions (*Pass. Perp.* 2.1), is not clear. This document, similarly, suggests (*ibid.*) that perhaps Revocatus was also of servile status, but, again, this is by no means certain. In any case, their social status is not apparent from the inscriptions honoring them. Perpetua, the most famous of the martyrs, bore the *gentilicium* Vibia, but this is not recorded epigraphically. Although these martyrs died in c.203, the

extant inscriptions honoring them come from a time well after the single name system had become universal. In any case, the renown of these martyrs in North Africa made anything more than a single name unnecessary and the mention of their social status irrelevant. Perpetua and her companions were not Montanists. The most that can be claimed is that they may have been among the earliest Christians in Carthage to react favorably to the New Prophecy.¹⁰

2. Marital status

The testimonia concerning the inscription recording the names of the founders of Montanism (1, 2) do not indicate their marital status. Apollonius, however, reveals that Maximilla and Priscilla were married and charges them with having left their husbands to become prophetesses of the new movement (*ap. Eus., h.e., 5.18.3b*). We know nothing specific about the marital status of Qrytys (1, 2), Ammion (4), Markia (6), or Stephania (87). It is likely, however, that some of these “definite Montanists” may, at least at one time, have been married. Stephania was probably a “widow-virgin” (see *ad 87*), a designation which may even underlie Apollonius’ charge against Maximilla and Priscilla in that he assumes Montanists are lying when they call Priscilla a virgin when they know that she has been married. Aurelia Tatiane (5) was married to a Montanist bishop named Diogas. Tatia (6) and Mel(e)te (7) were married to Loukios and Asklepiades respectively, who, perhaps, were Montanist clergy. Mountane (63) was married to a Montanist named Loupikinos (63), but there is no indication that either of them was a member of the clergy. Nanas (68), a Montanist prophetess, was married to “a much loved husband,” who, presumably was also a Montanist, but both his name and his status within Montanism are unknown. Apart from Hermodenes (68) and Philadelphos (85) who were married, no details are provided in the epitaphs of the remaining “definitely Montanist” males regarding their marital status.

The only “likely Montanist” who is a woman, Flaovia Ioulia Flaoviana (69), was married to a Montanist(?) bishop: Markos Ioulios Eugenios. The marital status of the other three men who are likely Montanists (Anthos [55], Apollonios [55], and Severos [70]) is not given.

According to the epigraphic data provided on their tombstones, each of the nine “possibly Montanist” women, with the exception of Ioannas (82) and Kyriakes (82), was married. At least one of the other two also may have been married as their relationship could have been that of

¹⁰ See pp. 57-59 above.

mother and daughter.¹¹ Exactly half of the twenty-four men in this category were definitely married.

Among the "unlikely Montanists" are nine married women: Ammia (10), another Ammia (59), Apphiane (17), Domna (59), Junia (16²), Philippa (17), Prophetilla (11), Tatia (36), and Zotikai (59). One, Aurelia Prima (16), is an adult who is designated as *virg(ini)*. Another, Aurelia Myrsina (16²), is a child who died young. Six others were children or young women alive at the time they were listed as co-dedicators but presumably not yet married (59). Five of the males of this category are reported to have "died before their time" (59), and one was another child who also died young (81). Each may be presumed not to have been married. Seventeen of the men were married. The marital status of the remaining men is unable to be determined.

Forty-two of the 128 people whose names appear on the inscriptions analyzed here are women (fig. 105):

	Women	Men	Total
+ Definite Montanists ¹²	10	18	28
> Likely Montanists	1	4	5
± Possible Montanists	9	24	33
< Unlikely Montanists	20	36	56
* Not Montanists, but with possible Montanist connections	2	4	6
	42	86	128

Fig. 105: Gender differentiation
in epigraphic data about Montanists
and alleged Montanists

¹¹ See ad 82.

¹² In the statistics given here *Qryfys* is counted among the men, see ad 2.

The marital status of the six people who were not Montanists but who probably had Montanist connections is not provided by the inscriptions honoring them (14, 14³?, 14⁴?). In the case of Perpetua, we need to turn to the literary data to discover that she was married (*Pass. Perp.* 2.1). Her story, however, illustrates that not all women were prepared to retain their allegiance to the family's religion (e.g., see 3.1; 5.1). Felicitas gave birth to a daughter shortly before her martyrdom (15.1; 15.7). Presumably she was married, but whether to Revocatus (2.1) is unclear.

3. Kinship

As many of the inscriptions are epitaphs, they contain a great deal of information about the familial (including marital) relationship between the deceased and the dedicators. This is especially so in respect of any, still living, spouse, children, or grandchildren, but also, often, about the deceased's parents, even if these are no longer alive. Normally this information about kinship is spelled out within the standard conventions of early funerary inscriptions. More complex epitaphs include the names of the deceased's siblings, their spouses and children. Additional information concerning kinship is able to be gleaned from the occasional use of patronymics (e.g., 13, 59, 68, 72, 74), the use of "δῖς" (e.g., see 17), the use of the *tria nomina* (e.g., 69), or when the same person is referred to in more than one inscription (e.g., Diogas in 3, 4, 5). In almost all cases, stemmata may be constructed showing how various individuals are related to some of the others named in the relevant inscriptions.

The data about kinship contained in the Montanist inscriptions, and in those which cannot be ruled out altogether as Montanist, confirm, but do not add significantly to, the information about the social identity of the Montanists already revealed by nomenclature or marital status. Apart from the case of one family of likely Montanists, Montanists were not related, either by blood or marriage, to people who belonged to the higher strata of Roman society. At least according to the information at our disposal, Montanists, on the whole, belonged to that wide segment of society made up of free inhabitants who, as a class, received Roman citizenship after 212. There were probably a few slaves among the Montanists, but the only possible slaves in our sample are Felicitas and Revocatus (14), and both their servile status and their links to Montanism are not beyond dispute.

The main exception to the social identification of Montanists described above appears, as we have seen, to have been the family of Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69). This fourth-century bishop of the likely Montanist(?) or "Novatian-Montanist" (?) church in Laodikeia Katake-

kaumene had important connections in Roman society, as revealed by kinship. His father, Kyrillos Keleros, was a senator—probably of the city council at Laodikeia, rather than of the Roman senate. His father-in-law, Gaios Ioulios Nestorianos, however, was a Roman senator. At least by marriage, if not by birth, therefore, Eugenios belonged to the Roman senatorial class. By birth, he presumably belonged to the provincial senatorial class and possibly was a senator at Laodikeia himself. There is no need to assume that either Eugenios' parents or his parents-in-law were Montanists, or even Christians, as Eugenios may have converted to Christianity and/or Montanism during his own adult life. The possibility that they were Montanists, while unlikely, must, nevertheless, not be dismissed out of hand.

4. Ethnicity and 5. Provenance

Ablabes (72), whose description as a πνευματικός identifies him as a Montanist, bears not only the patronymic "son of Photinos," but also the double ethnic Γαλάτης χωρίου Μουλίκου[υ] ("a Galatian from Moulikos"). The term Γαλάτης, here and elsewhere (cf. 74), appears to be used somewhat loosely to include parts of Phrygia or Lydia. Although Ablabes originally came from Asia Minor, he died and was buried in Rome. He undoubtedly belonged to a group of Greek-speaking immigrants from Asia Minor resident in the old capital. It seems that Montanism survived in this *stratum* of Rome's society until well after it had been rooted out of other segments of Rome's population. Although it is possible that the term Φιλαδέλφου in 85 is an ethnic, it is more likely to be a patronymic and has been treated as such for statistical purposes.

Of the "likely Montanists," only the ethnic origins of Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69) is known. The ethnic of his father, Kyrillos Keleros (69), is Κουησσέως. This presumably means that the family came from Kouessa.

Epigraphy provides the ethnic of Aurelios Gaios, son of Apphianos, of Chorianos (13); of Philippos, from Galatia, son of Alypios (74); and of Sozomenos of Kneknos (94). All are "possible Montanists."

Of the "unlikely Montanists," the ethnic of only five is known. These five belong to two families, the first of which was living somewhere in the vicinity of Dokimeion when Eutyches, son of Eutyches (36), erected a tombstone in memory of his father. This family, however, probably came from Temenothyrai. The second family came from Kassa (59).

The names of the non-Montanists who may have had some earlier connection with Montanism are not recorded with an ethnic. As with all

the other people for whom precise ethnic information is not extant, the exact provenance of their inscriptions provides important geographic data useful for determining social identity—especially in terms of whether they lived in a major urban or rural (including smaller towns and villages) setting (fig. 106):

	Urban	Rural	Total
+ Definite Montanists	17	11	28
> Likely Montanists	5	0	5
± Possible Montanists	16	17	33
< Unlikely Montanists	24	32	56
* Not Montanists, but with possible Montanist connections	6	0	6
	68	60	128

Fig. 106: Distribution of provenances of epigraphic data about Montanists and alleged Montanists

6. Occupation

Only rarely does the occupation of the people under consideration appear in the epigraphic data. Alexandros (93) was a physician, but he is the only "definite Montanist" whose profession is recorded as part of his epitaph. A number of "definite Montanists" have titles which indicate that they are Montanist clergy. Even though Montanus had established a system enabling Montanist clergy to receive some salaries,¹³ it is probable that, at least during the earliest phases of the movement, Montanist clergy had other occupations by which they earned their livelihood. However, no such "secular occupations" are recorded in the

¹³ See Tabbernee "Regional Bishops" [1993]: 250.

inscriptions. Nor are the symbols carved on the tombstones of this, or any other, category of Montanist or alleged Montanist inscriptions definitive for determining the "secular" occupation of the deceased. For example, agricultural implements, such as the *falx vinitoria* or the "wool-bow," may merely be prefabricated art popular in the region rather than precise indicators of the occupation of those named on the tombstone.

Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69), before he became a bishop, was a soldier attached to the *officium* of the *praeses* of Pisidia. Eugenios does not give his rank, but, given his social status, he was undoubtedly an officer.

Among the "possible Montanists," we find, apart from clergy, only a *τεκνίτης* (stonemason/craftsman) named Antonios (88) and a *domesticus* named Philippos (74).

The list of "unlikely Montanists" also contains a *domesticus*, named Flavius Avus (71). Unless Emeritus (92) was indeed an actual lawyer, the only other occupation recorded for this group is that of Ammianos Diokles, son of Menandros (11). He was an ointment merchant. The *Aurelii* of 16 were emancipated former slaves, perhaps belonging to the imperial household.

Although slavery was hardly a "profession," it has already been noted that it is possible (although not certain) that Felicitas (14), Revocatus (14), and perhaps some of their companions were slaves.

7. Wealth

Most of the 128 people named on the inscriptions studied belonged to families wealthy enough to afford to purchase graves and to commission tombstones or sarcophagi. Even when it is clear that an extant inscription was commissioned by the church rather than by the family, as, for example, in the case of Artemideros (3), Perpetua (14), and Severos (70), this does not necessarily mean that the person came from a lower socioeconomic background. Artemidoros was a bishop and, as such, may have been buried *ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ* as an honor rather than out of economic necessity. Perpetua certainly came from a family wealthy enough to bury her. As with the inscription honoring Severos, the main extant inscriptions honoring her and her companion-martyrs was a commemorative plaque, not a tombstone. If the Eugenios who is also mentioned on Severos' memorial plaque (70) is to be identified with Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69), his family was extremely wealthy. Although there is a great variety in the style and quality of the tombstones and sarcophagi discussed here, the corollary of which must have been a great variety in cost, even the least expensive of them indicates a minimal level of wealth which, to a certain extent, skews the sample of Montanists and alleged

Montanists analyzed here. There may have been (and probably were) Montanists belonging to lower socio-economic groups who could not afford tombstones or sarcophagi, but, if so, evidence other than epigraphic data is needed to show this.

In addition to the tombstones or sarcophagi themselves, the text of some of the inscriptions provides further data about the socio-economic status of particular people. The definitely Montanist protodeacon named Montanos (77) may have provided the baptismal font which records his name. Not surprisingly, Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69, 70[?]) appears to have been the wealthiest person in our total sample. The inscription on the beautiful sarcophagus which he commissioned for himself records that during his twenty-five year episcopate he rebuilt and refurbished the entire church, no doubt primarily at his own expense. His father-in-law, Gaios Ioulios Nestoranos (69), belonged, as we have seen, to the Roman senatorial class which required a minimum personal fortune of one million sesterces. The personal wealth of Eugenios' father Kyrillos Keleros (69), a (provincial?) senator, was probably only slightly less. Presumably, Eugenios and his wife Flaoviana (69) inherited a major portion of their parents' wealth.

Among the "possible Montanists" is Kyriakos (82), a presbyter wealthy enough to sponsor the foundations, and probably the superstructure, of a (Montanist?) church at Hierapolis in fulfillment of a vow. Apphia and Diogenes (58), also "possible Montanists," may have sponsored a *cathedra* personally. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, their (unnamed friends or relatives) did so in their memory. Another of the people in our sample, an "unlikely Montanist" named Aglaomyris (89), sponsored the building of the *martyrium* of St. Theodotos at Malos, also apparently in fulfillment of a vow (see *ad* 88). Flavius Avus (71), a further "unlikely Montanist," recorded the fulfillment of a vow but did not specify what he sponsored.

8. Rank and 9. Titles

Kyrillos Keleros (69) and Gaios Ioulios Nestoranos (69), as we have seen, were respectively members of the Laodikeian(?) and Roman senate and bore the title *βουλευτής/curialis*. Markos Ioulios Eugenios (69) was probably also a member of the *boule*, as membership was normally hereditary. These men of senatorial rank were provincial aristocrats and performed the civic duties and social responsibilities associated with being decurions. In the case of Eugenios, ecclesiastical patronage was combined with his civic functions. Given their relationship with Eugenios, it is

likely, however, that his father and father-in-law were also patrons of the church of which their son-in-law was bishop.

The only other person in our sample to belong to the upper classes of Graeco-Roman society was Perpetua (14), who belonged to a family of at least the equestrian class, although it is also possible that members of her family held senatorial rank.¹⁴ No evidence is provided by either the literary or epigraphic data that those, apart from the families of Markos Ioulios Eugenios and Perpetua, named in the inscription contained in this corpus were members of particular "secular" councils, associations, societies, or groups. Presumably, the artisans in our sample belonged to professional guilds, but the details are not recorded. The Aurelii commemorated by 16 belonged to a fraternity of some sort, but it appears to have been religious in nature.

Almost all of the people recorded by these inscriptions were, of course, members of a Christian church—the exceptions being parents or spouses whose names are recorded but who, themselves, may not have shared the religion of the deceased. Open profession of Christianity, either by the employment of the "title" Χριστιανός-ή or via the use of distinctively Christian symbols, is customary on post-Constantinian monuments, but occurs as early as III^d in respect of symbols (3) or the single word "Christian" (9). It is probably as early as 242/3 in respect of both symbol (cross) and the term Χριστιανός (9, 17). As Montanists traditionally used the generic term "Christian" as a self-designation, specifically about allegiance to the Montanist movement is invariably lacking. Not once is a "Montanist" designated as such in an inscription. The "title" νεκροποιός-ή, however, in post-Constantinian epitaphs, is a decisive indicator of Montanism, as by then other groups such as the Gnostics, which had also used the term, had, by and large, disappeared. Consequently, there is little doubt that Ababes (72), Alexandros (93), Frantikos (95), Mountane (63), and Neikandros (86), all of whom bear this "title," were Montanists. In the case of Loupikinos (63), Mountane's husband, the title is probably contained in the abbreviated formula Π(νεκροποιός) Π(νεκροποιός).

Of even greater significance is the fact that some of the inscriptions do not merely record membership of the Christian (Montanist?) church but, by means of titles, record that particular persons had specific leadership roles within that church. Among the "definitive Montanists," for example,

we know the names of three *krisiōtai* (regional bishops), three bishops, at least one male and one female presbyter, one person who had probably been either a presbyter or an archdeacon before he became a bishop, a protodeacon, at least three prophets/esses, and a senior lamp-bearing virgin who, like two earlier Montanists, may have been a "widow-virgin."¹⁵

10. Social network

It is apparent that at least some of the people named on similar tombstones from identical provenances erected at approximately the same time had social contact with each other. Often this was primarily because they were related by blood or marriage. In some instances, however, the social network was (also) based on their membership of the same (Montanist) church. The clearest evidence of this is provided by the group of inscriptions from Teremolthymi (3-8) recording the names of nine people. The name of one of these people, Diogen (4, 5), also spelled as Deigias (3), occurs three times, showing that he succeeded Artemidoros (3) as bishop (4, 5) of this Christian community, which included a female-presbyter named Ammonia (4), and that he was married to a woman named Aurelia Taitiane (5). Other members of this same community, some of whom may have had some leadership role in that their tombstone contained symbols suggesting their authority to celebrate (or assist in celebrating) the Eucharist, included Aoklepiades (7) and his wife Melete (7), Loukios (6) and his wife Tatia (6), and his aunt (or cousin) Markia (6)—all of these must have been part of Diogen's social network. This network, in fact, enables us to be confident about their Montanist allegiance, as the collective data provided by their tombstones confirm the social and religious identity of the various members of this network.

The second example of a Montanist social network comes from those Roman inscriptions relating to νεκροποιός, who had immigrated from Asia Minor (72, 93, cf. 95). It is possible that other such immigrants, buried in the same or nearby catacombs, at approximately the same time (e.g., Botrys (73); Philippos (74); Sotomemos (94)) were part of the same network, even though the term νεκροποιός is not recorded on their epitaphs.

The evidence provided by the inscription honoring Severus and Eugenios (70) makes it extremely likely that Severus was a Montanist bishop. As Eugenios may (with some caution) be identified with Markos Ioulios Eugenios, who for a time was a member of Severus' church be-

¹⁴ For a discussion of Perpetua's social identity in particular and the social stratification of the church in Carthage in general, see G. Schöllgen (1984: 199-202 and 155-207).

¹⁵ See Appendix 6 for a detailed classification of Montanist and allegedly Montanist clergy and other leaders.

fore succeeding him as bishop (69), the (almost certain) social connection between these men suggests that Eugenios was also a Montanist bishop. Markos Ioulios Eugenios' own family network shows, as already noted, that he had excellent connections with members of the aristocratic classes.

The social network of many of the other people named in these inscriptions may also be traced, although in most cases the data is limited to family and neighbors.

Profile

The total number of inscriptions and testimonia relating to Montanism or alleged Montanism is small and subject to the vagaries of history. Nevertheless, the epigraphic evidence supplied by the extant inscriptions and testimonia provides a tentative profile of the social identity of Montanists, supplementing and, at times, correcting what we know about Montanists from the literary sources. The majority of those who were attracted to the New Prophecy were Greek-speaking free inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Most had Greek, rather than Latin, names—although a number bore names derived from Latin and some had Phrygian names. After 212, almost all Montanists had Roman citizenship, but only a few “likely Montanists,” such as Markos Ioulios Eugenios, belonged to the aristocratic classes. The few possible slaves or emancipated slaves who appear in our sample must be classified either as “unlikely Montanists” or not Montanists but perhaps with some contact with (pro-?) Montanists. A high percentage of “definite Montanists” were women, some of whom had leadership roles reserved for males in mainstream Christianity. The percentage of women in the other classifications is considerably less. Slightly more Montanists lived in urban settings than in rural ones. Some of these “city dwellers,” however, originally came from rural areas. Little information is given regarding how Montanists earned their living. We know the secular occupation of only one “definite Montanist”—a physician (93). Surprisingly, one “likely Montanist” and two other alleged Montanists were (or had been) soldiers. Montanists, on the whole, were not wealthy, but most of those discussed here were at least sufficiently wealthy to afford a proper burial and an inscribed tombstone. There is little evidence of Montanists having belonged to civic councils or “associations” other than their particular Christian organization, but this, again, may simply be due to the type of data recorded on (or omitted from) tombstones. Many of the Montanists whose names have survived, held significant ecclesial positions as revealed by their titles. An analysis of the social network of the people named in the inscriptions not only

helps to clarify some of the more ambiguous information as Montanist but also confirms the general profile of Montanist social identity as revealed by the available epigraphic data.

Among the new inscriptions which come to the attention of the scholarly world each year, a few, inevitably, will be classified as Montanist on the basis of criteria described and utilized in this corpus. Our knowledge of Montanism, however, is unlikely to increase significantly until extensive archaeological digs are undertaken at sites where, theoretically at least, it may be assumed there were Montanist communities—including Pepouza and Tymion. Such digs, potentially, can provide us not only with a greater amount and a wider variety of data but help to establish more definitive criteria for classifying inscriptions as Montanist. The last century of epigraphic research into Montanism has tended to take a “maximalist” approach, often claiming far too much on the basis of dubious criteria. Conversely, the “minimalist” corrective provided by my own approach has, undoubtedly, claimed too little in particular instances. As mentioned repeatedly already, it is highly probable that some of the inscriptions in this corpus, as well as many other extant Christian inscriptions from Phrygia and elsewhere, are indeed Montanist, but the signs of their Montanism are either insufficiently clear to enable a decisive classification or are completely invisible to us. Nevertheless, even the minimal unequivocal data about definite Montanists and the somewhat more extensive data about likely and possible Montanists provided by the inscriptions contained in this corpus is extremely important for our understanding of Montanism. Because of the epigraphic data, we know a great deal about the lives of at least some of the men, women, and children who, from II⁴-VI belonged to that widespread movement, the bones of whose founders were kept in an inscribed reliquary at Pepouza until its destruction by John of Ephesos in c.550.

Appendix 1:
Classification of Montanist and allegedly
Montanist inscriptions and testimonia
by entry number

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. Definitely Montanist:
 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 63, 68,
 72, 77, 80, 84, 85, 86,
 87, 93, 95</p> | <p>V. Not Montanist, but about
 Montanists or possible
 Montanists:
 1, 2, 14, 14³(?), 14⁴(?)</p> |
| <p>II. Likely Montanist:
 55, 69, 70, 78</p> | <p>VI. Definitely not Montanist:
 (a) Xp.-Xp. inscriptions:
 24, 25, 27, 28, 29,
 31, 38, 39, 40, 42,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47,
 48, 49, 50, 51, 52,
 60, 61, 62</p> |
| <p>III. Possibly Montanist:
 13, 21, 23, 58, 67, 68²,
 73, 74, 82, 83, 88, 94</p> | <p>(b) Other inscriptions:
 9, 12, 19, 20, 26, 30,
 32, 33, 34, 35, 37,
 41, 53, 54, 57, 64,
 65, 66, 79</p> |
| <p>IV. Unlikely Montanist:
 10, 11, 14², 15, 16, 16²,
 17, 18, 22, 36, 56, 59,
 71, 75, 76, 77², 81, 89,
 90, 91, 92</p> | |

Appendix 2: Classification of Montanist and allegedly Montanist inscriptions and testimonia by date

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I. Definitely Montanist</p> <p>c.165-179:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?)</p> <p>c.180-224:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8</p> <p>c.225-274:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?)</p> <p>c.275-313:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?)</p> <p>c.314-394:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?), 63, 68, 72</p> <p>c.395-600:
[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1](?), 77, 80, 84, 85,
86, 87, 93, 95</p> <p>II. Likely Montanist:</p> <p>c.275-313:
55(?)</p> <p>c.314-394:
55(?), 69, 70(?)</p> | <p>c.395-600:
70(?), 78</p> <p>III. Possibly Montanist:</p> <p>c.180-224:
13(?)</p> <p>c.225-274:
13(?), 21, 23</p> <p>c.314-394:
58, 67, 73, 74</p> <p>c.395-600:
68², 82, 83, 88, 94</p> <p>IV. Unlikely Montanist:</p> <p>c.180-224:
10, 11, 14², 15(?), 16(?),
16²(?)</p> <p>c.225-274:
15(?), 16(?), 16²(?), 17, 18,
22</p> <p>c.275-313:
15(?), 16(?), 16²(?), 36, 56</p> <p>c.314-394:
15(?), 59, 71, 75(?), 77²(?)</p> <p>c.395-600:
15(?), 75(?), 76, 77²(?), 81,
89, 90, 91, 92</p> |
|--|--|

V. Not Montanist, but about

Montanists or possible

Montanists:

c.314-394:

14⁴

c.395-600:

14, 14³

c.775:

1 [testimonium]

c.1195-1199:

2 [testimonium]

VI. Definitely not Montanist:

(a) Xp.-Xp. inscriptions:

c.225-274:

24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31

c.275-313:

38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44,
45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50,
51, 52

c.314-394:

60, 61, 62

(b) Other inscriptions:

c.180-224:

9, 12(?)

c.225-274:

12(?), 19, 20, 26, 30,
54(?)

c.275-313:

12(?), 32, 33(?), 34, 35,
37, 41, 46, 53, 54(?),
57(?)

c.314-394:

33(?), 57(?), 64, 65, 66

c.395-600:

79

Appendix 3: Classification of Montanist and alledgedly Montanist inscriptions by region

I. Definitely Montanist:

*Phrygia:**South-West Phrygia:*[The inscription quoted in] 2
[cf. 1], 77*West-Central Phrygia:*

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

Central Phrygia:

80

North Phrygia:

63, 68

Lydia:

84, 85

Mysia:

86

Galatia:

87

Italia:

72, 93, 95

II. Likely Montanist:

*Phrygia:**South-West Phrygia:*

78

North Phrygia:

55

South-East Phrygia:

69, 70

III. Possibly Montanist:

*Phrygia:**South-West Phrygia:*

58, 82, 83

Central Phrygia:

21, 23

*North Phrygia:*67, 68²*Lydia:*

13

Galatia:

88

Italia:

73, 74, 94

IV. Unlikely Montanist:

*Phrygia:**South-West Phrygia:*10, 11, 17, 18, 76, 77¹*Central Phrygia:*

22, 36

*North Phrygia (Upper Tembris
Valley):*

59

South-East Phrygia:

56

Mysia:

81

Galatia:

89

*Italia:*16, 16², 75*Africa Proconsularis:*14², 15*Numidia:*

71, 90, 91, 92

V. Not Montanist, but about Montanists or possible Montanists:

*Africa Proconsularis:*14, 14³, 14⁴*Syria:*

1 and 2 [testimonia]

VI. Definitely not Montanist:

(a) Xp.-Xp. inscriptions:

*Phrygia:**North Phrygia (Upper Tembris Valley):*24, 25, 27, 28, 29,
31, 38, 39, 40, 42,
43, 44, 45, 46, 47,
48, 49, 50, 51, 52,
60, 61, 62

(b) Other inscriptions:

*Phrygia:**South-West Phrygia:*

79

Central Phrygia:

9, 19, 20, 32, 33, 35

East-Central Phrygia:

12

North Phrygia (apart from Upper Tembris Valley):

53, 54, 64, 65, 66

North Phrygia (Upper Tembris Valley):

26, 30, 37, 41

"Phrygia pros Pisidian":

34

Mysia:

57

Syria:

1 [testimonium], 2 [testimonium]

Appendix 4: List of allegedly Montanist inscriptions not numbered separately in corpus but discussed briefly

Calder "Epitaphs" [1955]: 31-33 no. 1	see p. 358	ILCV 1 [1924/5]: 4737 353	see pp. 352-
CDFAC, 2d ed. [1973]: 196 [Dom TI 62] 201 [Dom Tg 19]	see ad 72 see ad 72	ILydiaKP 2 [1911]: 262	see ad 8
Cox "Heortasius" [1939]: 63-66	see p. 358	IPhyrgHaspels I [1971]: 40	see ad 68
Dumont "Inscriptions" [1876]: 136 no. 53	see ad 41	ISyriaW [1870a]: 1961 ad 55	see
Ferrua "Iscrizione montanista" [1955]: 99 n.3	see ad 72	Taşlıkioğlu Trakya' da epigrafya araştırmaları [1971]: 81 no. 9	see ad 42
Gibson "Uşak" [1975b]: 439-442 no. 4	see ad 8	Waelkens Türsteine [1986]: 148 no. 368 148 no. 370 150-151 no. 376	see ad 8 see ad 8 see ad 8
IAsMinChr [1922]: 260	see ad 81		

Appendix 5: Classification of Montanists and alleged Montanists by name

Key:

- + = Definite Montanists
- > = Likely Montanists
- ± = Possible Montanists
- < = Unlikely Montanists
- * = Not Montanists but with possible Montanist connections
- ≠ = Not Montanists (names from Xp.-Xp. inscriptions)
- = Not Montanists (names from inscriptions other than Xp.-Xp.)
- 00 = Entry number
- [] = Individual component of *dua nomina*, *tria nomina*, or other type of "double name." Square brackets are also used in this appendix when the same person is mentioned in more than one inscription, perhaps with different spelling. The person's full (or normalized) name is listed without the brackets.
- N⁵ = The fifth person in this corpus to bear the particular name, even if spelled differently.

+ Ablabes	72	[≠ Alexandros ²	25]
± Aglaomyris	89	(see Aurelios	
± Alexandria ¹	23	Alexandros)	
≠ Alexandria ²	31	[≠ Alexandros ³	25]
[- Alexandria ³	37]	(see Aurelios	
(see Aurelia		Alexandros	
Alexandria)		Domnas)	
≠ Alexandria ⁴	40	≠ Alexandros ⁴	40
< Alexandria ⁵	59	- Alexandros ⁵	41
≠ Alexandria ⁶	60	≠ Alexandros ⁶	47
< Alexandros ¹	18	≠ Alexandros ⁷	49
		- Alexandros ⁸	54

≠ Alexandros ⁹	60	[≠ Apphion	49]
≠ Alexandros ¹⁰	60, 62	(see Aurelia	
≠ Alexandros ¹¹	60	Apphion)	
+ Alexandros ¹²	93	≠ Ariston	60
≠ Allexandreia ⁷	27	[- Aristoneikos	12]
≠ Allexandros ¹³	27	(see Aurelios	
± Alypios	74	Aristoneikos)	
- Amia ¹	12	≠ Artemas	24
[≠ Ammeia ²	27]	+ Artemidoros	3
(see Aurelia		[- Artemon	34]
Ammeia)		(see Aurelios	
< Ammia ³	10	Artemon)	
± Ammia ⁴	23	+ Asklepiades ¹	7
[- Ammia ⁵	34]	≠ Asklepiades ²	39
(see Aurelia		≠ Asklepiades ³	39
Amnia Nanitene)		< Asklepios	10
≠ Ammia ⁶	45	≠ Aurelia	25
≠ Ammia ⁷	50	- Aurelia Alexandria	37
< Ammia ⁸	59	≠ Aurelia Ammeia	27
< Ammianos Diokles	11	- Aurelia Ammia	
- Ammiantos	53	Nanitene	34
[≠ Ammias ¹	42]	≠ Aurelia Ammias	42
(see Aurelia		≠ Aurelia Appes	38
Ammias)		≠ Aurelia Apphion	49
≠ Ammias ²	49	- Aurelia Domna ¹	34
≠ Ammias ³	50	- Aurelia Domna ²	34
+ Ammion	4	≠ Aurelia Domna ³	40
≠ Andronikos	51	≠ Aurelia Domna ⁴	42
> Anthos	55	± Aurelia Ioulia	21
≠ Antikles	46	- Aurelia Kyrila ¹	41
≠ Antiochis	60	≠ Aurelia Kyrilla ²	39
< Antipatros	81	< Aurelia Myrsina	16 ²
± Antonios	88	< Aurelia Prima	16
- Apollonios ¹	54	≠ Aurelia Prokla	42
> Apollonios ²	55	≠ Aurelia Roupheina	25
≠ Appe ¹	24	± Aurelia	
≠ Appe ²	60, 62	Stratoneikiane	13
[≠ Appes ¹	38]	+ Aurelia Tatiane	5
(see Aurelia		≠ Aurelia Tation	44
Appes)		≠ Aurelios Alexandros	25
≠ Appes ²	38	≠ Aurelios Alexandros	
± Apphia	58	Domnas	25
< Apphiane	17	- Aurelios	
± Apphianos	13	Aristoneikos	12
		- Aurelios Artemon	34

- Aurelios Auxanon	34	< Auxanon ⁶	59
- Aurelios Auxanon		≠ Auxanousa ¹	51
Zoulakios	34	- Auxanousa ²	57
≠ Aurelios		[< Avus	71]
Eistratonikos	43	(see Flavius Avus)	
- Aurelios		± Beroneikiane	21
Epitynchanos	64	≠ Beroneikianos ¹	25
≠ Aurelios Euktemon	42	≠ Beronikianos ²	25
≠ Aurelios Eutychos ¹	47	± Botrys	73
≠ Aurelios Eutychos ²	47	- Bradon	34
± Aurelios Gaios	13	≠ Chariton ¹	48
≠ Aurelios Glykon	52	≠ Chariton ²	49
- Aurelios Glykonides	32	≠ Chrysos ¹	60
- Aurelios		≠ Chrysos ²	60
Markeianos	53	[+ Deiogas	3]
≠ Aurelios Patrikis ¹	42	(see Diogas)	
≠ Aurelios Patrikis ²	50	≠ Demetria	52
- Aurelios Potitos	26	+ Diogas	4, 5
- Aurelios Proklos	19	(= Deiogas	3)
< Aurelios		- Diogenes ¹	34
Satorneinos	17	± Diogenes ²	58
≠ Aurelios Theodoros	42	[< Diokles	11]
- Aurelios		(see Ammianos	
Tropheimos ¹	26	Diokles)	
- Aurelios Trophimos ²	26	- Diomedes	53
- Aurelios Valens	33	≠ Dionysas	43
≠ Aurelios Zenon	49	< Dionysios	59
- Aurelios Zotikos	34	< Dometios	34
≠ Aurelios Zotikos		- Domna ¹	26
Markianos	24	- Domna ²	34]
< Aurelius		[- Domna ²	
Felicissimus	16	(see Aurelia	
< Aurelius Martinus	16 ²	Domna ¹)	
< Aurelius Onesimus	16	[- Domna ³	34]
< Aurelius Papirius	16	(see Aurelia	
- Auxanon ¹	34	Domna ²)	
[- Auxanon ²	34]	≠ Domna ⁴	38
(see Aurelios		≠ Domna ⁵	39
Auxanon)		[≠ Domna ⁶	40]
[- Auxanon ³	34]	(see Aurelia	
(see Aurelios		Domna ³)	
Auxanon		[≠ Domna ⁷	42]
Zoulakios)		(see Aurelia	
≠ Auxanon ⁴	40	Domna ⁴)	
- Auxanon ⁵	57	≠ Domna ⁸	47
		≠ Domna ⁹	50

≠ Domna ¹⁰	52	≠ Eusebis	40
- Domna ¹¹	53	± Eustochios ¹	67
< Domna ¹²	59	± Eustochios ²	82
≠ Domna ¹³	60	≠ Euthycheianes ¹	40
≠ Domna ¹⁴	60	< Eutyches ¹	36
≠ Domna ¹⁵	62	< Eutyches ²	36
≠ Domna ¹⁶	62	≠ Eutyches ³	45
[≠ Domnas	25]	≠ Eutyches ⁴	45
(see Aurelios		≠ Eutychianes ²	47
Alexandros		< Eutychis	59
Domnas)		- Eutychos ¹	41
- Domnos ¹	12	≠ Eutychos ²	46
≠ Domnos ²	40	[≠ Eutychos ³	47]
≠ Domnos ³	60	(see Aurelios	
≠ Domnos ⁴	60	Eutychos ¹)	
± Domnos ⁵	67	[≠ Eutychos ⁴	47]
< Donatus	91	(see Aurelios	
- Doulos	34	Eutychos ²)	
[≠ Eistratonikos ¹	43]	[< Evaresta	75]
(see Aurelios		(see Iouleia	
Eistratonikos)		Evaresta)	
≠ Eistratonikos ²	43	[< Felicissimus	16]
< Emeritus	92	(see Aurelius	
≠ Epiktes	50	Felicissimus)	
- Epitynchanos ¹	41	* Felicitas 14, 14 ³ (?), 14 ⁴ (?)	
≠ Epitynchanos ²	46	> Flaovia Ioulia	69
[- Epitynchanos ³	64]	Flaoviana	
(see Aurelios		[> Flaovia	69]
Epitynchanos)		(see Flaovia Ioulia	
≠ Erpidephoros	43	Flaoviana)	
≠ Eugenia	48	[> Flaoviana	69]
< Eugenios ¹	17	(see Flaovia Ioulia	
≠ Eugenios ²	46	Flaoviana)	
≠ Eugenios ³	52	[< Flavius	71]
[> Eugenios ⁴	69]	(see Flavius Avus)	
(see Markos Ioulios		< Flavius Avus	71
Eugenios)		+ Frankios	95
[> Eugenios ⁴ (or 57)	70]	[± Gaios ¹	13]
(probably		(see Aurelios	
= Eugenios ⁴)		Gaios)	
± Eugenios ⁵ (or 67)	83	[< Gaios ²	69]
[≠ Euktemon	42]	(see Gaios	
(see Aurelios		Nestorianos)	
Euktemon)		< Gaios Nestorianos	69
≠ Eumelos	53	< Gennadeios	56

± Gennaiois	82	< Kyriakos ²	
[≠ Glykon ¹	52]	± Kyriakos ³	59
(see Aurelios		[- Kyrilla ¹	82]
Glykon)		(see Aurelia	
≠ Glykon ²	52	Kyrilla ¹)	
[- Glykonides	32]	- Kyrilla ²	64
(see Aurelios		≠ Kyrilla ³	25
Glykonides)		≠ Kyrilla ⁴	31
≠ Glykonis	25	[≠ Kyrilla ⁵	39]
< Hedia	22	(see Aurelia	
< Hermes	59	Kyrilla ²)	
≠ Hermiones	44	≠ Kyrilla ⁶	46
± Hermeos	68 ²	- Kyrill ⁷	54
≠ Hermodoros	48	≠ Kyrilla ⁸	60
+ Hermogenes	68	≠ Kyrilla ⁹	60, 62
- Heuremon	34	≠ Kyrilla ¹⁰	60
< Hire	59	≠ Kyrillos ¹	40
± Ioannas	82	≠ Kyrillos ²	47
[< Iouleia ¹	75]	≠ Kyrillos ³	50
(see Iouleia		≠ Kyrillos ⁴	50
Evaresta)		≠ Kyrillos ⁵	60
[± Ioulia ²	21]	≠ Kyrillos ⁶	60
(see Aurelia		- Kyrillos ⁷	64
Ioulia)		[< Kyrillos ⁸	69]
[> Ioulia ³	69]	(see Kyrillos	
(see Flaovia Ioulia		Keleros)	
Flaviana)		< Kyrillos Keleros	69
- Ioulios ¹	30	- Kyrillos ⁹	41
[> Ioulios ²	69]	≠ Kyrillos ¹⁰	43
(see Markos Ioulios		≠ Lassamos	51
Eugenios)		≠ Leontios ¹	52
- Istefanus	14 ³	- Leontios ²	53
≠ Istratonikes	40	- Likinios	34
< Junia	16 ²	≠ Loukeianes	48
- Kapiton	20	≠ Loukeias	49
≠ Katulla	31	+ Loukios	6
[< Keleros	69]	- Louliana	33
(see Kyrillos		+ Loupikinos	63
Keleros)		- Maiulus	14
[≠ Krasos	38]	≠ Makedon	45
(see Trophimos ⁶)		≠ Makedonis ¹	50
≠ Kyriakes ¹	40	≠ Makedonis ²	59
≠ Kyriakes ²	60	< Makedonis ³	53]
± Kyriakes ³	82	[- Markeianos ¹	
≠ Kyriakos ¹	47	(see Aurelios	
		Markeianos)	

≠ Markella ¹	60	≠ Nichomachos	38
≠ Markella ²	60	- Nikephoros	41
≠ Markellina	46	≠ Nonna ¹	60
+ Markia	6	≠ Nona ²	61
[≠ Markianos ²	24]	≠ Onesime	42
(see Aurelios		- Onesimos ¹	30
Zotikos Markianos)		≠ Onesimos ²	31
≠ Markion	24	≠ Onesimos ³	50
- Markos ¹	53	[< Onesimos ⁴	16]
- Markos ²	64	(see Aurelius	
[> Markos ³	69]	Onesimos)	
(see Markos Ioulios		± Onisimos ⁵	68 ²
Eugenios)		± Paithos	23
> Markos Ioulios		[< Papius	16]
Eugenios	69]	(see Aurelius	
[< Martinus	16]	Papius)	
(see Aurelius		≠ Pappikios	52
Martinus)		≠ Patrikios	50
+ Maximilla	1, 2	[≠ Patrikis ¹	42]
≠ Meles	40	(see Aurelios	
+ Mel(e)te	7	Patrikis ¹)	
- Mel(e)tine	19	≠ Patrikis ²	43
< Menandros ¹	11	[≠ Patrikis ³	50]
≠ Menandros ²	31	(see Aurelios	
≠ Menandros ³	47	Patrikis ²)	
± Menophilos	23	< Patrikis ⁴	59
≠ Mikalos	44	< Patrikis ⁵	59
≠ Mikos	44	≠ Patrikis ⁶	60
+ Montanus ¹	1, 2	+ Paulinos	80
+ Montanos ²	77	+ Paulos	85
± Moundane	21	[* Perpetua ¹	14, 14 ³ (?),
+ Mountane	63	(see	14 ⁴ (?))
< Muntanus ³	71, 90(?), 91	Vibia Perpetua)	
[< Myrsina	16 ²]	< Perpetua ²	14 ²
(see Aurelia		- Phellinas	36
Myrsina)		+ Philadelphos	85
< Nanas	59	≠ Philetos	43
+ Nanas	68	< Philippa	17
[- Nanitene	34]	± Philippos ¹	74
(see Aurelia		- Philippos ²	83
Ammia Nanitene)		≠ Philomelos	44
+ Neikandros	86	± Photinos	72
[< Nestorians	69]	- Poteitos ¹	26
see Gaios			
Nestorians)			

[- Potitos ²	26]	≠ Sosthenes	62
(see Aurelios		± Sozomenos	94
Potitos)		- Speratus	14 ³
+ Praylios	84	+ Stephania	87
< Preimus	77 ²	[± Stratoneikiane	13]
[< Prima	16]	(see Aurelia	
(see Aurelia		Stratoneikiane)	
Prima)		+ Tatia ¹	6
+ Priscilla	1, 2	< Tatia ²	36
[≠ Prokla ¹	42]	≠ Tatia ³	45
(see Aurelia		[+ Tatiane	5]
Prokla)		(see Aurelia	
≠ Prokla ²	47	Tatiane)	
≠ Prokla ³	47	≠ Tatianes	60
[- Proklos ¹	19]	≠ Tatianos	40
(see Aurelios		- Tation ¹	26
Proklos)		[≠ Tation ²	44]
- Proklos ²	64	(see Aurelia	
< Prophetilla	11	Tation)	
< Purpurius	91	≠ Telephoros	27
[+ Qr'tys	1]	- Theodoros ¹	9
(see Qr'tys)		[≠ Theodoros ²	42]
+ Qr'tys	2	(see Aurelios	
(= Qr'tys)	1)	Theodoros)	
* Revocatus	14	± Theodotos ¹	88
[≠ Roupheina	25]	± Theodotos ²	88
(see Aurelia		[- Tropheimos ¹	26]
Roupheina)		(see Aurelios	
< Satorneinos ¹	17	Tropheimos)	
[< Satorneinos ²	17]	- Trophimas ¹	37
(see Aurelios		- Trophimas ²	37
Satorneinos)		- Trophime ¹	20
< Satorneinos ³	17	< Trophime ²	59
* Saturninus ⁴	14, 14 ³ , 14 ⁴ (?)	≠ Trophimiane	60
* Saturus	14, 14 ³ , 14 ⁴	≠ Trophimos ²	25
* Secundulus	14	≠ Trophimos ³	26
± Severa	49	- Trophimos ⁴	26
± Severos ¹	21	- Trophimos ⁵	35
> Severos ²	70	≠ Trophimos ⁶ , also	38
- Sirica	14 ³	called Krasos	
< Sophronis ¹	59	≠ Trophimos ⁷	38
* Sophronis ²	60	≠ Trophimos ⁸	48
± Sophronios	68 ²	≠ Trophimos ⁹	51
* Sosthas	62	< Trophimos ¹⁰	59
		≠ Trophimos ¹¹	60

≠ Trophimos ¹²	61	< Zosimos ²	59
+ Trophimos ¹³	80	< Zotikai ¹	59
- Tryphon	57	< Zotike ²	59
- Valens ¹	33	≠ Zotikes	52
[- Valens ²	33]	- Zotikos ¹	19
(see Aurelios Valens)		[≠ Zotikos ²	24]
* Vibia 14, 14 ³ (?), 14 ⁴ (?)		(see Aurelios Zotikos Markianos)	
Perpetua		≠ Zotikos ³	27
≠ Zenodotos	49	[- Zotikos ⁴	34]
[≠ Zenon ¹	49]	(see Aurelios Zotikos)	
(see Aurelios Zenon)		≠ Zotikos ⁵	50
≠ Zenon ²	49	≠ Zotikos ⁶	60
≠ Zenon ³	49	[- Zoulakios	34]
< Zosime ¹	59	(see Aurelios Auxanon Zoulakios)	
< Zosime ²	59		
< Zosimos ¹	11		

Appendix 6: Classification of Montanist and allegedly Montanist clergy and other leaders by title

Key:

- + = Montanists
- > = Likely Montanists
- ± = Possible Montanists
- < = Unlikely Montanists
- ? = People whose title is not recorded but whose likely office may be reconstructed
- 00 = Entry number

<i>Patriarch</i>		+ Diogas	4, 5
± Gennaïos	82	± Diogenes	58
		> Eugenios ⁵⁷⁾	70
<i>Archbishop</i>		(if not = Markos Ioulios Eugenios)	
± Gennaïos	82	< Gennadeios	56
<i>Koinōnos</i>		> Markos Ioulios Eugenios	69, 70(?)
+ Paulinos	80	+ Neikandros	86
+ Paulos	85	> Severos ²	70
+ Praylios	84		
+ Qrytys?	1, 2	<i>Presbyter (male)</i>	
<i>Mystēs</i>		+ Asklepiades?	7
+ Paulinos	80	+ Deiogas	3
<i>Bishop</i>		[= Diogas]?	
+ Artemidoros	3	± Kyriakos ³	82
		+ Loukios?	6

<i>Presbyter (female)</i>		<i>Reader</i>	
+ Ammion	4	± Onesimos ²	68 ²
± Apphia?	58		
+ Melete?	7	<i>Prophet[ess]</i>	
		+ Maximilla	1, 2
<i>Archdeacon</i>		+ Montanus	1, 2
+ Deiogas	3	+ Nanas	68
[= Diogas]?		+ Priscilla	1, 2
± Eugenios ^{5 (or 67)}	83	+ Qrytys?	1, 2
<i>Protodeacon</i>		<i>Hegoumenē</i>	
+ Montanos ²	77	+ Stephania	87
<i>Deacon (male)</i>		<i>Lampadēphoros</i>	
+ Asklepiades?	7	+ Stephania	87
+ Loukios?	6		
> Preimos	77 ²	<i>"Widow-virgin"</i>	
		+ Maximilla?	1, 2
<i>Deacon (female)</i>		+ Priscilla?	1, 2
+ Mel(e)te?	7	+ Stephania?	87

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 1936 See Robert, Louis.
- ICUR
 1861, See De Rossi, Giovanni Battista, ed.
 1888
- ICUR²
 1935 See Silvagni, Angelo, ed.
- IEph
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- IGalatN
 1982a See Mitchell, Stephen.
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 1910 See Hasluck, Frederick William.
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 1969 See Robert, Louis.
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 1924/5- See Diehl, Ernst, ed.
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Index 1: Provenances

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Index 2:
Museums and Private Collections

This index lists the museums (including Roman catacombs) and private collections where some of the monuments of this corpus are preserved. Inventory numbers are listed wherever possible. In some cases, inventory numbers have not (yet) been assigned by the respective institutions. Many of the other Montanist and allegedly Montanist stones are still *in situ* where discovered, although quite a few have been lost or destroyed. If a monument is known to be no longer extant, this is noted in the relevant entry.

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As the entries of this corpus make extensive use of cross references, this index does not list every occurrence in the commentaries of subjects such as orthography, symbols, or formulae. The first main treatment of such subjects, however, is indexed. Similarly, because of the detailed appendices given above, not all the names which occur in the inscriptions and testimonia are indexed here, although particularly significant Montanist or alleged Montanists are included. The names of scholars have been listed only when their contribution has not been published under their name. For geographical references, other than those given here, see the Topographical Register below. This list of subjects is indexed by means of page numbers.

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Index 8: Topographical Register

Key:

HIERAPOLIS	= Ancient name
Pamukkale	= Modern name
A S I A	= Roman province (or region)
TEMBRIS	= Ancient name of geographic feature such as a river
DEUKOME*	= Ancient name, location not yet identified
0 : 0 0	= Map coordinates

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FLAVIOPOLIS TEMENOTHYRAI,
see TEMENOTHYRAI

GALATIA 5:C3

GALLAECIA 2:E1

GALLIA 2:E4

Gâvurören (GRIMENOTHYRAI)

8:B3; 12:A4

GAZA (El Gazzeh) 5:H6

Gecek 11:H3

Gediz (KADOI) 7:H1

Gediz Çayı (HERMOS, in W.

Phrygia/Lydia) 7:H1

Gençali 9:J2

Gençalıhıvısı 9:J2

GERMANIA 4:B1

GLAUKOS, in Lydia 6:B3

GORDOS, see JULIA GORDOS

Gönen (KONANA) 5:D3

Gördes (JULIA GORDOS) 6:B5

Göynükören 7:F3

GRIMENOTHYRAI (Gâvurören)

8:B3; 12:A4

Gulf of Tunis (SINUS

CARTHAGIENSIS) 3:A6

Güre (BAGIS) 6:C6; 8:B2; 12:B1

Gürpınar (BRIA?) 8:D4; 12:E6

Hacıbeyli köy 11:H6

HADRIANOPOLIS (Koçaş) 9:J6

HADRUMETUM (Sousse) 3:D7

Halıcı, formerly also known as Lâdik

(LAODIKEIA KATAKEKAUMENE)

10:H4

HALYS (Kızılırmak) 5:B4

Hasköy (SASIMA) 5:C5

Hençir el Begueur (CASAE

BEGUENSES?) 3:E3

Hençir Magroun 3:E3

Hençir Taghfaght 3:E2

Hençir Zouitina (THIBIUCA)

3:B6

HERMOS, in W. Phrygia/Lydia (Gediz

Çayı) 7:H1

HERMOS, in N. Phrygia (Salısu) 7:B5

Hermos Valley 7:C5

HIERAPOLIS (Pamukkale) 6:E6;

8:H1

HIEROKAISAREIA (Arpalı) 6:B3

HIEROKOME, see HIEROKAISAREIA

HIEROPOLIS (Koçhisar) 8:D7

Hisar, see Hisarköy

Hisarköy (AMORION) 9:E5

HISPANIA 2:F2

Hocalar 8:C6

Homa, see Choma

Honaz 8:I2

Hoyran Gölü 9:J3

ICONIUM, see IKONION

İkizbaba (PEPOUZA?) 12:G4

IKONION (Konya) 5:D4; 10:J4

ILLYRICUM 4:D4

IOL CAESAREA (Cherchel) 2:I4

ISAURIA 5:D4

İscehisar (DOKIMEION) 9:F2

Istanbul (CONSTANTINOPOLIS)

5:B1

İşıkli (EUMENEIA) 8:E5; 12:F7

İzmir (SMYRNA) 5:D1; 6:C2

İzmit (NIKOMEDIA) 5:B2

İznik (NIKAIA) 5:B2

JERUSALEM 5:G6

JULIA GORDOS (Gördes) 6:B5

Kadıköy (CHALCEDON) 5:B2

Kadınhanı (PITHOI) 10:H3

KADOI (Gediz) 7:H1

Kaimaz, see Kaymaz

KAISAREIA, see CAESAREA

Kalecik (MALOS) 5:B4

KALLATABA (ARDABAU?) 6:D5

KALLATEBOS, see KALLATABA

Karaağaç 11:I3

Karahüyük (MIDAEION) 9:A3

Karakuyu 6:B6; 8:A1

Karapınar 12:G3

Karasandıklı (BROUZOS) 8:C7

Karbasan, see Kırbasan

KASSA (Çakırsaz) 11:H6

KARTHAGO, see CARTHAGO

Kayıklı 12:F4

Kaymaz (TROKNADA) 9:B4

Kayseri (CAESAREA, in

Cappadocia) 5:C5

KAYSTROS (Akar Çayı) 9:G2

Kaystros Valley (Akarçayovası) 9:F1

Keçiller 11:J2

KELAINAI, see APAMEIA

KEREURA, see KREURA

Khenchela (MASCULA) 3:E2

Kırbasan 12:G5

Kırka 12:B5

Kırkpınar 9:D4

Kızılcaşöğüt 12:C5

Kızılhisar 8:J2

Kızılırmak (HALYS) 5:B4

KISAMOS 4:G7

KLAUDIOLAODIKEIA, see

LAODIKEIA

KATAKEKAUMENE

KNEKNOS*

Kocasu (RHYNDAKOS) 7:C1

Koçaş (HADRIANOPOLIS)

9:J6

Koçhisar (HIEROPOLIS) 8:D7

KOLOSSAI 6:F6; 8:I2

KOMANA, in "Phrygia pros Pisidian,"

see KONANA

KONANA (Gönen) 5:D3

KONGOUSTOS (Altınekin) 10:G6

KONSTANTINOPOLIS, see

CONSTANTINOPOLIS

Konya (IKONION) 5:D4; 10:J4

KORINTHOS (Corinth) 4:F6

KOTIAEION (Kütahya) 7:E4; 11:B2

KOUSSA*

KOUSSOS, see KOUSSA

KOUMANA, in "Phrygia pros

Pisidian," see KONANA

KOUMANA*, in Pamphylia 5:D3

Köprüören 7:D3

KREURA*, see Akçaköy

Ksar El Kelb (VEGESELA) 3:E3

Kuyucak¹ 11:G4

Kuyucak² 12:G3

Kümbet 9:D2

Kürdköy, see Altıntaş town

Kürköy, see Kürdköy

Kütahya (KOTIAEION) 7:E4; 11:B2

KYZIKOS (Bandırma) 5:B1

Lâdik, see Halıcı

Lake Aulokrene (Bunarbaşı Göl) 8:G7

LAODICEA COMBUSTA, see

LAODIKEIA

KATAKEKAUMENE

LAODIKEIA AD LYCUM

(Eskihisar) 6:E6; 8:H1

LAODIKEIA KATAKEKAUMENE

(Halıcı) 10:H4

Liğen Dağı 7:H7; 9:E1

LONDINIUM (London) 1:H6;

2:B5

London (LONDINIUM) 1:H6;

2:B5

LUGDUNUM (Lyons) 2:D6

LUGDUNENSIS 1:J6;

2:C4

LUSITANIA 2:F1

LYCAONIA 5:D4

LYCIA 5:E2; 6:I6

LYDIA 5:C2; 6:E4

LYCUS, see LYKOS

LYKOS (Çürüksu) 8:H1

Lykos Valley 8:H2

Lyons (LUGDUNUM) 2:D6

MACEDONIA 4:F6

Makas Aları 7:F7

Malatiya (MELITENE) 5:C7

MALOS (Kalecik) 5:B4

MALTA 4:H3

MAMUCIUM (Manchester) 1:F5

Manchester (MAMUCIUM) 1:F5

MASCULA (Khenchela) 3:E2

MAURETANIA

CAESARIENSIS 2:I2

MAIANDROS (Büyükmenderes)

6:E4; 8:G4; 12:H4

Meander, see MAIANDROS

Medele, see Yeşilova

MEDIOLANUM (Milan) 4:C1

MELITENE (Malatiya) 5:C7

Mendeçhora (MYLOUKOME?)

6:D5

Menderes, see Büyükmenderes

Menteş 8:E7

METROPOLIS* (Oynuş?) 9:D2

MIDAEION (Karahüyük) 9:A3

Mila (MILEVIS) 3:C1

Milan (MEDIOLANUM) 4:C1

MILEVIS (Mila) 3:C1

MOESIA 4:D6

MORDIAION, see APOLLONIA
 MOTELLA (Yeşilova) 8:E2; 12:G2
 MOULIKOS*, perhaps MYLOUKOME
 MOURMATE*
 MT. DINDYMOS, see DINDYMOS, MT.
 Murat Dağı (MT. DINDYMOS)
 7:H2
 MYLOUKOME*, see Mendechora
 MYRIA 5:C1
 MYRIA ABBAITIS
 7:G1

NABATENE 5:H6

NAKOLEIA (Seyitgazi) 9:C2
 NARBONENSIS 2:E5
 NAZIANZUS (Nenezi) 5:C5
 Nemencha Plateau 3:E2
 Nenezi (NAZIANZUS) 5:C5
 NICAIA, see NIKAI
 NIKAI (İznik) 5:B2
 NIKOMEDEIA, see NIKOMEDIA
 NIKOMEDIA (İzmit) 5:B2
 NISIBIS (Nusaybin) 5:B7
 NORICUM 4:C3
 NUMIDIA 3:D1
 Nusaybin (NISIBIS) 5:B7
 Nühoren 11:F2
 NYSSA 5:C4

Oineş, see Oyneş

ORKISTOS (Doğanay) 9:D5

Ortaköy¹ 12:A5

Ortaköy² (ATYCHORION?)
 = ARDABAU? 6:E7; 8:F2;
 12:H2

Ortaköy³, see Doğanay

OSTIA (Ostia antica) 4:E2

Ostia antica (OSTIA) 4:E2

OTROUS* 8:D7

OXYRHYNCHUS (Al Bahnsa)
 5:J4

Oyneş (METROPOLIS?) 9:D2

PALESTINA 5:G6

Pamorie (ANCHIALUS) 5:A1
 PAMPHYLIA 5:D2; 6:I5
 Pamukkale (HIERAPOLIS) 6:E6;
 8:H1

PANNONIA 4:B3

PAPHLAGONIA 5:A3
 PARTHENIOS (Seyitsuyu) 9:B2
 PATRAI (Patrai) 4:F6
 Patrai (PATRAI) 4:F6
 Payamalanı (EIBEOS) 8:C4; 12:C6
 PAZON*, see Başaran and 9:C4
 PENKALAS (Çavdarsuyu) 7:G2
 Pentapolis, see Phrygian Pentapolis
 PEPOUZA*, see Bekilli, Buğdale,
 İkizbaba, Sııklı, Plain of Dazkırı,
 Üçkuyu, and 6:D7
 PERGAMON (Bergama) 5:C1;
 6:A2
 PESSINUS (Ballıhisar) 9:C6
 PETARA*, see Bağlıca
 PHILADELPHIA, see PHILADELPHIA
 PHILADELPHIA (Alaşehir) 6:D5
 PHILOMELION (Akşehir) 9:I5
 PHRYGIA 5:C2; 6:B6;
 7:C3; 8:A4; 9:F4; 10:E3;
 11:D5; 12:D4
 Phrygian Highlands 7:E5; 9:C1;
 11:B7
 Phrygian Pentapolis 8:C7
 PICTAVI (Poitiers) 2:D4
 Pınarbaşı, formerly Abia, Abiye,
 Pınarcık (APPIA) 7:H4; 11:I2 Pınarcık,
 see Pınarbaşı
 PISIDIA 5:D3
 PITHA, see PITHOI
 PITHOI (Kadınhanı) 10:H3
 Plain of Çal, see Çalovası
 Plain of Dazkırı (site of PEPOUZA?)
 8:G4; 12:J6
 Plain of Guert 3:F1
 Plain of Kırbaşı 8:F3; 12:F5
 Plain of Tavşanlı 7:D2
 Poitiers (PICTAVI) 2:D4
 POMPEII 4:E3
 PONTUS 5:B5
 Porsuk Çayı (TEMBRIS) 7:D6;
 9:A6; 11:C3
 PRUSA (Bursa) 5:B2
 PRYMNESSOS (Sülün) 7:J7;
 9:G1
 Qaisariye (CAESAREA, in
 Palestina) 5:G6

Qalat el Mudiq (APAMEIA in Syria)
 5:E6

RAETIA 4:B2

RHYNDAKOS (Kocasu) 7:B1

ROMA (Rome) 4:E3

Rome (ROMA) 4:E3

Saida (SIDON) 5:E6

Sakarya (SANGARIOS) 9:C4;
 10:B1

SALAMIS 5:E5

Salısu (HERMOS, in N. Phrygia) 7:B5

Sandıklıoğlu 8:D6

SANGARIOS (Sakarya) 9:C4;
 10:B1

Santorini (THERA) 4:G7

SARDES, see SARDIS

SARDINIA 2:H7; 4:F1

SARDIS (Sart) 5:C1; 6:C4

Sart (SARDIS) 5:C1; 6:C4

SASIMA (Hasköy) 5:C5

SEBASTE, in Palestina 5:G6

SEBASTE, in Phrygia (Sivaslı)

8:D4; 12:D5

Selçukler 12:D5

Selçuk (EPHESOS) 5:D1; 6:E2

Selendi (CHORIANOS) 6:B4

Senirkent 9:J1

Seyitgazi (NAKOLEIA) 9:C2

Seyitsuyu (PARTHENIOS) 9:B3

Sııklı (PEPOUZA?) 12:G4

Sızma (ZIZIMA) 10:H4

SIBLIA*, see Düzbel, Evciler and
 Choma

SICILIA 4:G3

SIDON (Saida) 5:E6

SINUS CARTHAGIENSIS (Gulf of
 Tunis) 3:A6

Sivaslı (SEBASTE, in Phrygia)

8:D4; 12:D5

Sivrihisar (SPAIEIA?) 9:C6

SMYRNA (İzmir) 5:D1; 6:C2

SOA (Altıntaş köyü) 7:H5; 11:H5

Sousse (HADRUMETUM) 3:D7

SPAIEIA*, see Sivrihisar

STEKTORION* 8:E7

Susuzören 12:B5

Sütlün, see Sülün

Sülün, formerly Sütlün

(PRYMNESSOS) 7:J7; 9:G1

SYNADA, see SYNADA

SYNNADA (Şuhut) 9:H1

SYRIA 5:E6

Şarhüyük (DORYLAEION) 7:B7;
 9:A1

Şuhut (SYNNADA) 9:H1

TARRACONENSIS 2:F3

Tavşanlı 7:D1

Tbessa, see Tebessa

Tebessa (THEVESTE) 3:E3

TELL MAHRÉ 5:D7

TEMBRIS (Porsuk Çayı) 7:C6;
 9:A5; 11:C3; 11:J4

TEMBROGIUS, see TEMBRIS

TEMBROS, see TEMBRIS

TEMENOTHYRAI (Uşak) 6:C7;
 7:J1; 8:B3; 12:B3

TEMENOUTHYRAI, see

TEMENOTHYRAI

THAUMUGADI (Timgad) 3:D1

THERA (Santorini) 4:G7

THEVESTE (Tebessa) 3:E3

THIBIUCA (Hençir Zouitina)
 3:B6

THRACIA 4:E6

THUGGA (Dougga) 3:C5

THYATEIRA (Akhisar) 6:B3

Tiber (TIBERIS) 4:D2

TIBERINA, see TIBERIS

TIBERIS (Tiber) 4:D2

TIMENOTHERAI, see TEMENOTHYRAI

TIMENOUTHERAI, see

TEMENOTHYRAI

TIMENOUTHYRAI, see

TEMENOTHYRAI

Timgad (THAUMUGADI) 3:D1

Toura 5:I4

TRAJANOPOLIS (Çankköy) 8:B4;
 12:B5

TRALLES (Aydın) 5:D1; 6:E3

Trèves, see Trier

Trier (AUGUSTA TREVERORUM)
 2:C7

TROKNADA (Kaymaz) 9:B4

TROPAEA (Tropea) 4:F4

Tropea (TROPAEA) 4:F4

TUNES (Tunis) 3:C6
 Tunis (TUNES) 3:C6
 Tura, see Toura
 Türkmen Dağı 7:E7
 TYMION*, see Bekilli, Dumanlı,
 Üçkuyu, and 6:D7
 Uluborlu (APOLLONIA) 5:D3
 Upper Tembris River, see *TEMBRIS*
 Upper Tembris Valley 7:G5; 11:I4
 Urfa (EDESSA) 5:C7
 Uşak (TEMENOTHYRAI) 6:C7;
 7:J1; 8:B3; 12:B3
 UTICA (Bordj Bou Chateur) 3:B6
 Uyuz Tepe (AKKILAEION) 9:A3
 Üçkuyu (PEPOUZA?; TYMION?)
 12:G4
 Üçhüyük, see Üçyük
 Üçyük, alternatively Üçhüyük 11:G3
 VEGESEL (Ksar El Kelb) 3:E3
 Venosa (VENUSIA) 4:E4
 VENUSIA (Venosa) 4:E4

VIENNA (Vienne) 2:E6
 Vienne (VIENNA) 2:E6
 VITA 3:C6
 Vize (BIZYE) 5:B1

Water Newton (DOROBRIVAE)
 1:G6

Yalnızsaray (ABEIKTA?) 11:G3
 Yalvaç (ANTIOCHEIA, in Phrygia)
 9:I4
 Yapıldak 9:D2
 Yenişehir 6:B5
 Yeşilova, formerly Medele
 (MOTELLA) 8:E2; 12:G2
 Yeşiluva (DIOKAISAREIA) 8:J5

Zemme, see Çayırbaşı
 ZEMMEA*, see Çayırbaşı
 Zıvarık, see Altınekin
 ZINGOS, see ZINGOTA
 ZINGOT, see ZINGOTA
 ZINGOTA (Doğalar) 11:E4
 ZIZIMA (Sızma) 10:H4

MAPS

Key:
(to all maps)

HIERAPOLIS
(Pamukkale)

Ancient city, town or village
with modern name

Üçkuyu
(PEPOUZA?)

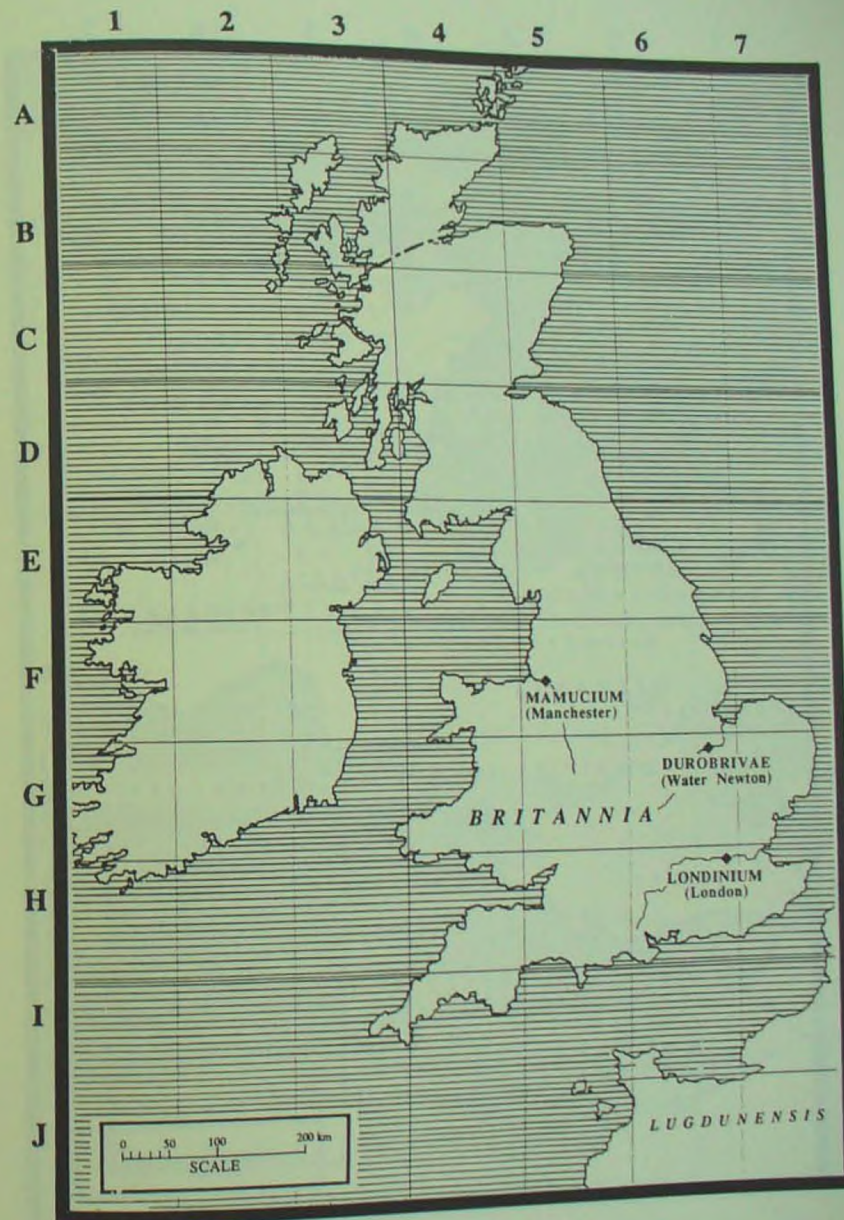
Modern city, town or village
which is the possible site of
ancient settlement

A S I A

Name of Roman province
or region

TEMBROGIUS
(Porsuk)

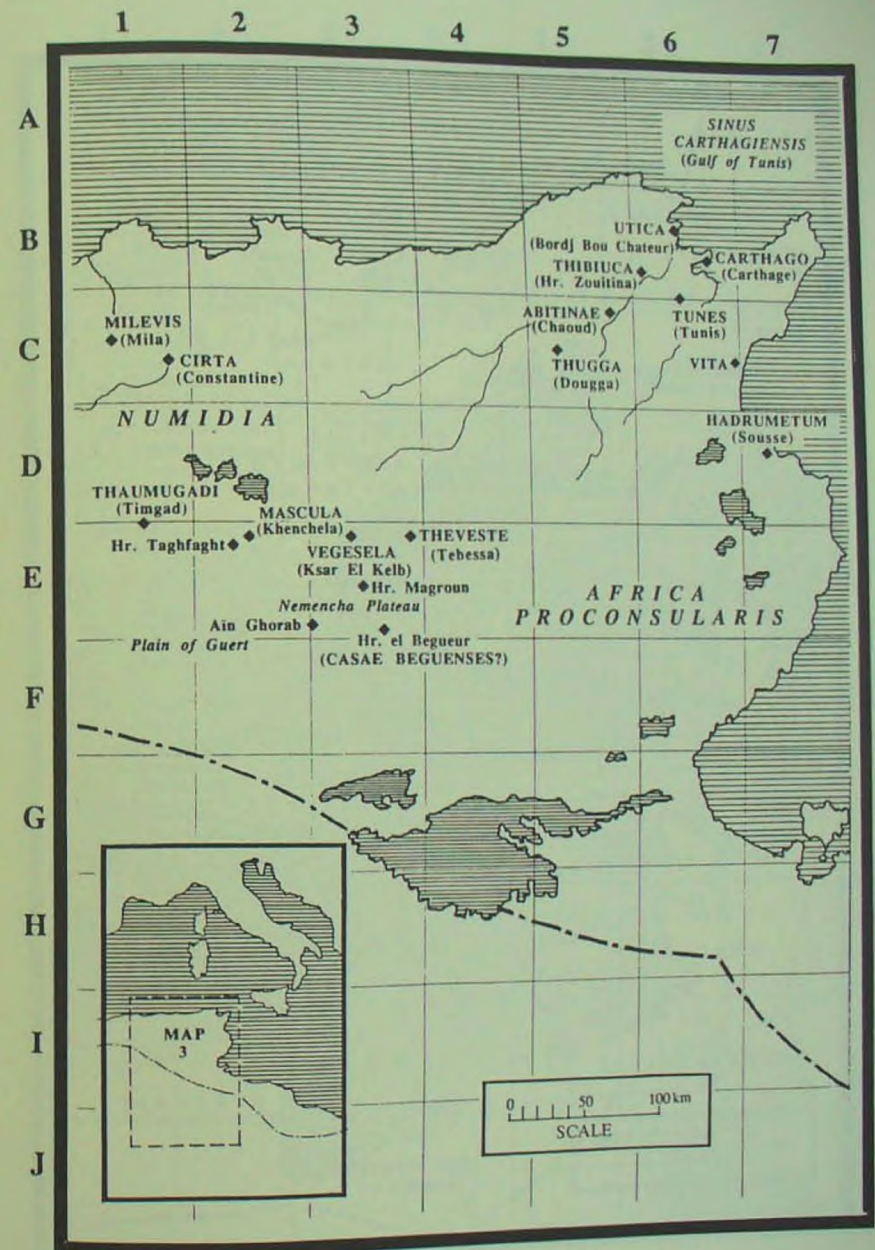
Ancient and modern names
of geographical features



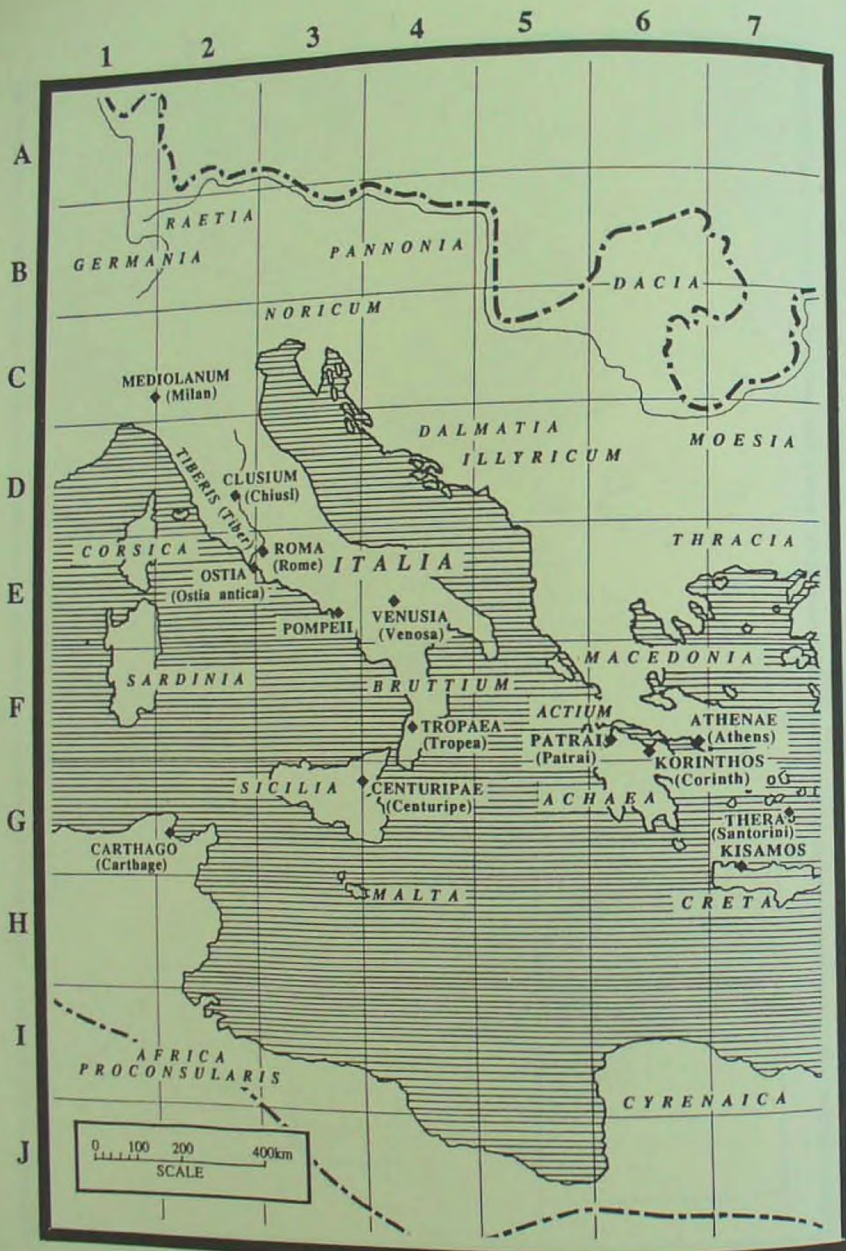
1. BRITANNIA



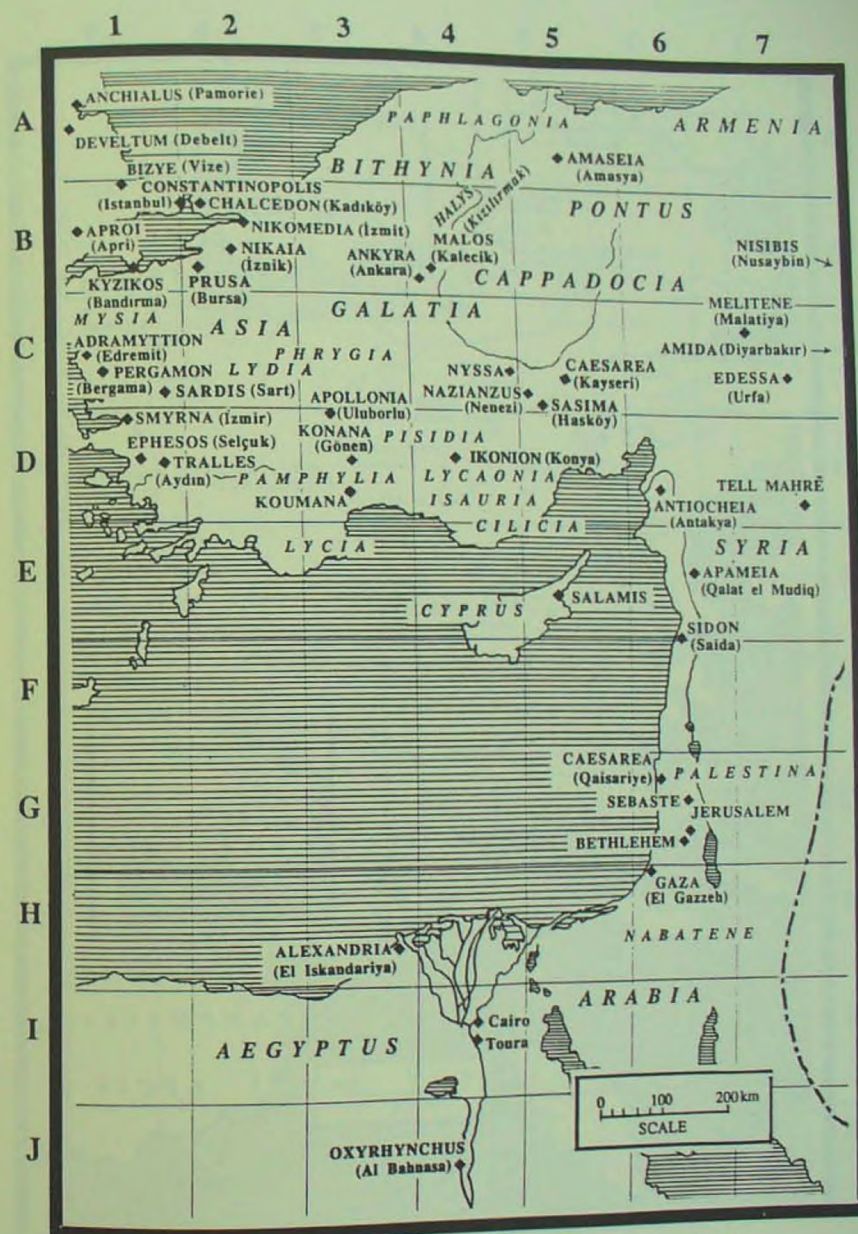
2. GAUL AND THE IBERIAN PENINSULA



3. NORTH AFRICA



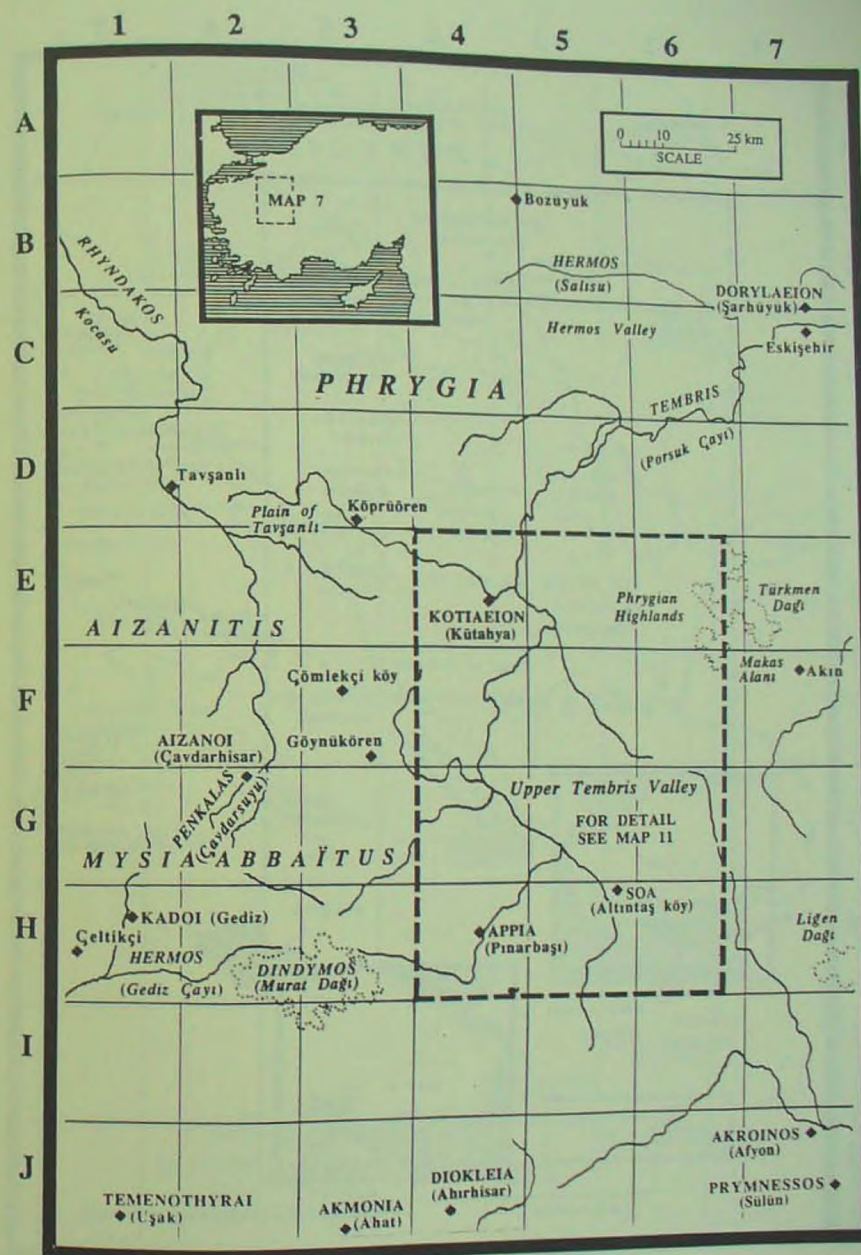
4. ITALY AND GREECE



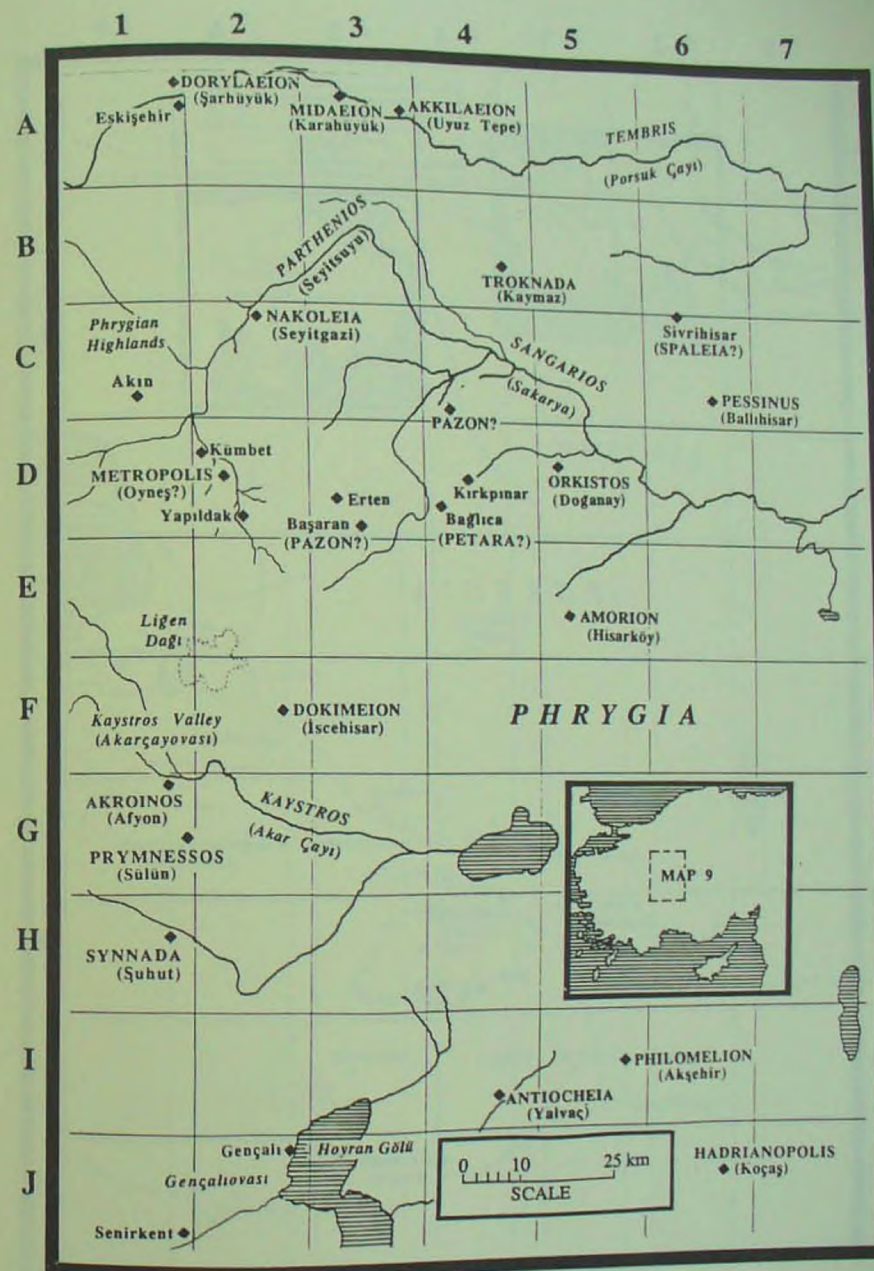
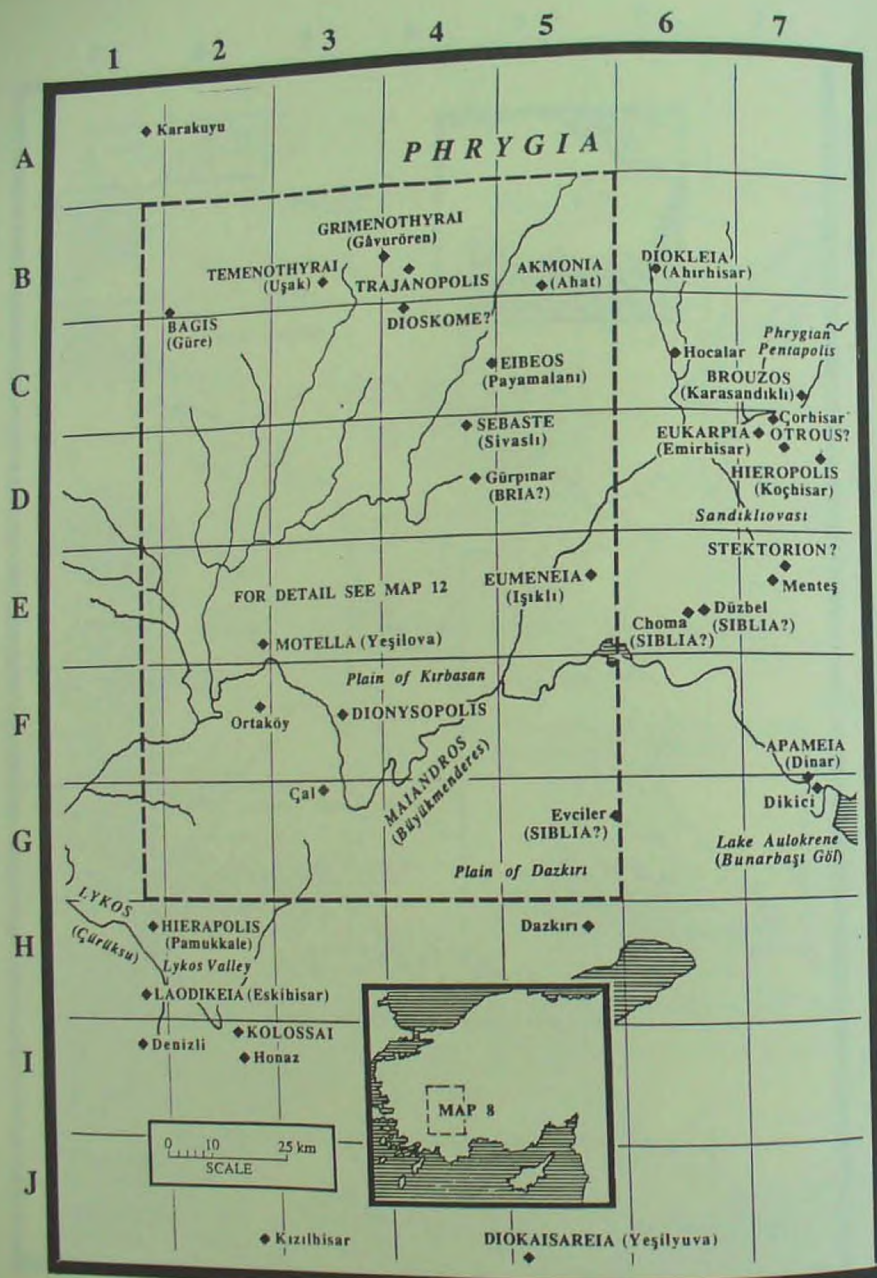
5. ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, AND EGYPT

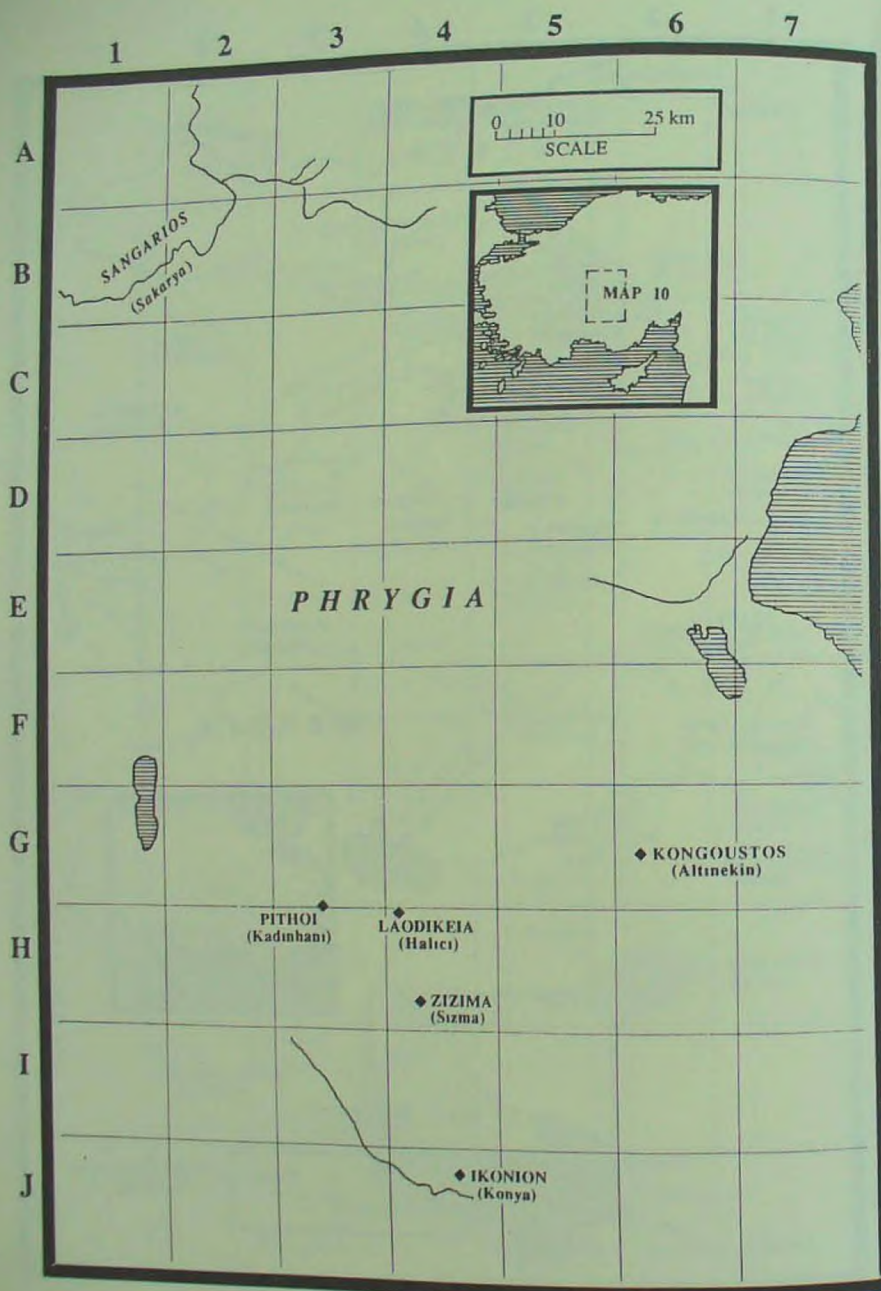


6. LYDIA AND WEST PHRYGIA

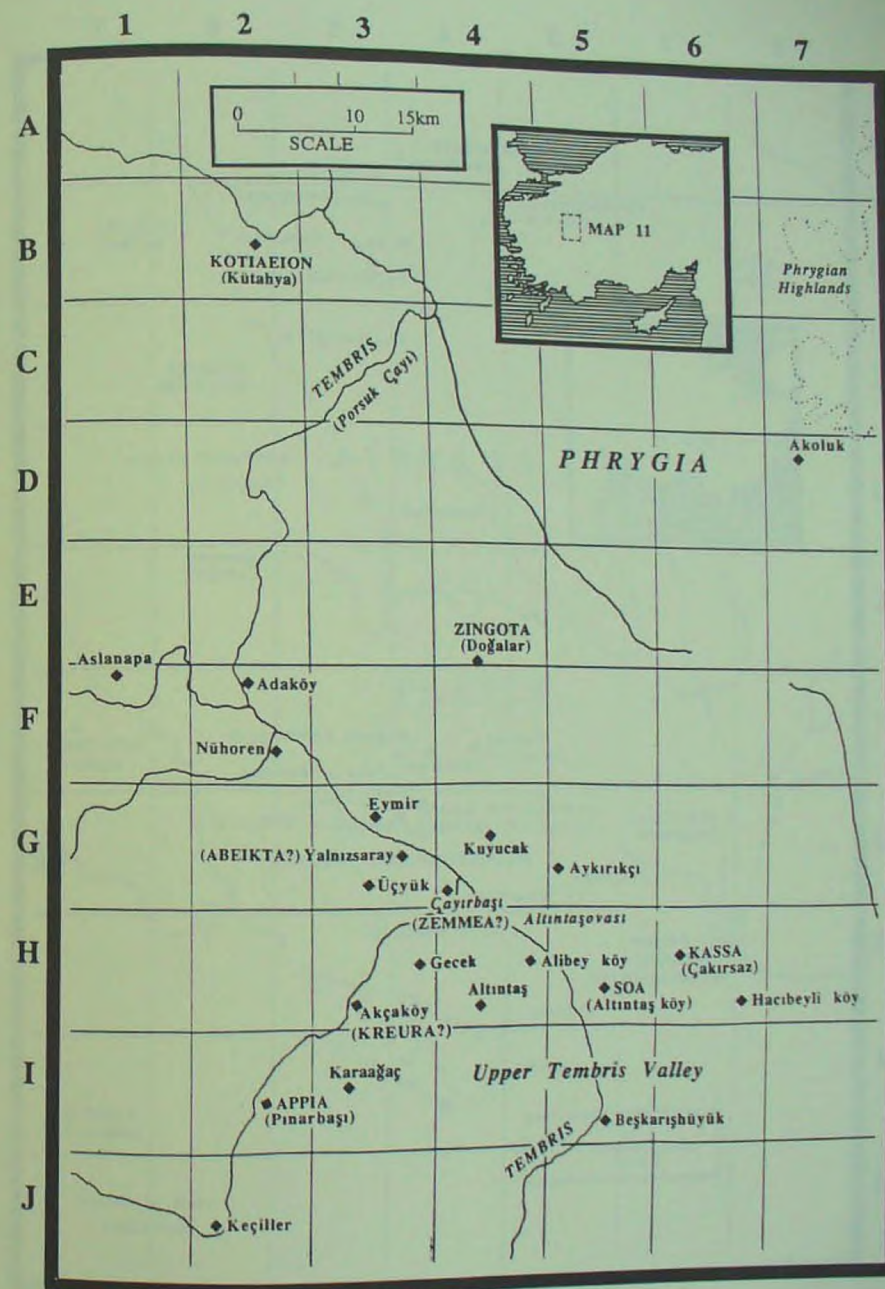


7. NORTH PHRYGIA

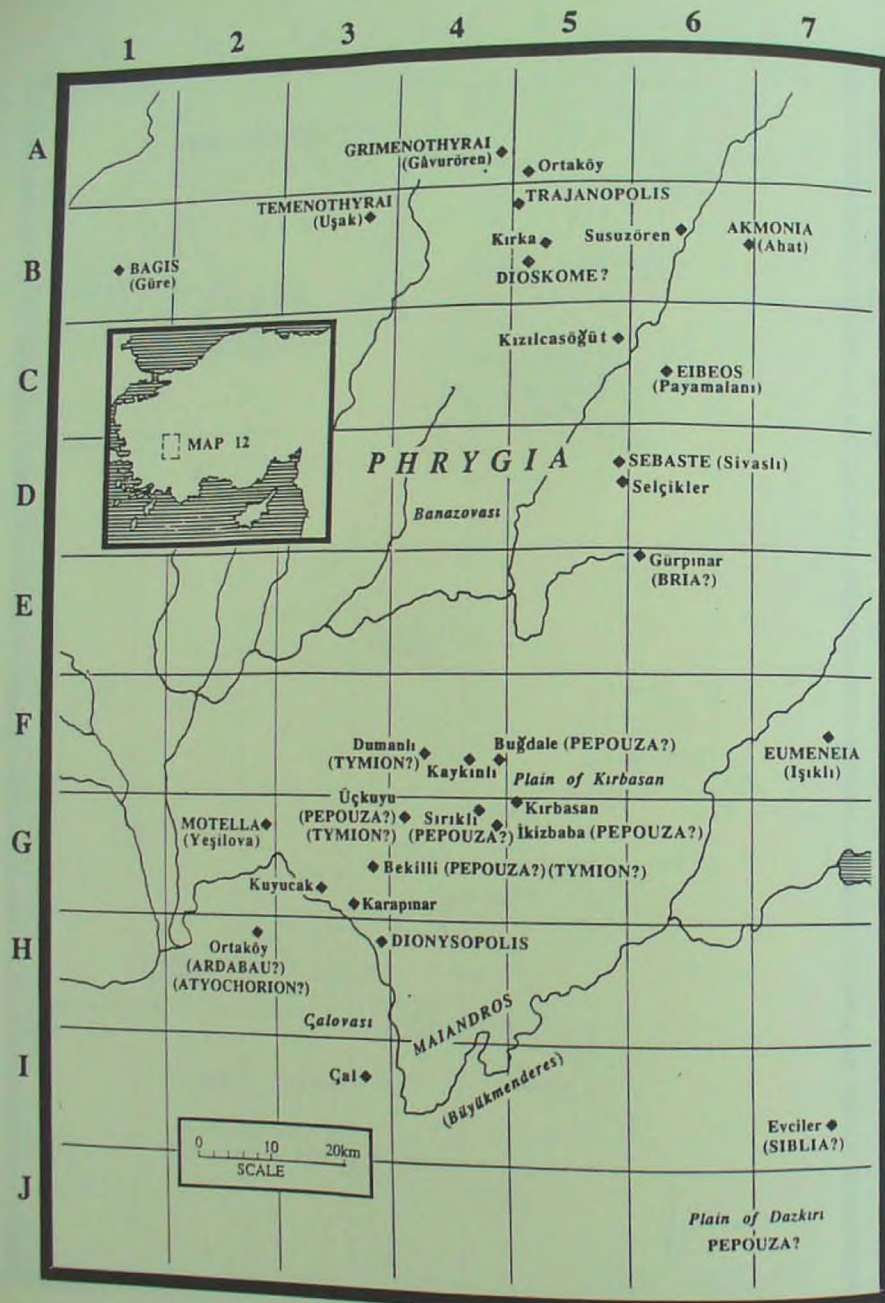




10. SOUTH-EAST PHRYGIA



11. UPPER TEMBRIS VALLEY



12. PLAINS OF KIRBASAN AND ÇAL

PLATES



3



6

PLATE 2

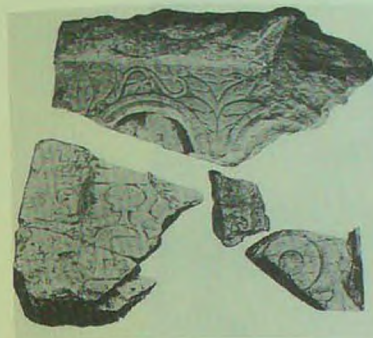


5



7

PLATE 3



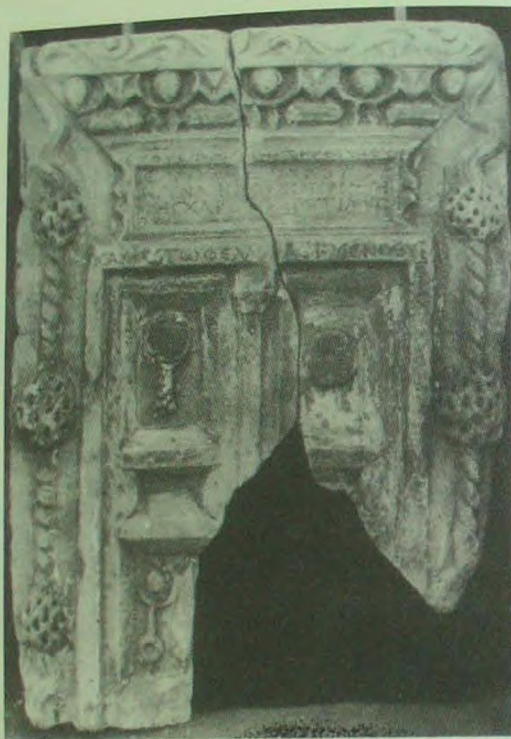
8



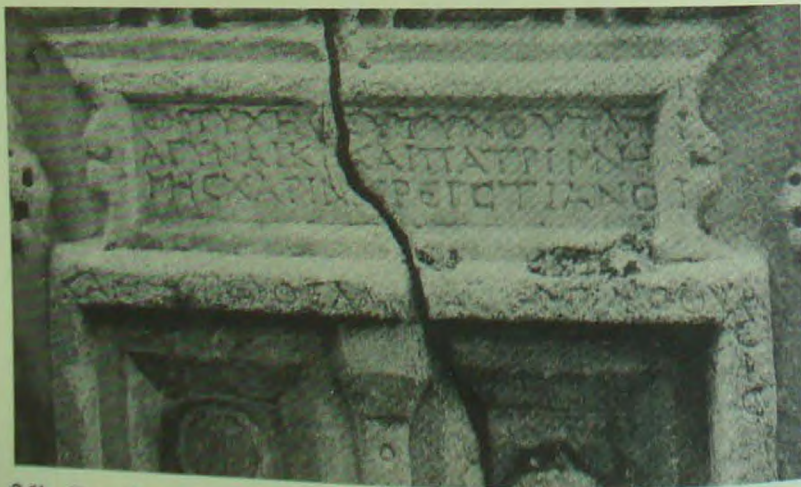
29



9



36a: Stone



36b: Detail



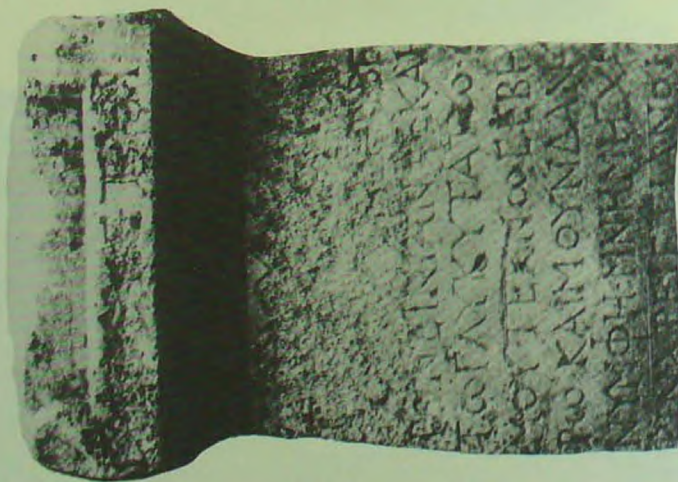
26



54



21b: Back



21a: Front



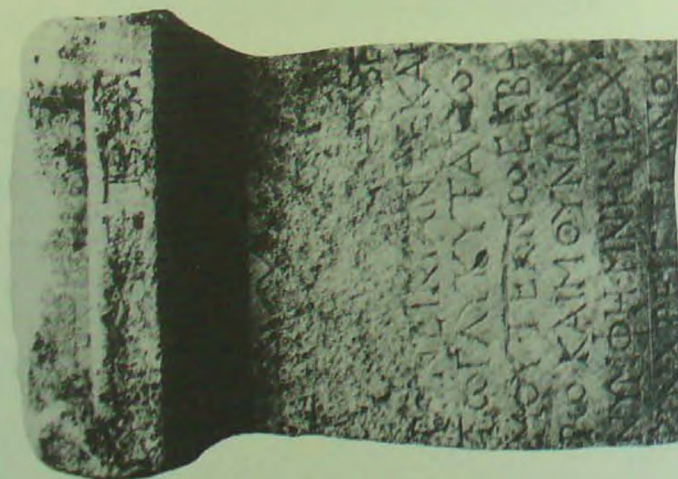
22



17a: Piece 4, fragment 2 (right face);
piece 1, fragment 2 (right face);
top, showing cross



21b: Back



21a: Front



22



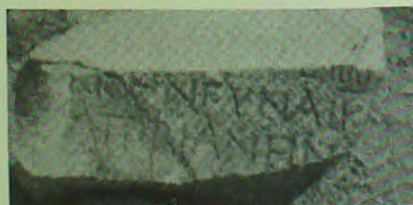
17a: Piece 4, fragment 2 (right face);
piece 1, fragment 2 (right face);
top, showing cross



17b: Piece 1, fragments 1-2 (front face)



17c: Piece 1, fragment 3 (front face)



17d: Piece 2, fragments 1-2 (front face)



17e: Piece 3 (front face)



17f: Piece 4, fragment 1 (front face)



17g: Piece 1, fragment 2 (front face)



17h: Piece 4, fragment 1 (right face)



17i: Piece 4, fragment 2 (right face)



23



32



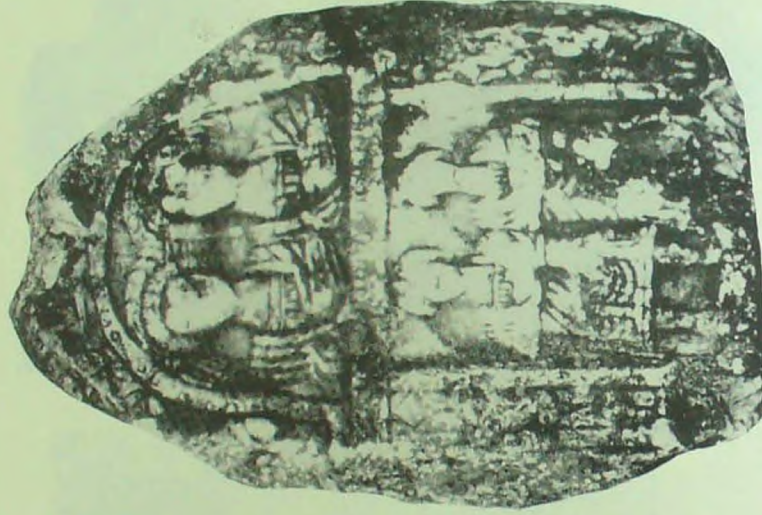
57



34



55



66



68a: Stone



68b: Squeeze



87a



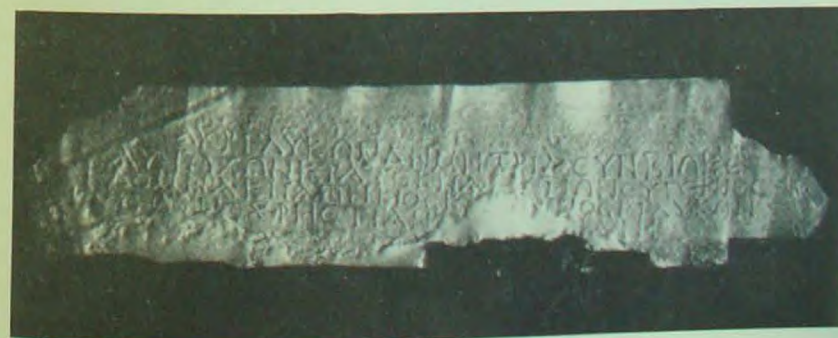
87b



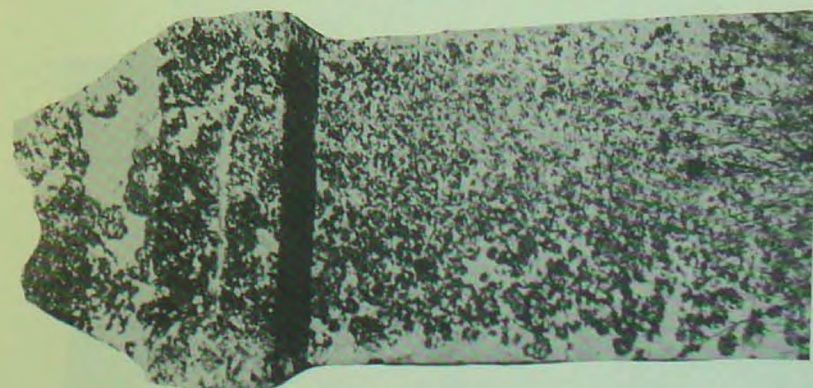
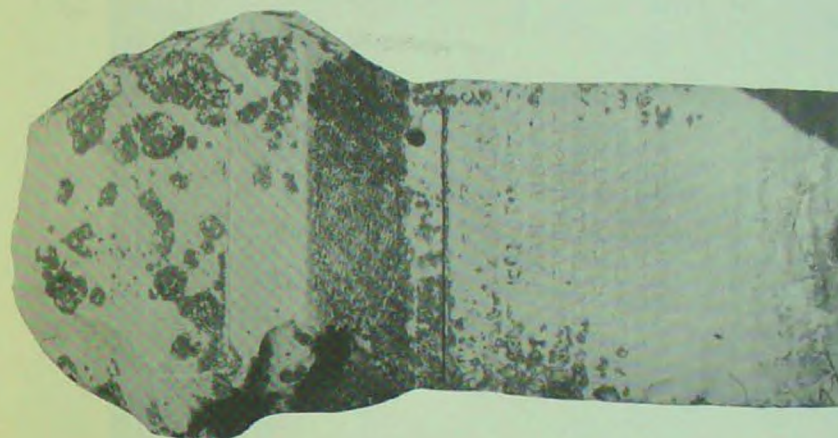
28a: Stone



28b: Squeeze

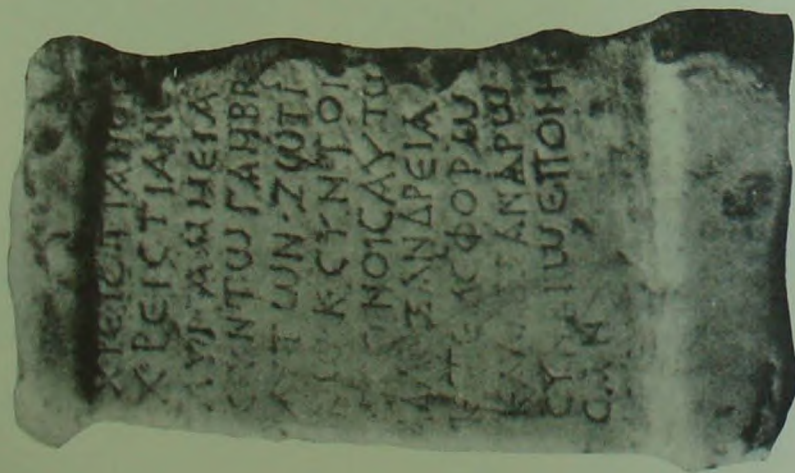


52





45



27



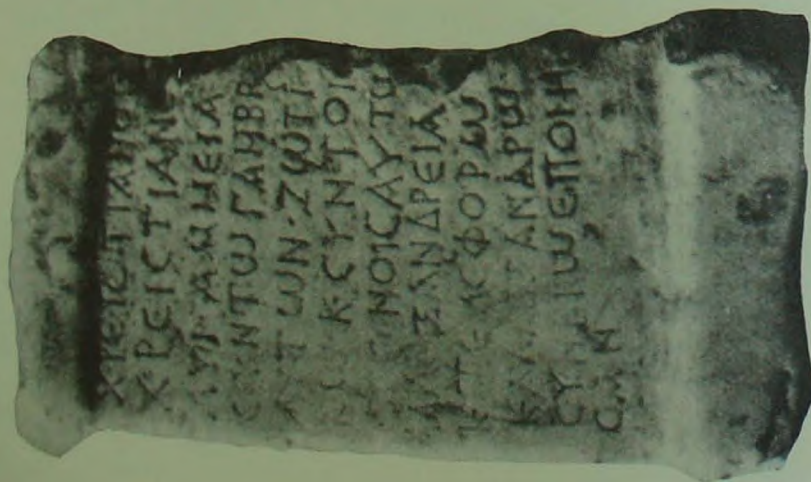
46a



46b



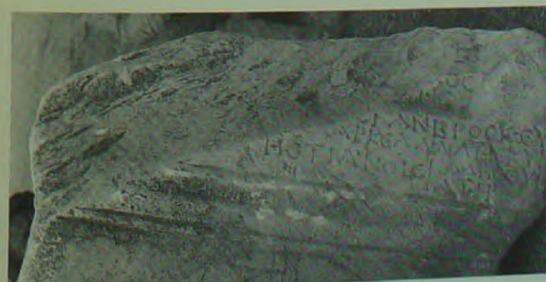
45



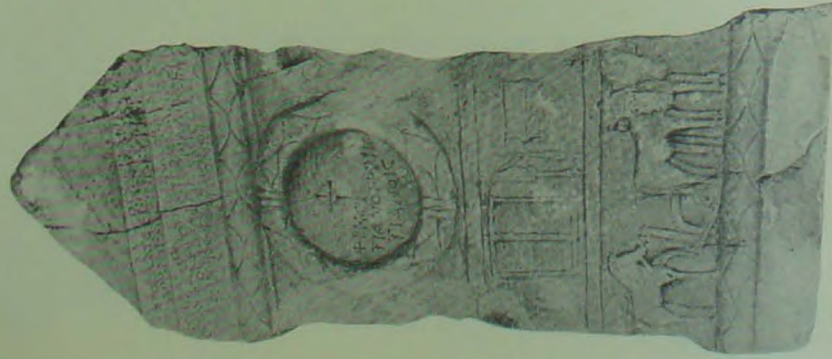
27



46a



46b



47



48



49



37



38a: Front



38b: Side



39



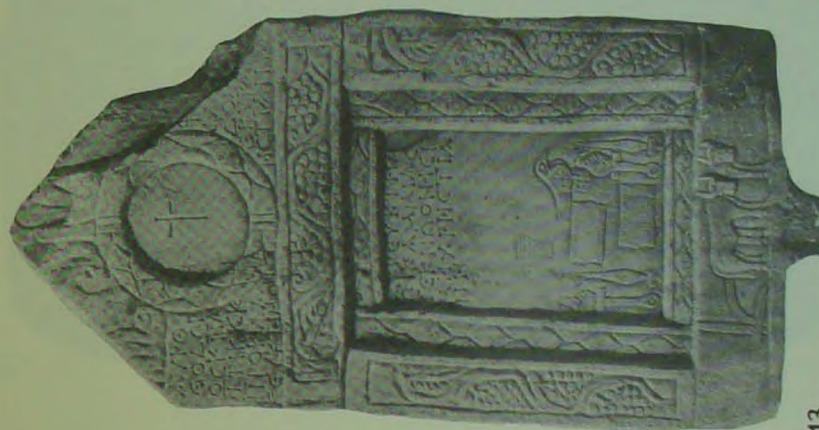
40



41



44



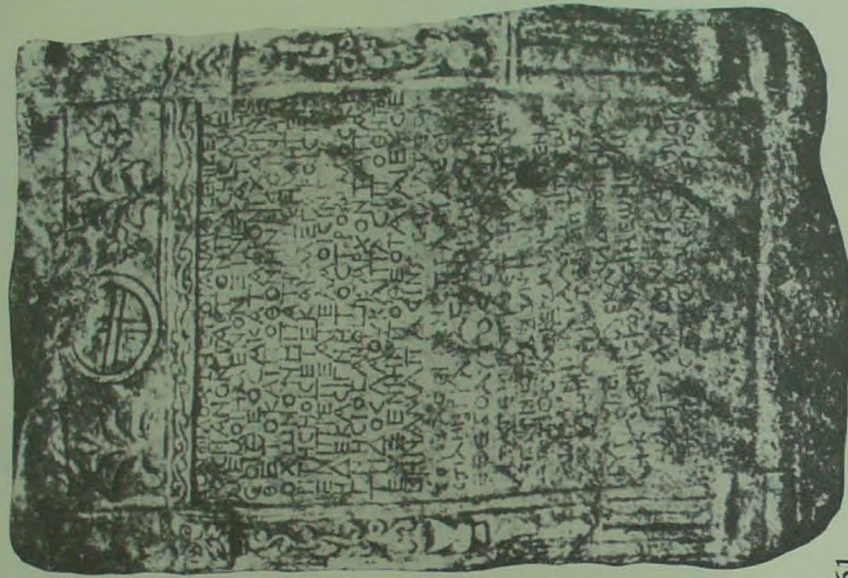
43



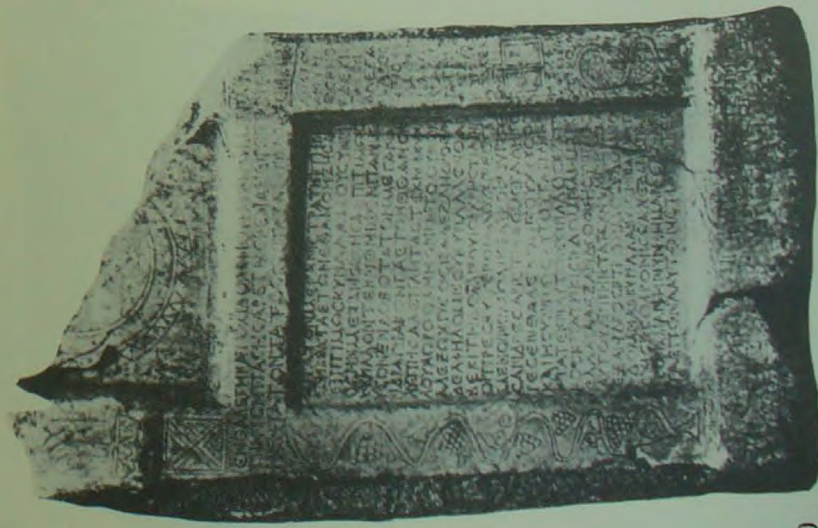
42



59



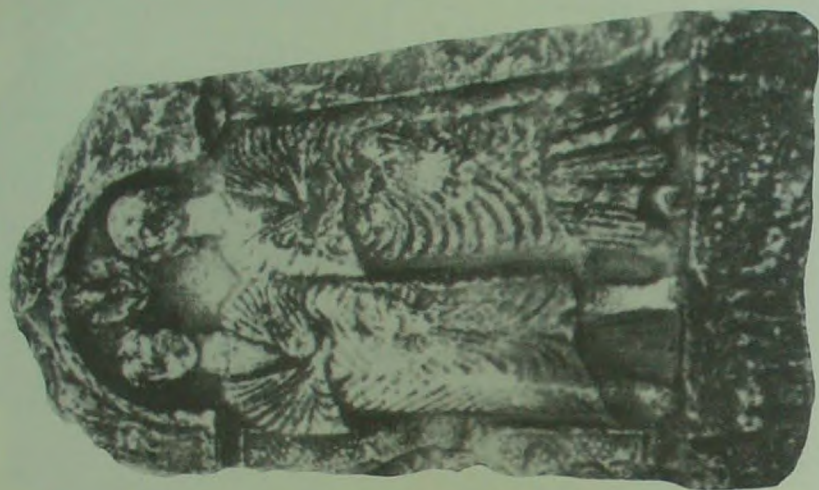
61



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53



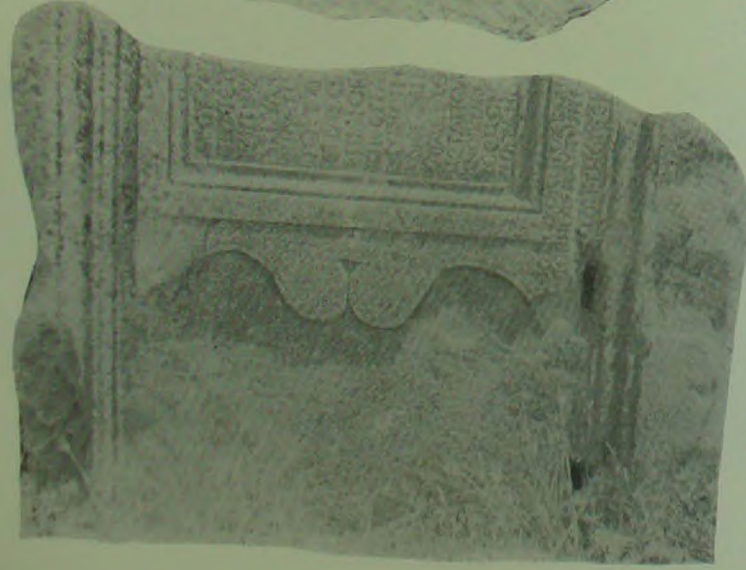
35a: Front



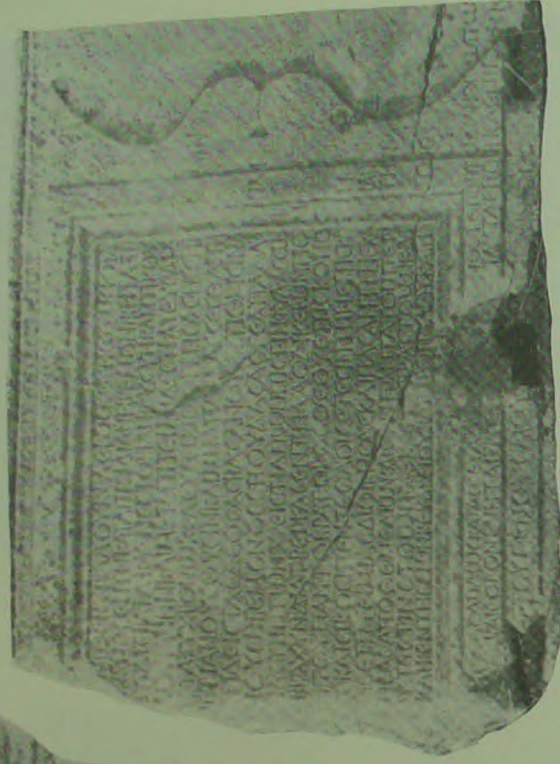
35b: Side



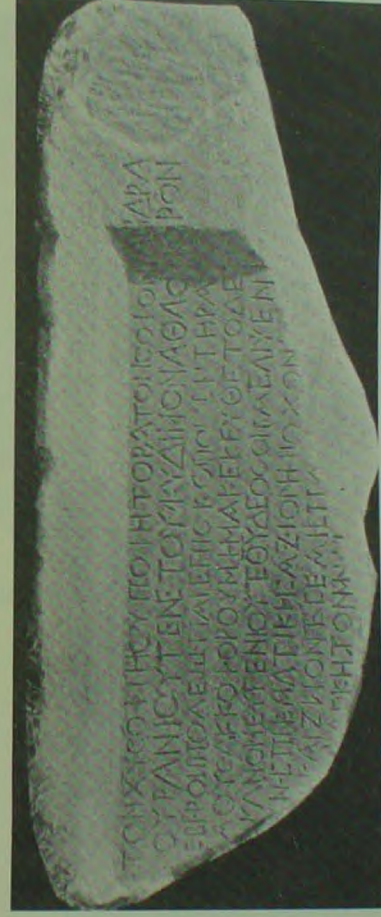
31



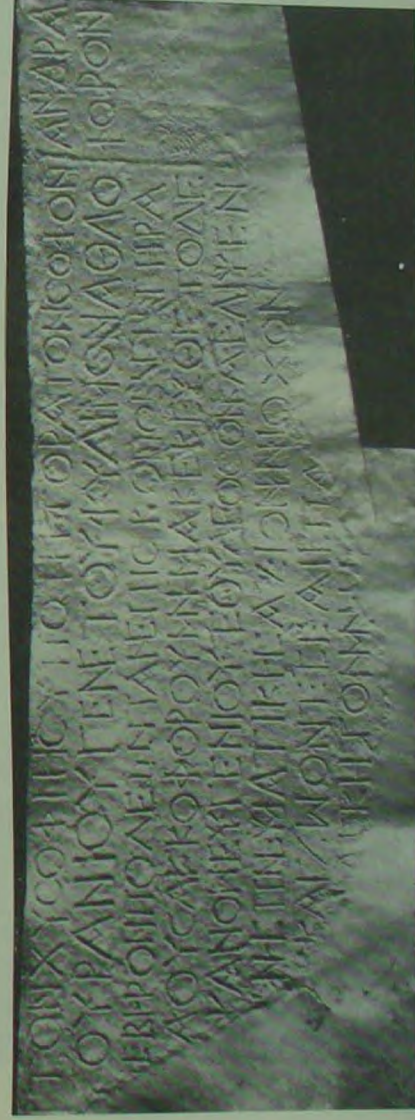
69a: Left front



69b: Right front



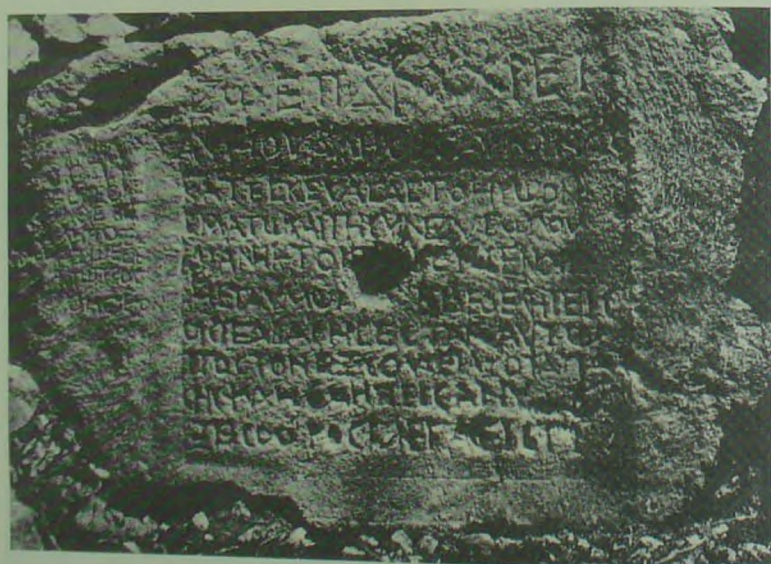
70a: Stone



70b: Squeeze



20



33



56a: Stone



56b: Squeeze



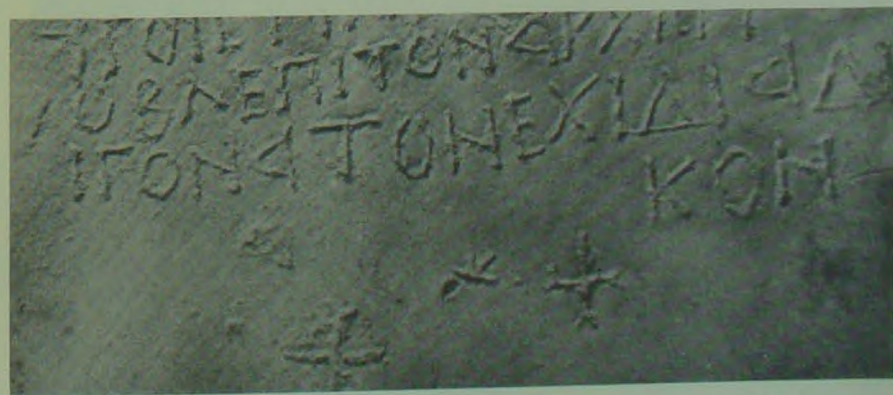
18



19



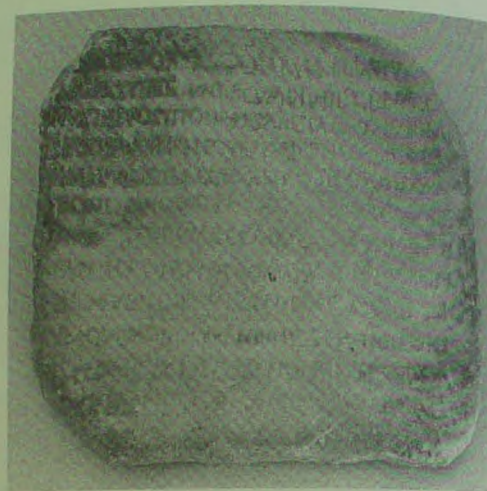
67



76



73



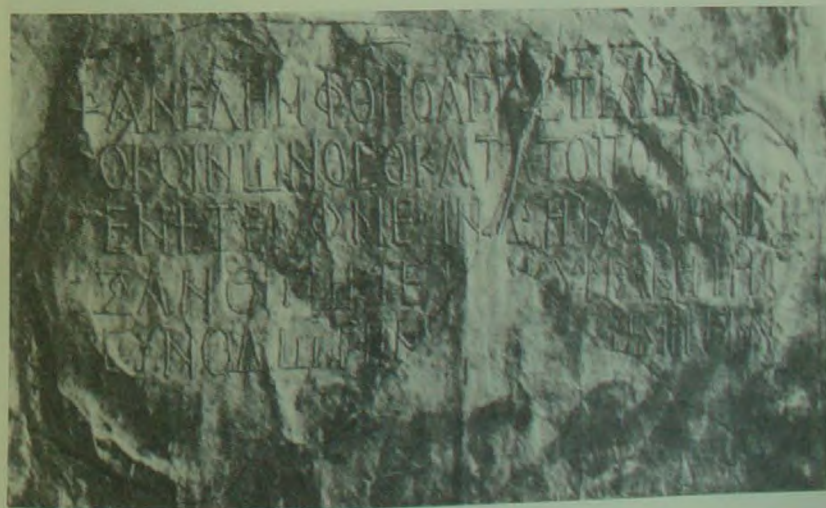
15



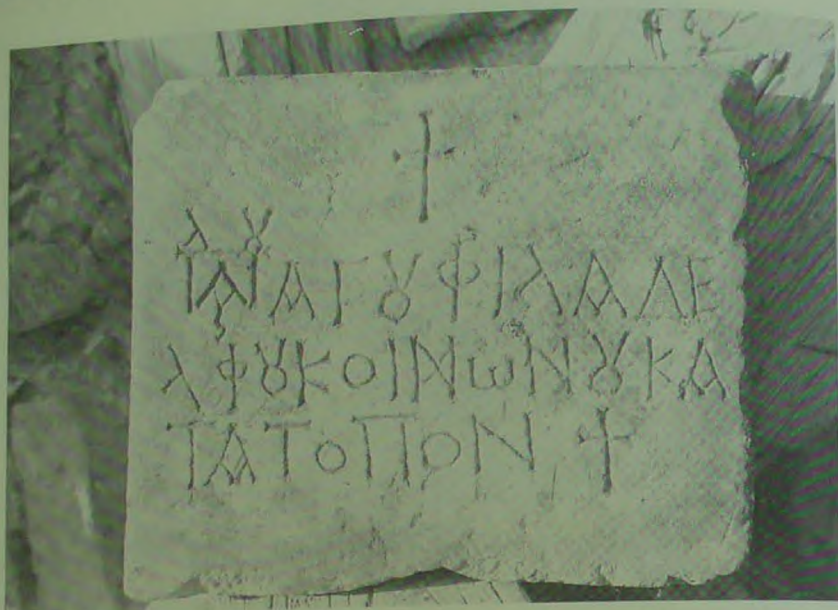
14



80



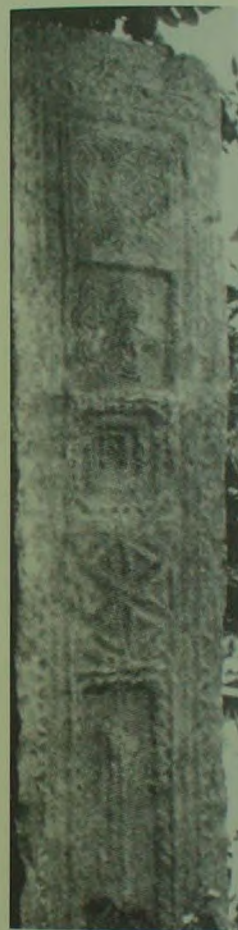
84



85



86



91a: Pillar



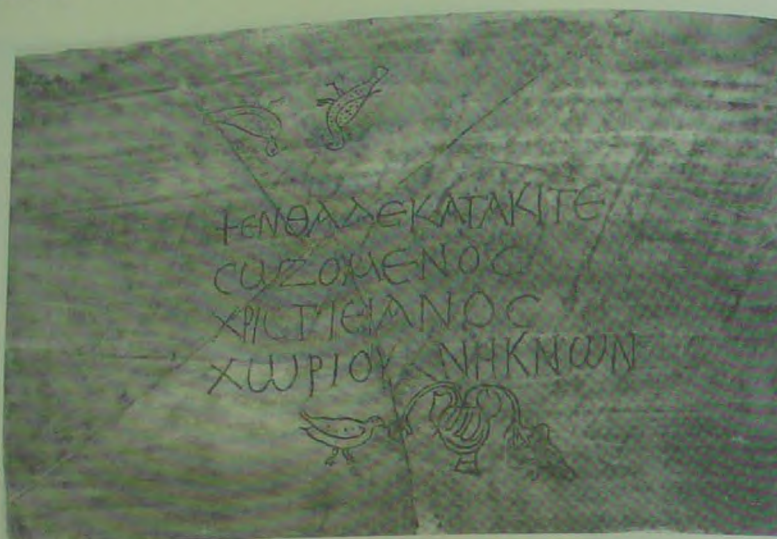
91b: Detail



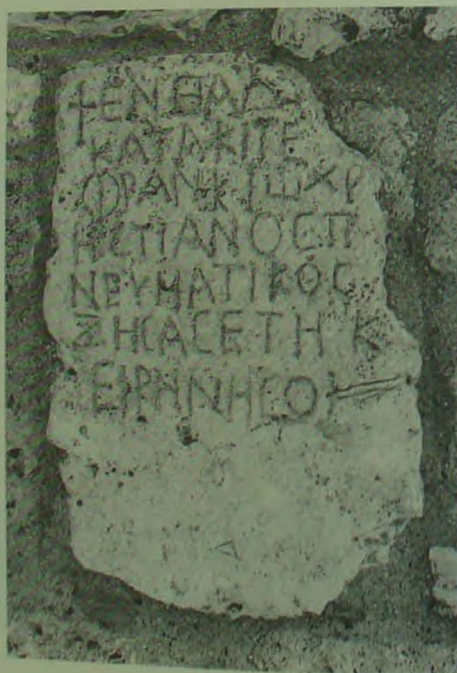
79



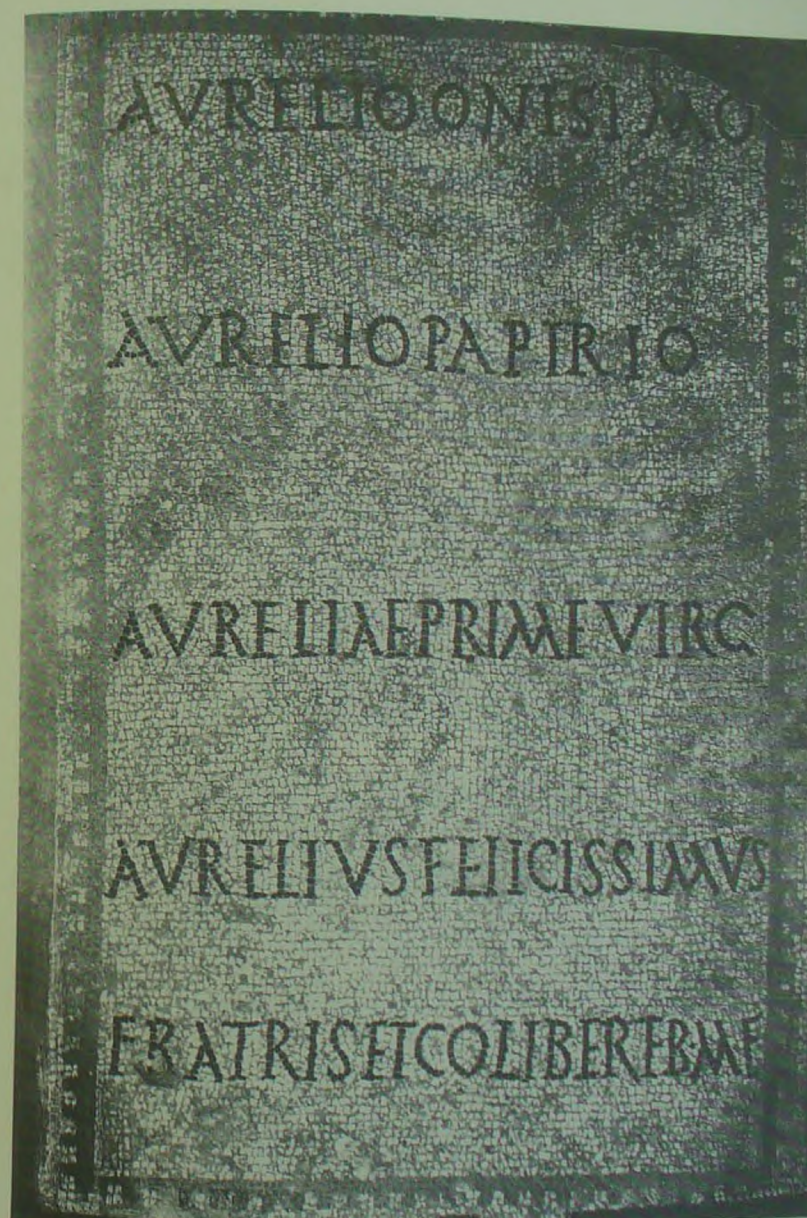
92



94



95



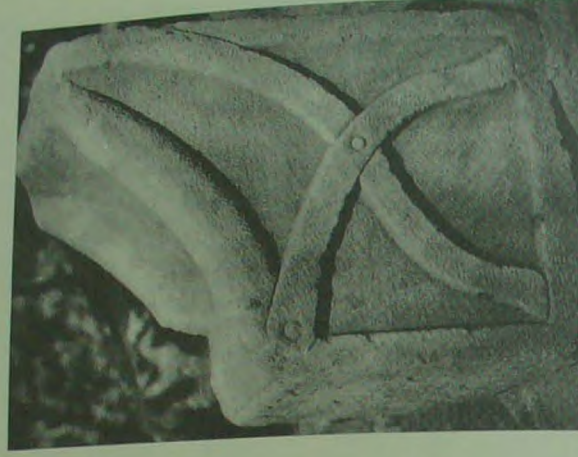
16



58a: Side



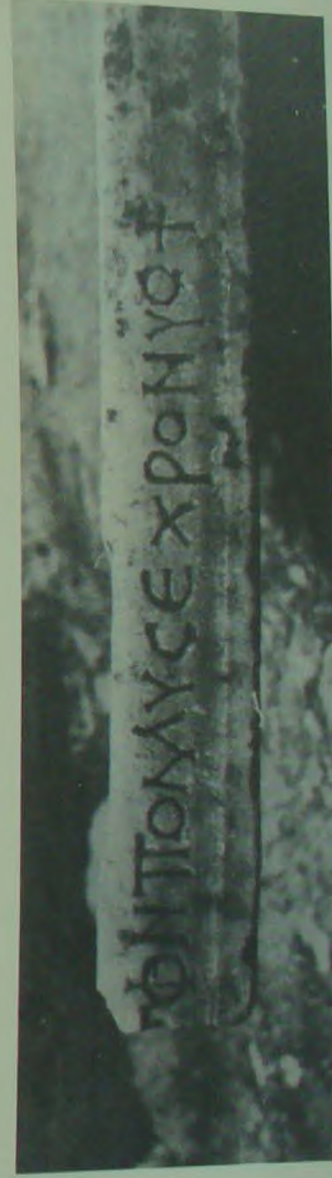
58b: Front



58c: Side



77



78



88a



88b



88c



88d